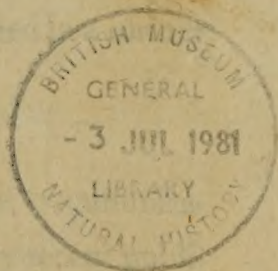


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ANNUAL REGISTER,
OR A VIEW OF THE
HISTORY,
POLITICS,
AND
LITERATURE,
For the YEAR 1794.

THE SECOND EDITION.



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PREFACE.

THE present Volume, we hope, will be regarded by our Readers as an additional proof of industry, and punctuality in the fulfilment of our engagements to bring up this progressive Work to the latest years, with as much expedition as is consistent with those principles which, in both its spirit and style, we wish to be uniformly governed.—It is not an easy matter to compress that multiplicity of striking events which accompanies the commencement of a great and important æra in the history of the world, nearly within the accustomed bounds of our preceding volumes, agreeably to the maxims explained in a former preface.

The narrative which, by means of private communications, as well as various, and some of these very recent publications, we have been enabled to give of the war in La Vendée, during 1793 and 1794, will, we doubt not, greatly interest every class of our readers. On every subject we have been careful to investigate the truth; and candid, unbiassed, and determined in representing and recording it. If, notwithstanding that care and this disposition, we have involuntarily

PREFACE.

fallen into any mistake, we are willing and desirous to correct it, and repair any injury to truth, if any such mistake or such injury shall be pointed out to our conviction, in our subsequent volumes.

The affairs of Poland, our readers will observe, are occasionally mentioned, both in our history of other European nations, and in the debates in the British parliament. To have given an account sufficiently copious of these affairs, interesting and instructive, even beyond the usual tenor of the present times, so fruitful in novelty, would have rendered the present greatly disproportioned to the other divisions of this Work. In our next volume we shall resume the history of Poland, and deduce it from the period of the new constitution in 1791, through the second partition of that kingdom in 1793, to its final dismemberment and partition in 1795, when it ceased to exist as an independent nation.— So interesting a tragedy will be exhibited more properly, and with greater advantage in continuity, than if it were interrupted by intervals of time, and detailed in different volumes.

THE
ANNUAL REGISTER,
For the YEAR 1794.

THE
HISTORY
OF
EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Ideas entertained of the Power and Situation of France by the Coalesced Powers at the Commencement of the War. Their mutual Suspicion. Their Presumption on their first Successes. Close of the Campaign in 1793 unfavourable to them in the Netherlands and on the Rhine. Activity of the French in preparing for the next Campaign. Numbers and Resolution of their Armies. Abilities of their ruling Men. Prodigious Preparations of the French for the next Campaign of 1794. Willingness with which they submit to Burthens in support of their Cause. Their military List double to that of the Coalesced Powers. The Promotion and Military Talents of Jourdain, Hoche, and Pichegru. Aptitude and Patience of the common People in France in the enduring of Hardships. Violence and Impetuosity of the French in Action. Bravery and Discipline of the Austrian Armies. Enthusiasm and Perseverance of the French Soldiers in attacking their Enemies. Colonel Mack sent by the Imperial Court to concert Measures for the ensuing Campaign with the British Ministry. Project of the French relating to the Netherlands discovered and frustrated. Hopes of the Republican Administration in consequence of the Rivalship subsisting between the Houses of Austria and Brandenburg. The Duke of Brunswick discontented at the Manner of conducting the War. His Resignation of the Command of the Prussian Armies. Pernicious Effects resulting to the Confederacy from the mutual Jealousies of Austria and Brandenburg. Advantages arising to the French from that Cause. French and Prussian Commissioners meet at Frankfort, on the Pretence of settling an Exchange of Prisoners. Suspicions of the Public on this Occasion. Policy of the Prussian Ministry in its Conduct with the Members of the Confederacy. Ideas of the People of England respecting the Views of Prussia. The King of Prussia declares his Resolution to recede from the Confederacy against France, on assigns his Reasons for taking this Step. He withdraws his Troops from the Confederates. Endeavours of the Emperor to procure the Accession of the Empire to the Designs of the Coalition against France, and to obtain Supplies from the Diet.

He proposes the Raising of the People in a Mass; but is opposed by the Prussian Deputy. Prejudice to the Cause of the Confederacy from these Disagreements. Subsidiary Treaty concluded between Great Britain and Prussia. Discontents produced thereby among great Numbers of the People in England. Their Suspicions of the good Faith both of the Austrian and Prussian Ministers. Movements of the French Armies in the Netherlands. Condition of the Austrian Forces, and those of the other Confederates. A Council of War held by the Allies. Plan of the ensuing Campaign proposed by the Austrian Ministry. Produces an Altercation, which ends in a Determination of the Emperor to command the Confederate Army in Person. He repairs to Brussels, and is inaugurated as Sovereign of the Austrian Netherlands. He assumes the Command of the Allied Army. The French attacked and defeated near Landrecy. Siege of that Town undertaken. The French attack the Troops of the Hereditary Prince of Orange, and are repulsed. They obtain some Advantages over General Alvinzy, but are forced to retire. They are attacked by the Duke of York, and obliged to retreat to Cambray. The Duke attacked by the French, but compels them to retire with Loss. They are repulsed at the same Time by Prince Cobourg. General Pichegru attacks General Clairfait, defeats him, and takes Menin and Courtrai. Landrecy surrenders to the Allies. General Jourdain invades the Duchy of Luxembourg, and defeats the Austrian General Beaulieu. The Duke of York attacked by the French near Tournai. The French repulsed. They force General Clairfait to abandon Courtrai with great Loss. They are defeated by General Kaunitz near Mons. The Allies attack the French in the Neighbourhood of Lisle, and gain some Advantages. The French attack the Allies, and obtain a complete Victory. Principal Cause of their Successes. Great Defeat of the French, who are driven back as far as Lisle. Again defeated with great Loss by General Kaunitz. Bouillon taken by the Austrians, under General Beaulieu, who defeats a large Body of French. He is compelled by General Jourdain to retire towards Namur. The French defeated with great Slaughter, by the Hereditary Prince of Orange, and forced to withdraw from Charleroy. The Siege of Charleroy resumed. Battle of Fleurus, wherein the Allies are entirely defeated, and lose great Numbers. Debilitated State of their Army. Charleroy surrenders to the French. Ypres besieged by General Moreau, who gains a great Victory over Clairfait, and takes that Town. Consequences of these two Events. Bruges submits to the French. The Duke of York moves towards Oudenard. Tournai surrenders to the French. Oudenard taken.

WHEN the coalition of European potentates against France first took place, the majority of politicians were of opinion, that in the state of disunion and reciprocal mistrust wherein the French nation was so deeply involved, it would prove unable to resist the efforts that were prepared to overwhelm it. Some of the powers in the

confederacy had formerly appeared competent to make head against that potent monarchy, unassisted by the others, and relying solely on their single strength. In its most flourishing and formidable condition, its neighbours when not disunited had successfully opposed its ambitious designs, and reduced it to the utmost distress.

Distress. Reflecting on these facts, they naturally inferred, that having triumphed over this powerful enemy in the days of his greatest force and union, they might reasonably presume on his inability to oppose them, while distracted by internal feuds; and seemingly rent to pieces by the rancours and animosities that characterized the parties dividing the nation, which had extinguished all sentiments of humanity, and rendered them inexorably bent on their mutual destruction. But while the coalesced powers eagerly contemplated the divisions and distractions of the French nation, they lost sight of those seeds of mistrust and suspicion that were profoundly sown among themselves. The plan to reduce France to its own limits, was attended with collateral views, that necessarily tended to promote jealousies of each other amongst its enemies; and to break the bonds of the alliance they had formed to prevent the dangers apprehended from the aggrandizement of France. This spirit of reciprocal suspicion did not however manifest itself to any extent during the first campaign in Flanders in the year 1793. The warmth with which hostilities were at the commencement prosecuted against a people that avowed themselves the enemies to all kings, kept alive the determination to cooperate vigorously against them. But the successes of the allies on their first entering into action, the repeated defeats of the French armies, and the reduction of some of their strongest towns, induced the coalesced powers to imagine that the completion of their designs would not meet with great difficulties. Hence they overlooked the neces-

sity of acting with the firmest and most indissoluble concord. Instead of remaining in that compactness of strength which had procured them their first advantages, they thought themselves able to divide their operations. Thus, by separating their force, they rendered it ineffectual for the great and principal purpose they primarily proposed, and lost the only opportunity of accomplishing it which they could reasonably expect.

The close of the campaign of 1793 in the low countries, left the French armies in possession of so many advantages, that the most expert in military affairs, were convinced that they would retain their superiority in the campaign that was approaching. This opinion was corroborated by their successes on the Rhine, and on the other frontiers of France, and above all by the total suppression of the various insurrections against the republican government in so many provinces of that country. The diligence and activity with which that government pursued its measures, the vigour which animated the officers and soldiers of its numerous armies, the abilities of the many commanders that were continually starting up to notice, the indefatigable exertions of all men employed in the public service, struck their enemies with astonishment. However inimical to the principles that actuated the French, their most determined adversaries could not forbear admiring the courage and capacity of those who were at the head of that nation. The opening of the campaign in the year 1794, plainly shewed how resolutely the French were bent, not only to preserve the advantages they had gained, but to carry them to the

utmost extent their arms would enable them. The approaching year seemed pregnant with events that would decide the fate of France, and eventually that of all Europe. Nor did the generality scruple to predict, that however adverse fortune had proved to the allied powers, they were still doomed to greater calamities. The prodigious efforts of the French government evinced how strongly they were persuaded, that on the issue of this campaign the confirmation or the destruction of the Republic would entirely depend. In order to secure a system which they considered as superior to all others, and to which their attachment increased in proportion to the endeavours of their enemies to destroy it, they loaded the nation with every species of burthen and hardship for its preservation.

The military list exhibited by France to the eyes of Europe for the year 1794, was such as to occasion the most serious alarm to the coalition. The whole strength they had been able to collect for a contest in which they were so deeply concerned, and the decision of which was so quickly approaching, did not exceed 360,000 men; while the troops sent into the field by France alone, more than doubled that number. But France relied as much, if not more, on the temper of the men that composed its armies. Tutored by those who raised them, and no less by those who were employed to teach them military discipline in the maxims of republicanism, so violently predominant in France, they took up arms with far other views and ideas than those that actuated the soldiers of the combined

powers. Obedience to the will and orders of their rulers was the sole motive that actuated these; whereas the French soldiers went to battle, some of them, animated with the deadliest sentiments of revenge against men whom they looked upon as the base instruments of tyranny and oppression; others, by the hope of rising in the army, and acquiring both fame and fortune; and all of them by a desire of maintaining the military reputation of Frenchmen.

Delivered from those anxieties which had arisen from the intestine commotions, which had proved so difficult to be suppressed, the republican administration was now at liberty to exert the whole strength of France in those quarters where its successes would prove most decisive. These were the low countries, and those lying towards the Rhine. The former appearing the more important scene of action, it was chiefly there that the French proposed to make the greatest efforts. The flower of the German and British armies being stationed in that country, with the double view of protecting it from the invasion of France, and converting it into the principal *dépôt* of arms, from whence to annoy the French, it became the chief object of these to frustrate both those designs, and especially the latter. The preceding campaign in those parts had terminated by a general action that had covered the French troops with particular glory. They had defeated in the battle of Maubeuge, that lasted two entire days, the most illustrious commander in the allied armies, Prince Cobourg, who had taken so advantageous a position,

tion, that he seemed persuaded the French would find it impossible to attack him with success. The reputation they obtained by vanquishing the Prince in a pitched battle, the first he had lost during the campaign, added a lustre to their arms, and inspired a confidence in their officers which never after abandoned them.

Jourdain, the General who commanded the French on that day, had now attained a degree of celebrity, which rendered him the principal favourite of the soldiery. It was he who had first turned the tide of success in favour of France at Dunkirk. Had it not been for his conduct and courage on that occasion, the French Republic must have been reduced to the most serious distress. The abilities he had displayed, induced the government to entrust him with the command of the army on the Rhine, where the fortune of war, notwithstanding some very brilliant successes, had not proved so extensively advantageous as in the Belgic provinces. The impetuous activity that marked the progress of the war on the part of France, was the principal cause of its success. The French were continually forming and executing the boldest enterprizes; and though frequently foiled, still returned to the charge; and through their invincible perseverance, seldom failed to succeed. Besides General Jourdain, two other men began at this time to attract the public in a most conspicuous manner; the celebrated Pichegru, and the no less famous Hoche. Through their skill and valour, that experienced warrior, General Wurmsers, had been successively defeated, and the efforts of the Austrians and Prussians

to penetrate into France, had been completely frustrated.

In addition to the military talents of their commanders, a circumstance operated to the advantage of the French, of which it seems their enemies were not sufficiently aware. Though natives of a country less exposed to the rigours of winter than either Germany or the low countries, the commonalty in France had long been used to a course of living that qualified them to endure almost every species of hardship. From the high price of fuel, they were particularly inured to the bearing of cold; and, from their general poverty, were satisfied with very moderated supplies of food. These two qualifications combining with the enthusiasm infused by the principles they had so warmly espoused, rendered them capable of enduring the greatest hardships attendant on a military life, and fitted them for the most arduous undertakings that could be proposed by the many enterprising and daring leaders with which their armies now abounded.

In the depth of that rigorous winter which was felt throughout all Europe, from the close of 1793 to the end of the ensuing February, the French troops began to act in a variety of places in the Netherlands. Their operations were not of an important nature, and were chiefly calculated to keep them in action, and to fatigue their enemies: nor were they attended with much success. Their first onsets in the various skirmishes wherein they were continually engaged, were usually so violent and impetuous as to bear down all resistance: but the issue of the contest was frequently no less unfavourable to them than the

beginning had been advantageous. The fact was, that notwithstanding the disasters which had befallen the allies in the latter part of the foregoing campaign, their armies still consisted of veteran troops, whom it was not easy to put to the rout. Flushed with the many victories they had gained over the Turks in the late Hungarian wars, they could not bring themselves to look on the raw levies that composed the French armies, as men equal to themselves in martial prowess; and encountered them with a consciousness of superiority that was at first justified by repeated successes. Nor was it till the French had acquired a considerable degree of experience, at the expence of some bloody defeats, that they gradually became able to face their antagonists. Still, however, the German soldiery were under so excellent a discipline, that the uncommon fury with which the French attacked them, was far from always proving successful. The steadiness of the imperial troops was commonly an equal match for the impetuous valour of the republican soldiers. Till the immense slaughter continually made of both parties had compelled them to renew the numbers they had lost by fresh recruits, the advantages of soldiership continued to be nearly divided. This accounts for the alternate successes that attended the contending armies, until the latter periods of the present campaign. As soon, however, as the greater part of the veteran troops in the Austrian army had fallen in the reiterated scenes of destruction that marked the progress of this dreadful campaign, the levies of men that became necessary to supply the places of those who had

been slain, filled the combined forces with men very inadequate to the task of encountering an enemy no ways unequal to them in military qualifications, and greatly above them in that spirit which is produced by national attachment, enlivened by hostile invasion, to the ardour of enthusiasm.

In the mean time, the preparations against them were carried on with a vigour and solicitude that strongly denoted how formidable they were esteemed, and what efforts were thought necessary to repel the attacks they were meditating. To this end the celebrated Colonel Mack, a soidier of fortune, who had raised himself to notice and preferment merely by his courage and merit, was selected by the Austrian ministry to concert with the British government a plan for the subsequent operations in the Netherlands; where, it was well known, the French had it in contemplation to achieve a project of the first magnitude, and which, in case of success, would wholly disconcert the measures now taken by the confederacy. This project was, to collect an immense body out of their numerous armies, to consist of the best and most expert troops in their service. This body was to be divided into five separate corps. The two first, each of great strength, were appointed to force their way, one into the territory of Namur, the other into that of Liege; in both of which, the latter especially, a great majority of the inhabitants were friendly to their cause. Sanguine expectations were formed of both these expeditions; the success of which would have thrown the confederate armies into the

the most violent disorder, and by separating them from each other, would have broken their co-operation. During these operations, another no less powerful division was to assail that part of the combined armies that was posted in the neighbourhood of Tournay; in order to prevent it from moving to the succour of the countries invaded. In addition to these divers attacks, the strong towns of Valenciennes, Condé and Quesnoy, that had in the preceding year fallen into the hands of the allies, were each to be blockaded by a force sufficient to cut off all assistance, and to carry on a regular siege at the moment when the other parts of the general plan were under execution. This plan was certainly no less judicious than resolute: but while it was on the point of commencing, an officer of some note in the French service, and who, from his situation, was privy to the design, renounced from some disgust the republican party, and withdrew to the allies; to whom he disclosed the schemes that were forming against them. A discovery of this nature having of course put them on their guard, the whole design was at once frustrated, and wholly abandoned,—to the great concern and indignation of the republican ministry, who had, at a heavy expence and trouble, made such preparations and arrangements for the bold enterprize in agitation, as would in their persuasion have completely ensured its success.

This unexpected disappointment did not, however, occasion the least relaxation in the other measures they had taken, to open the present campaign with as much brilliancy as they had closed the former.

Their two fortunate Generals, Jourdain and Pichegru, were now placed at the head of that prodigious mass of military force which was marching from every province in France to the Netherlands, and through the immensity of which the republican administration proposed, and doubted not to be fully able to crush the much less formidable strength of the coalition. A variety of considerations combined at this time to fill the French with hopes, and their enemies with apprehension. The ancient and deep-rooted rivalry between the houses of Brandenburg and Austria was beginning to re-appear, and to threaten the most fatal consequences to the coalesced powers. This rivalry and its necessary concomitants, disunion and jealousy, were so strongly expressed in the conduct of the courts of Vienna and Berlin, that the Duke of Brunswick, who had acquitted himself with so much honour in the service of the latter, thought it incumbent on him to resign the command of its armies, sooner than remain a spectator of the evils which he foresaw must inevitably flow from the want of unanimity between those two powers. The letter which he addressed on this occasion to the Prussian monarch, clearly shews how deeply he was convinced that, from this cause, the most calamitous effects would ensue to the whole confederacy; and that he entertained no sort of hope that the great designs it had held forth to Europe could ever possibly succeed.

The opinion and the resignation of his command, by a prince of the exalted character of the Duke of Brunswick, was an epocha in the

history of this unfortunate war that will be long remembered. It threw a damp on the minds of all those who were friends to the first promulgated principles of the coalition; which went apparently no farther than to restrain the inordinate ambition of those who conducted the affairs of France, and to keep that restless and long dreaded nation within its ancient limits, agreeably to the wise plan of the Emperor Leopold*. The Duke of Brunswick's resignation took place on the 6th of January 1794.

From the jealous behaviour of these two courts, it was evident that, as they were the two ruling powers of Germany, the subaltern princes and states of the empire would side respectively with Prussia or Austria, accordingly as they might happen to be inclined to the cause of the one or the other, from motives of interest; or might find themselves under the necessity of supporting it, from the danger of refusing their concurrence in its measures. Such being the relative situation of the Emperor and the King of Prussia, the French government was now considered as permanently established, and in no danger of being overturned by external force. The only perils it had henceforward to apprehend, were such as might arise from those internal convulsions, the seeds of which still lay too deep to be eradicated by any power but that of time. In this state of superior strength, it was not surprizing that the Convention and the authorities constituted in France by its decrees, should assume a style of speaking and of acting full of confidence in

its exertions, and of defiance to all the hostile powers surrounding it. They well knew that a disjunction of Prussia from the confederacy against them, would weaken it to such a degree, as to reduce it to a mere phantom of what it had been at its primitive formation. That enemy, which of all others France was principally solicitous to humble, would, by the secession of Prussia from the coalition, lose at once all the benefits it had proposed to reap through that profusion of treasure it had lavished with so unsparing a hand, in order to fix this fickle and wavering power in the common interest of the alliance against France. Could the republican administration succeed in detaching him from Great Britain and Austria, the resentment and suspicion accruing from such a dereliction, and breach of faith, would banish all confidence in him ever after, and obviate all future reunion between these three courts.

As these sentiments were justly founded, they were acted upon with all that solicitude and celerity which characterized the conduct of the republican government. Every circumstance denoting a cessation of real enmity between France and the Prussian monarch, began at this time to be noticed by the political world. So early as the month of February, a friendly communication took place between them. The ostensible motive was a reciprocal exchange of French and Prussian prisoners. On this pretext, commissioners from the king and the republic were appointed to meet at Frankfort on the Maine. The French commissaries made an entry

* See Vol. xxxiii. p. 72.

into that city which had much more the appearance of a solemn embassy than of a meeting of commissioners appointed to settle an exchange of prisoners. They entered Frankfurt in a sort of triumph, riding in one of the most superb state-coaches that had been used on solemn occasions by the late unfortunate Lewis. The carriage had been stripped of every symbol of royalty, and instead of a crown, was now decorated with the cap of liberty and other revolutionary ornaments. The commissaries were attended by a suite perfectly corresponding with the character of ambassadors; and their reception and treatment was grand and splendid to a degree, that evidently shewed they came on a most welcome errand, of far greater importance than that which was pretended.

The public were under no deception as to the real object of this brilliant mission of French commissioners; and their suspicions were amply confirmed by the character of the person employed on the part of the Prussian court. He was no less a person than General Kalkreuth; a man deepest in the confidence of his Sovereign. The conferences between him and the French commissioners were held in the profoundest secrecy. This alone pointed out their importance, and proved at the same time, that they could not relate to a subject requiring so little secrecy as a mere exchange of prisoners: a transaction always carried on in the most open manner, and demanding no manner of concealment.

This method of treating together on what was represented as so unimportant a matter, convinced the world that the objects under the consideration of the negotiating

parties, were of the highest consequence, and proved no less that they were unfavourable to those from whom their purport was so carefully concealed. It was now universally conjectured, on the surest grounds, that Prussia meant to withdraw itself from the confederacy, and that France was willing to purchase a secession so beneficial to it, on the most advantageous terms to the seceder. The court of Berlin acted on this occasion with its characteristical policy. Before it ventured to declare its intentions to abandon the coalition, it formally applied to the diet of the empire for a part of the expences it would incur for the defence of Germany. In this particular, however, the little confidence reposed in that court, operated to a refusal of its demands; and it must have submitted to the loss of its pecuniary claims, had it not employed intrigues of a more effectual nature.

The discerning part of the British nation were by this time convinced, that however fair the Prussian ministry might think it prudent to carry it towards Great Britain, no dependence could be placed on the sincerity of its co-operation with the confederacy. Whatever indeed its original allegations had been for taking up arms against France, and however well-pleased the King was to act the first part in so splendid a confederation, it was well understood throughout Europe, that a partition of the French monarchy was in reality the ultimate view of the Prussian cabinet, and that it promised itself an ample share of the spoil. When it became evident that a subjugation of France was impracticable, the court of Berlin deemed it most consistent with its interest

interest to renounce its enmity to France, and to seek in due time a reconciliation with a power, by prosecuting hostilities against which, it could not derive any advantage.

Still, however, the expences that court had incurred in the two preceding years, was too serious an object to be relinquished without making every effort to procure a compensation. In default of the Germanic diet, Great Britain appeared the only quarter left to which an address for pecuniary aid could be preferred with any expectation of success. The readiness of the British ministry to concur in all designs inimical to the French republic, opened a likely prospect to the Prussian ministry of compassing its aim; provided it could convince the government of this country that without its assistance Prussia was become unable to remain any longer a member of the coalition. In the mean time the Prussian monarch, in order to enforce the necessity of complying with his request, openly declared to the Princes of Germany engaged in the confederacy, that he found himself under the necessity of seceding from it. The motives he alleged for giving up the contest, were peculiarly remarkable. He represented the French nation as unconquerable: its resources were exhaustless; and the spirit and numbers of its people were become irresistible: their enthusiasm overwhelmed all opposition, and the propagation of their principles rendered them indefatigable in framing and executing every enterprise conducive to that purpose. Such an enemy was not to be combated with ordinary resources. He had voluntarily undergone the most

enormous expenditure while he was able to bear it; but his means were now totally exhausted, and he could not, in justice to his subjects, load them with burthens that must wholly oppress and ruin them, without promoting the ends for which the coalition had been formed.

This declaration was accompanied with severe strictures on the proposal made by the court of Vienna to arm the peasantry of the frontiers of Germany towards France, as a measure replete with a variety of evil consequences, and wholly inadequate to the end proposed. The French were in such force, so thoroughly disciplined, and provided with so tremendous an artillery, that no sudden rising of an unskilful and raw peasantry, totally unprepared for such a measure, could be competent to meet so formidable a foe as the French. Nor did he omit to insinuate the obvious danger of trusting arms to a multitude, among whom the principles of the enemy might be spread with so much facility and speed; as shortly to convert them into friends and coadjutors of the French. Previously to this declaration, which was made to the diet in the month of March, the King of Prussia had ordered General Mollendorf, who had succeeded the Duke of Brunswick in the command of his army, to withdraw the Prussian forces from the territory of Mentz, and to station them at Cologne. He formally signified this order to Prince Cobourg, Commander in Chief of the imperial army in the Netherlands.

While the Prussian monarch was occupied in these measures, the Emperor was no less busily employed

in the warmest endeavours to induce the diet to espouse the quarrel against France with the utmost energy. His ministry perceived in that body a tardiness, or rather indeed averseness, to co-operate in the views of the coalition. This disposition proceeded from a conviction of the inefficacy of all the measures proposed against the French, and that it were wiser to leave the settlement of that mighty people to themselves, than to provoke them to enmity against their neighbours by hostilities that only tended to convert them into a nation of soldiers, and to render them regardless of all other objects but those of carrying war and destruction into every country around. These sentiments, which were those of that immense majority of individuals which was desirous of peace were very unacceptable to the Austrian ministry. Undiscouraged by the disasters of the preceding campaign, it still cherished the hope of being able by fresh exertions to repair the losses they had sustained, and, if not to add new territories to their dominions, still to recover those which they had lost. For this end the imperial envoy to the diet had in the month of February delivered a note to that assembly, wherein the necessity was urged of recurring to every means of putting the frontiers of Germany in a condition to repel the expected invasion on the part of France. The propriety of embodying the people, and causing them to rise in a mass, was vehemently insisted on; the finances of Austria were stated to have been lavished in support of the empire: and that it was incumbent on the Germanic princes and states to come forward on this

critical occasion, with every exertion they could make for the honour and preservation of their country.

The envoy expatiated on the zeal displayed by the Emperor in his endeavours to protect the empire from the contagion of French principles, and to repress the spirit of anarchy and irreligion with which it was threatened by the revolutionary rage that had perverted the sentiments of that people, and rendered them the declared enemies of all the established governments in Europe. To stop the progress of an enemy that evidently aimed at their total subversion, extraordinary measures were indispensable, and it behoved the diet warmly to concur in leaving the supplies prescribed by the Germanic constitution in cases of emergency, such as the present. To this purpose it would be requisite to call on the princes and states for a triple proportion of their usual contingent, in virtue of the regulation enacted during the last century, in a case similar to the present, when the Turkish armies had overrun all Hungary; and Vienna, after sustaining a long siege, was on the point of falling into their hands. Notwithstanding the vehemence with which the imperial envoy enlarged on those various topics, he did not make that impression upon the diet which he had proposed. His speech was not altogether so conciliatory as the occasion seemed to require; in some parts of it reproaches of negligence in contributing their proportions of the general supply, were levelled at some of the members, and accompanied with menaces of compulsion in case of refusal. But the circumstance which

which proved most offensive and alarming to the imperial court, was the opposition of the Prussian envoy to the proposal of raising the people of the frontiers in a mass. This was described as a servile, and no less perilous imitation of the French. So violent was the disapprobation he expressed, that he explicitly declared, in his master's name, that if such a measure was adopted, Prussia would immediately renounce the confederacy, and recall its troops from all further service in that cause.

These various differences of sentiment in the princes and states of Germany, greatly debilitated the efforts that were intended to be made against France. It soon appeared that, from this want of unanimity, nothing very decisive would be concluded on, and that, however serious and sincere some of the parties concerned in the war might be, there were as many who felt a repugnance to its prosecution, and who could not therefore, notwithstanding their ostensible concurrence with those whom they were fearful to disoblige, be reputed hearty and cordial in their assent to a measure which they were well known to disapprove.

The intelligence of this change of disposition in the Germanic powers, but especially the defection of Prussia from the alliance of which it had, in concert with Austria, been the primary promoter, roused the indignation of that numerous and powerful party in Great Britain, who had so warmly abetted the views of the confederacy. Fully aware that a good understanding between the courts of Vienna and Berlin was indispensably requisite for any effectual prosecution of

hostilities against France, no methods were left untried to prevent a secession between them. But mere exhortations and reasonings only, were lost upon a ministry so keenly intent on the promotion of its particular views as that of Prussia. The obligations of a treaty framed on its own principles and coinciding with all its purposes, had vanished before the conviction that the ends of that treaty were no longer attainable. The only character it now determined to act in, was that of a subsidiary ally. Nor was it without an enormous expenditure that the British government was able to prevail on the Prussian monarch to act in that capacity. No less than 2,200,000*l.* would be the sum accepted by his ministry. In consideration of this, it engaged to furnish the combined armies with 60,000 men. But this engagement was accompanied by a clause which, in the eye of impartial politicians, rendered it almost nugatory. This large body of troops was to be under the sole command of a Prussian General, appointed by the King of Prussia himself. Thus it exclusively depended upon him to regulate the motions of these troops; which at his sole and uncontrouled option were to be made useful or inactive. This implicit confidence was generally deemed very injudiciously placed by the British public. In truth, after such proof of an understanding between Prussia and France, it was a mark of a childish weakness. The suspicions that had arisen of an amicable disposition to each other in the French and Prussians, were openly expressed in every country in Europe; and people were utterly at a loss to explain

plain the motives that could induce the British government to pay such a compliment to the good faith of a power, with which it had but a doubtful interest to form intimate connections; and which at this particular period was viewed with the extremest jealousy by every member of the confederacy.

This period was not only remarkable for the suspicions entertained of Prussia: its rival Austria itself was involved in that mistrust of political candour and sincerity which now began by the scrutinizing part of the world to be affixed, without distinction or exception, to the conduct of every European court. The source of this duplicity was the deficiency of pecuniary resources, of which neither Prussia nor Austria possessed a sufficiency for the great objects they both had in view. The only quarter from whence they could derive the supplies of which they stood so much in need, was Great Britain. But the interest of this latter not requiring more than the reasonable aid it was willing to afford for the common cause, which was no other than the balance of Europe, it became the study of its allies to render it subservient to their own particular designs; which extended much further than they were willing to avow, and included schemes which, instead of promoting, tended materially to injure that balance. The treaty between Great Britain and Prussia not only occasioned its particular application to the parties directly concerned in this treaty, but gave rise to a suspicion that the court of Vienna itself was privy and consenting to the demands of that of Berlin on the British ministry. Doubtless, it was surmised these intriguing courts, well accustomed

to plans of partitioning policy, had agreed to share in the spoils of an ally whom they both contributed to make the dupe of their rapacity. How far a suggestion of so base and odious a nature should be admitted, no unquestionable authority can decide. What may have given it currency, was a circumstance much insisted on at the time of that remarkable treaty, which was, that it did not take place till it had gone through the hands of Col. Mack, the well-known agent of Austria. Through his direct and personal intervention, this treaty was finally concluded and signed at the Hague on the 19th of April by the ministers of Great Britain and Holland; which latter was to supply 400,000*L.* of the expence.

The facility with which the treasures of Great Britain had for a long succession of years been obtained by its allies, had established a sort of prescription, from which it was not easy to recede. Both Austria and Prussia had, in the days of their respective distress, experienced largely the utility of an alliance with Britain. Europe can witness that each in their turn owed their preservation to the generous as well as wise policy of this country, in heading at immense expence an opposition to the common enemy. It was not surprising therefore that, relying on that jealousy of the designs, and that apprehension of the aggrandizement of France which is natural to a British administration, they should avail themselves of its readiness to favour those measures which appear calculated to secure that equilibrium of power among European states, on which the independence of this part of the world so manifestly depends.

While the above negociations were on foot, the prodigious preparations of France for the ensuing campaign had excited the profoundest alarm among all the members of the confederacy. The army which the French administration intended for the operations in the Netherlands, amounted to more than 200,000 men. As it was there principally the decisive blow would be struck, nothing was omitted to render this army no less formidable by its organization than by its numbers. It consisted of the selectest men, and the most expert and valiant officers. They were abundantly provided with all the implements and appurtenances of war; and no article, either of necessity or of encouragement, was wanting that foresight or ingenuity could supply. The principal aim of the French commanders was, to make themselves masters of the maritime parts of the low countries, in order to cut off that quick and easy communication with England, which gave the allies so many advantages. For this purpose a strong body of troops, towards the close of March, marched into Flanders. Here they began to establish posts and stations preparatory for the designs they were projecting. They also made incursions into other districts; where they met alternately with success and defeat. The losses on both sides were nearly balanced; and as no material object was yet proposed on either, the war consisted of skirmishes of little or no consequence.

The court of Vienna, thoroughly sensible of the importance of the Netherlands, and deeply anxious for the preservation of the richest portion of all her dominions, had made

the utmost exertions for its defence. The Austrian forces in the Flemish provinces amounted, in the commencement of the campaign, to 146,000 men. The excellent order and discipline of the imperial armies had not however preserved them from the diseases that proved so destructive at this period to both the allied and republican armies: the number of sick and wounded, among the Austrians, amounted to upwards of 20,000. This was an alarming diminution of strength, where so much more was needed than the whole complement of their troops; had they been in perfect health. Nor is it probable that the list of sick and disabled in the other corps of the combined army was less proportionably considerable. Previously to the commencement of military operations, a great council of war was held at Aeth, about the end of March, in order to form the preliminary arrangements:—but this meeting proved a source of discord among the commanders of the allies. General Haddick was commissioned, on this occasion, by the court of Vienna, to produce the plan it had for the concerted campaign: but it was so manifestly calculated to throw the whole direction of military affairs into the hands of the Austrians, and to render all the confederate forces subservient to the schemes of the Imperial councils, that the Duke of York explicitly refused to act upon that plan before he had consulted the British court.

The Duke it seems, however it may have been intimated by the Austrian party, did not object to that subordination to General Clairfait which was assigned him by the Austrian plan, from any unseasonable

reasonable pride of rank and dignity. His motives were of a superior kind. He had discovered such a preference in the Austrians to every measure that accorded with their particular views, and such an indifference to the common interest where their own was not peculiarly implicated, that he thought it inconsistent with his honour and duty to trust himself and the troops under his command to the management of an ally who had given too many proofs that he would on all occasions consult his own ends exclusively, to merit that implicit confidence in his good faith and fair dealing which, with so little reason and very unseasonably, he seemed in a manner to insist upon. The altercations that arose on producing this plan were so violent, that, in order to restore harmony among the contending parties, the courts of London and Vienna were necessitated to enter into a reciprocal compromise, by which it was agreed, that provided the Emperor assumed personally the command of the armies, the Duke of York would serve under him. Such was the ostensible termination of a difference which begat in the sequel many unfortunate consequences. Austrian pride never forgave the refusal to acknowledge its superiority; jealousy and distrust increased on both sides; and much evil resulted from the defeat of that mutual cordiality, without which no connexions can prosper.

In order to afford a plausible motive for the Emperor's quitting his imperial residence, the propriety of his personal inauguration as Duke of Brabant was strongly pleaded. His presence at Brussels, the capital of his hereditary dominions in

the Netherlands, would, it was represented, powerfully tend to conciliate his Flemish subjects, and induce them to second his endeavours to expel the French from the low countries. Moved by representations of this nature, the Emperor repaired to Brussels, where he arrived on the 9th of April. He was received with the utmost magnificence, and went through all the forms prescribed by the constitutions of the different provinces, of which he was acknowledged the sovereign. After the solemnities of his inauguration were over, it became necessary that he should fulfil the agreement which was the real motive of his journey to the Netherlands. He set out accordingly from Brussels, and proceeded to assume the command of the allied army, which was reviewed by him on the 16th of April. It was now resolved to signalize his presence by an enterprise of some importance. To this purpose the siege of Landrecy was undertaken. It was invested on the 17th, and the whole army posted in such a manner as most effectually to oppose the endeavours which the French might make to compel the allies to raise the siege. The combined army was divided into eight columns, five of which attacked the French, who were very advantageously posted, with great vigour and success. Two of these columns were commanded by the Duke of York and Sir William Erskine. That part of the French army which they engaged, was strongly entrenched, and surrounded by woods very difficult to be penetrated: the resistance of the French was, according to expectation, very obstinate; and it required

quired the most resolute exertions to dislodge them from their posts. This however was effected after a long and severe contest, wherein the British troops acquitted themselves with remarkable courage and skill. The other divisions of the allied army succeeded in like manner in their separate attacks on the enemy. One of these divisions was headed by the Emperor himself, assisted by Prince Cobourg; and he had the satisfaction of seeing the French opposed to him entirely defeated, and obliged to retreat with considerable loss, though not without having maintained their ground as long as it was tenable, with the greatest bravery. These advantages did not prevent the French from attacking the next day, which was the 18th, the division under the hereditary Prince of Orange. They fell upon him with their usual impetuosity. But the Dutch, of whom that division consisted, stood their ground so firmly, that the French wholly failed in their attempt, and were compelled to retreat. Three days after, they attacked Prince Cobourg's advanced posts; and, after a warm dispute, they forced general Alvinzy, who commanded them, to fall back on the main army. Flushed with this success, they advanced on a large body of Austrians; but these, supported by Sir Robert Lawrie's brigade of British cavalry, resisted them successfully, and forced them to withdraw in great disorder.

Exasperated at these failures, the French assembled a large force at a place near Cambray, known by the name of Cæsar's Camp; intending, as soon as they had received further

reinforcements, to risk a general engagement. But the allies determined to engage them before their strength was increased. The Duke of York's division attacked them vigorously on the 24th; and after a well-disputed day, put them completely to the rout, and obliged them to retire again to Cambray. Undiscouraged by this defeat, the French returned to the charge on the day following, and assailed the Duke with the utmost fury. The combat was long and bloody on both sides; but fortune declared again for the allies. The loss of the French in these two actions, was computed at more than 3000 in killed, besides thirty pieces of cannon. Among the slain was Chapuy, their General, and a great number of officers. The loss of the confederates was also very considerable. The division headed by the Emperor was also assailed at the same time, but with no better success. The French fought with their accustomed resolution; but the dispositions made by Prince Cobourg were so skilful, that the enemy were repulsed with great slaughter. Eager to repair these losses, the French Commander in Chief, Pichegru, collected a large force, together with a formidable train of artillery, and advanced towards Moneron, where General Chairfait was encamped, and waiting for the reinforcements promised him before he entered upon action; but Pichegru gave him no time to be reinforced; on the 29th of April he attacked the Austrians on every side of their position; and after a fight wherein much blood was reciprocally shed, he completely succeeded in carrying it.

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This defeat was immediately followed by the loss of Courtray and Menin. In this latter town was stationed a number of French emigrants: a body of Hanoverians, of which the garrison chiefly consisted, zealously assisted in preserving them from the revenge of their furious countrymen. With uncommon intrepidity, they jointly fought their way through superior numbers of the enemy. The loss of these two places, was in some measure balanced by the taking of Landrecy. This small but well fortified town had, in the space of ten days, experienced the horrors of many a longer siege. The bombardment had been so incessant and destructive, that only three houses remained entire. Of the garrison, which consisted of near 6000 men at the commencement of the siege, little more than 4000 were left; and the inhabitants themselves co-operated so warmly in the defence of the place, that some hundreds were slain.

While these transactions happened in the west of the Netherlands, General Jourdain was no less successfully occupied in the duchy of Luxemburg. Pursuant to the plan of the French administration, he had in the beginning of March entered that province, with the view of intercepting its communication with those of Liege and Namur. He was opposed by General Beaulieu, at the head of a numerous force of Austrians. He had long been esteemed a brave and expert officer, and his conduct on this occasion did not fall short of the reputation he had acquired: but the enemy he was now to encounter, seemed destined, by the uncommon daringness of their en-

terprizes, to break through all the ordinary obstacles that skill and valour could throw in their way. General Jourdain, prompted by that emulation which he felt from the appointment of Pichegru to the command of the northern army, exerted all his talents against his Austrian antagonists. On the 17th of April he made a general attack on the lines occupied by Beaulieu. The courage and obstinacy with which both parties engaged, was such, that the battle lasted two days. It terminated at last in favour of the French, who suffered severely as well as their enemies. In the province of Flanders, the fortune of war seemed as yet more equally balanced. Aware of the active qualities of Pichegru, the commanders of the allied army were perseveringly on the watch to meet his continual motions; and he was no less impatient to justify the choice that had been made of him for the important station to which he had been preferred. After making the previous dispositions for the attempt he was meditating on the 10th of May, the French, to the number of 30,000 of their choicest troops, made a furious attack on the force commanded by the Duke of York, near Tournay: their intention was, by turning his wings, to surround and place him between their collateral fires. They began first by turning his right wing; but it was fortunately flanked by a wood where the Austrian regiment of Kaunitz had been posted to guard against any such attempt. This regiment maintained its post so effectually, that the French were completely disappointed. They next endeavoured to break in upon the centre. Protected by their nu-

merous artillery, they advanced with great resolution to the charge; but were received with equal intrepidity: the fire on both sides was kept up with unyielding courage during a long and furious conflict; but the efforts of the French were fruitless, and they were at length compelled to retire with the loss of near three thousand of their best troops. In the hope of repairing this misfortune, the French planned and executed on the following day an attack on General Clairfait, who was posted in the vicinity of Courtray: they marched from this town in great force, and assailed him at once in several points. But happily he was prepared for them. After a conflict that lasted from twelve at noon to near midnight, he routed and drove them back to Courtray; but here they recovered themselves; and the Austrians were in their turn put to the rout, and pursued so closely, that after crossing two rivers, they with difficulty were able to take such a position as might cover the three important towns of Ghent, Bruges, and Ostend. This was a fatal day for the allies. The French had in this action triumphed over the abilities of General Clairfait, and the bravery of his best Austrian veterans. The consequences of this remarkable defeat were felt during the whole campaign; and it was in fact a prelude to the many disasters that followed.

Animated by this success, the French crossed the Sambre, and obliged General Kaunitz to hasten with his whole force to cover Mons: but they followed him with the utmost rapidity, and brought him to a very serious engagement; wherein, however, they did not

meet with the success they had expected. After repeated charges, made with the most desperate valour, and in which they lost an alarming number of excellent officers and soldiers, they found themselves under the necessity of making a retreat, and even of re-crossing the Sambre, after losing in this destructive engagement little less than five thousand of their best men. This remarkable defeat happened on the 14th of May. After so considerable a check, it was hoped in the imperial councils that the French might in their turn be attacked with a likelihood of compelling them to withdraw from those parts of the Austrian territories of which they had taken possession. To this end arrangements were concerted to recover from them the province of Flanders, which from its situation was of most importance to the confederacy. But what had befallen the French on the opening of the campaign, now happened to the allies: the plan they had formed for the execution of their designs, was betrayed to the French, and thereby completely frustrated.

Of this treacherous communication of their plan to the enemy, the allies unfortunately were not apprized. According to the project agreed upon, they advanced towards the enemy during the night of the 16th, intending to assault his lines before he had received intelligence of their approach. The allied army was formed into five divisions; the Emperor and the Duke of York acted with the strictest concert on this important occasion, and neglected nothing that could procure success to an enterprise on which so much depended.

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The French were posted on the banks of the Margne, opposite to those towards which the allied army was now advancing. Two divisions were to force a passage over this river, while the three others were executing other orders: but the former arrived so late at the place of their destination, and were so fatigued with the length of their march, that the utmost they could do was, to make good their passage over the river; being utterly unable to perform the remainder of what had been proposed. Another division, on its arrival at the French quarters, found them in such good order and strength, that fearing to be cut off by their superior numbers, it immediately retreated to the position it had left. The two divisions under General Otto and the Duke succeeded better, and drove the French from several of their posts. In the last that was carried by the Duke's division, they were strongly intrenched, and made a formidable resistance; but by the judicious conduct of General Abercromby, and the valour of the troops under his command, the entrenchments were forced, and the enemy totally routed.

Thus ended the operations of the 17th of May; a day rendered memorable by the disappointment of the sanguine expectations of the allies to regain their posts in the Flemish districts, and re-establish the superiority they had lost there at the close of the former campaign. The effects of this unexpected disappointment were peculiarly unfortunate for the confederacy; it excited, or to speak perhaps more properly, it revived a spirit of mistrust which had in a great measure been laid, by the con-

sciousness of the necessity of acting together with confidence and unanimity: it extinguished the readiness and alacrity requisite for the formation of enterprizes, by damping that hope of success which depends on the honour and secrecy of those who are privy to them.

The advantages obtained by the allies in this conflict were of so little importance, that the French determined to renew the fight next day. Their Generals felt the necessity of recovering immediately the ground they had lost. They were conscious of the critical situation in which they stood, and that the present occasion would prove very decisive. Actuated by the urgency of the moment, they lost no time in making the most skillful arrangements, and at break of day attacked part of the Duke of York's division which lay nearest to them: another body was speedily ordered to move to its assistance; but their attack was made with such a superiority of numbers, that they bore down all resistance. The Duke's main body being weakened by the absence of the troops he had been obliged to detach for the support of those that were engaged, the enemy seized this opportunity of assailing him. The force destined for this purpose was so numerous, that it completely surrounded and fell upon him on every side. General Otto's division, that lay at some distance, was dislodged by them from its position, and overwhelmed by the irresistible strength that pressed upon it from all quarters, and incessantly supplied by fresh additions, was utterly unable to afford him relief. The Duke's division was, after the most intrepid resistance, obliged every

where to give way: the Duke himself was on the point of falling into the enemy's hands, and compelled to retire with a few attendants to General Otto's division. But it was impossible, with so unequal a force, to stem the immediate torrent of the enemy, and enable the Duke's division to rally. It was with prodigious efforts that the Generals Fox and Abercromby found means to restore sufficient order among the troops, to save them from total destruction, and effect a retreat. But even this was attended with almost insurmountable difficulty; the enemy pressing upon them with incessant fury, and giving them no time to recover from the forlorn situation into which they had been thrown by the unexpected immensity of the numbers with which they had to contend on this unfortunate day.

The defeat of the allies was in every respect complete; not one of their divisions was able to oppose the enemy to any effect: the troops that were headed by the Emperor and Prince Cobourg shared the same fate as the rest. Some hopes had at first been entertained, that General Clairfait might have made a junction with the forces engaged; but a river separated him from them; and the French observed his motions with so much vigilance, that he found it impracticable to participate in this action. The disasters of the allied army on this fatal day, occasioned a variety of complaints and recrimination among different parts that composed it. Want of conduct, and even of sufficient resolution, was imputed to some; they were accused of having made an

untimely retreat, which, by the confusion it caused, threw the other parts into irreparable disorder. The precise loss of the allies in this battle, which was fought near Turcoign, was never satisfactorily ascertained; but it must have been very great. The British troops alone lost a thousand men, besides a considerable train of artillery; and the other divisions of the army, though less deeply engaged, could not escape the fury of an enemy so expert in making the most of every advantage, and deriving so many from its prodigious numbers. This complete defeat of the combined powers filled the French with an exultation that led them to think that no resistance to them could henceforward be practicable. They counted much less on the slaughter of those who had fallen in battle, than on the discouragement among those that survived. They did not seem to reflect on the real and efficient cause of their success; the numerous and exhaustless multitudes they were able to bring into the field, and to replace as fast as they were destroyed.

An enemy thus circumstanced was the more formidable, that he carried on the war at his own doors, and could instantly, as it were, be supplied with whatever force was needed for the operations he might project. His enemy's situation was precisely the reverse. His supplies of men came from far distant countries: they had immense tracks to traverse before they reached the place of their destination. The countries contended for, and in which the war was waged, afforded no recruits, or a very few; the generality of those classes wherein soldiers are found, being
averse

averse to their rulers, and well affected to the French. This was notoriously the case with the people in the Austrian Netherlands. In the Seven United Provinces, the inhabitants have so many beneficial occupations to follow, that their military list is almost entirely composed of foreigners. Such being the relative situation of the French, and of the confederacy formed against them, it was not surprising that the loss of men in battle was so little felt by the former, and so much by the latter; and that, presuming upon so important an advantage, the French should continually be forming fresh enterprises, while the allies found it necessary to adopt no hazardous measures without the utmost caution, from the serious consequences that must necessarily ensue through the difficulty of repairing their losses in killed or taken.

Four days after the defeat of the allied army, the French Generals resolved to improve their advantage by following it up, while the spirits of their enemies were depressed by their ill success. To this end they determined to force their passage over the Scheldt, and lay siege to the city of Tournay, wherein they had many well-wishers. They collected a force of no less than one hundred thousand men, with which they doubted not to compass their designs. The allies in the mean time having reunited their scattered forces, prepared with unabated resolution to meet them again. At five in the morning, on the 22d, the French attacked the advanced posts of the allies, and obliged them to fall back on the main body: but here their progress was checked, and notwithstanding the fire and

impetuosity with which they continued their various attacks till near ten at night, the skilfulness of the dispositions made by General Fox, to whom the command and honour of the day chiefly fell, and the steady valour of the troops under him, their attempts were wholly frustrated; and they were compelled to retire as far back as Lisle. The loss of the French in this severe conflict was estimated at more than 10,000 men. It would have been much greater, had the British cavalry been able to act. But the French, who had on several occasions suffered considerably by its exertions, had taken the precaution to cover both their flanks by thick woods, through which the horse could not penetrate. Had they not been guarded in this manner, it was the opinion of many of the ablest judges, that such a victory obtained by the allies must have decided the whole fate of the campaign in their favour. It was at this period that the Emperor, accompanied by Colonel Mack, forsook the Netherlands, and returned to Vienna. His departure occasioned the more surprise, that the fate of the campaign was far from being decided. The French had just been defeated; and the public were of opinion that he ought to have remained on the scene of action, were it only to inspire his soldiers. All he had done was to issue proclamations; to which no attention was paid.

The signal defeat of the French near Tournay was accompanied by two others; which, though not of equal importance, contributed greatly to raise the spirits of the allies; on which the activity of the enemy, and the continual superiority or strength they displayed on

every occasion, had made a very serious impression. They saw that, with all their efforts, even when successful, they could not damp the resolution of the French; who seemed to forget their defeats the moment they were able to renew the fight, and to behave with as much confidence as if they had been the victors. The first of these defeats was on the 24th of this month, two days after the action wherein they had received so destructive a check. They had taken a strong position at Rouveroy, on that side of the Sambre where General Kaunitz lay encamped. He formed there with a design of surprising them; and did it so effectually, notwithstanding their usual vigilance, that they suffered a total rout; with the loss of near 5,000 men killed and taken, together with fifty pieces of cannon.

Six days before this event, the Austrian forces, commanded by General Beaulieu, had invaded the district of Bouillon, lying within the precincts of France. A large body of French were defeated, and the town of that name taken and plundered, on pretence of the inhabitants having fired on the Austrian troops: 1,500 men, it was reported, were slain or captured on this occasion. But these discomfitures of the French produced no solid advantages to the allies: in the district of Bouillon they soon recovered the superiority. General Jourdain, at the head of 40,000 men, entered the Duchy of Luxembourg; and General Beaulieu was in consequence forced immediately to abandon his position, and retreat towards Namur, in order to protect it from Jourdain's army. Elated by his success, and confiding

in his numerous forces, General Jourdain advanced towards Charleroy, of which he cut off the communication with Brussels. Alarmed at his attempt, the allies collected a powerful body of troops, at the head of which the hereditary Prince of Orange attacked the French, on the 3d of June, so vigorously, that they were obliged to recross the Sambre, after losing about 7,000 men.

It was not expected that, after being forced to raise the siege of Charleroy with so much loss, they would so readily be able to resume it with a greater strength than before. This however they did in a short time. They recrossed the Sambre with 60,000 men, and after destroying some fortified posts that had been constructed to obstruct their approaches to the town, they recommenced the siege with the utmost fervor. The commanders of the allies were duly sensible of the critical situation they were in: Charleroy was, by the present position of the contending armies, absolutely necessary for the preservation of Brussels itself. Should the former fall, the latter could not stand. Of this the French were well aware; and, from that motive, carried on the siege of Charleroy with all possible vigour. Animated by the consciousness of the eminent dangers that threatened them, were the French to reduce this important fortress, Prince Cobourg, in conjunction with the hereditary Prince of Orange and General Beaulieu, determined to hazard a general action with the French, in order to compel them to raise the siege.

For this purpose the major part of the allied army was drawn together,

ther, and formed a strength which was deemed sufficient for the great effort which was now proposed. Two days were employed in making the arrangements requisite for the decisive day that was approaching. The posts occupied by the French were uncommonly strong; and they appeared no less solicitous on their side to leave nothing undone that could contribute to their success. Early in the morning of the 26th of June, the allies moved on in several divisions to the attack of every part of the French army. The opinion entertained by both that this action would be very decisive, induced them to make the most animated exertions. The contest continued until it was very late in the day; and victory long fluctuated between the opposite parties. Fortune at length decided for the French: the allies were in every quarter repulsed with an immense slaughter: the enemy routed and pursued them with such destruction, that they were obliged, without halting, to make a confused retreat to Halle, a place at thirty miles distance from the field of battle.

This day fully proved, what both parties had previously expected, a final decision of the fate of the French and the allied armies in the Netherlands during the present campaign. The present struggle between them had been fully adequate to so great an object. It continued thirteen hours, during which the French line had thrice been broken, and on the point of giving up the contest. But those who headed the republican army, had firmly resolved that no retreat should be permitted. They succeeded

ed by infusing their sentiments throughout their men, who with reiterated endeavours exhorted each other to die or conquer. It was six in the evening before the French were able to make any impression upon the allies. General Jourdain had the good fortune to receive at this moment so powerful a reinforcement of troops, and especially of artillery, as immediately turned the scale in his favour. The allies were now equally fatigued and depressed by their repeated and fruitless efforts against an enemy whose numbers they found it impracticable to diminish. As those who fell were constantly replaced by fresh troops, they were unable to make any longer stand, and precipitately withdrew in all directions. This battle was fought on the plains of Fleurus, already memorable in history for a victory obtained over the powers in alliance against France by the famous Marshal Luxembourg, about a century before. By the present victory the reputation of General Jourdain rose to its highest summit. This was the second time his valour and skill had enabled the republic to triumph over its enemies at a dangerous crisis. Dunkirk in the preceding year, and Fleurus in the present, were now reputed two events decisive of each of these campaigns. What the real loss of the allies amounted to on this fatal day, was never ascertained with any precision. The numbers stated to the Convention were upwards of 10,000: but whatever they might be, the loss of all further hope to maintain their ground in the Netherlands against the French, was a circumstance more depressive than any other.

The chief object in contemplation among the heads of the allies seemed now to be the preservation of what remained of their shattered forces, and, if possible, of the principal places of strength yet in their possession. Allowing the reports of the slain and prisoners in the allied army as laid before the Convention, and published by their direction, to be exaggerated, it appeared that whatever might be the causes, the combined forces had suffered a diminution of more than half of what their numbers amounted to at the commencement of the present campaign. The Austrian, the British, and the Dutch troops then formed a total of little less than 200,000 men; of which not more than 100,000 were now remaining to oppose the undiminished strength of the French, which pressed upon them from all quarters, and was daily receiving additions; so eager was the republican administration to improve the advantages lately gained, and to overwhelm the confederates before they could be reinforced, and thus deprive them at once of all expectations of recovering their losses. Charleroy had surrendered to the French on the very eve of the battle: a circumstance that was not known to the allies till very late in the action, and materially contributed to discourage them, as they relied on the garrison making a vigorous sally during the engagement; and which would have proved a strong diversion in their favour.

While these transactions were taking place in the vicinity of Charleroy, the French were not less active in the province of Flanders. They were commanded

by General Moreau, one of the bravest and most expert officers in the service of the republic. His operations were directed against Ypres, the most important town in that province, and the taking of which would be attended with the most signal advantages, as it would open a road to all the other parts of the country where the allies were stationed, and lay them open to the enterprizes of the French. This strong town was accordingly besieged by General Moreau, at the head of near 60,000 men; part of which force was intended to watch the motions of General Clairfait, were he to attempt to raise the siege. This he very speedily endeavoured to effect. Knowing the consequence of preserving this place, he collected the whole strength he was able, and advanced with a full determination to venture a battle for this purpose. He attacked the French on the 13th of June, and from this day to the 17th left them no respite. This engagement was, in point of duration and uncertainty how it would terminate, the most remarkable during the whole campaign. Success seemed at first to incline towards the Austrians, who repeatedly drove the French from their posts, and for a long time rendered the victory doubtful. But after five days continual fighting, the final issue proved fatal to the allies: they were driven from the field of battle, and withdrew in the greatest disorder towards Ghent, where Clairfait rallied his scattered troops, in order to cover that large city, and preserve a communication with Oudenarde. But the French were now posted between him and this town.

Despairing

Despairing of receiving relief from him, the garrison of Ypres found it necessary to surrender. That strong and important place capitulated on the 17th of June to General Moreau, whose reputation and valour were now greatly raised by these various successes.

This reduction of Ypres, together with the defeat of General Clairfait, produced the same effect in Flanders that had followed the defeat of the allies at Fleurus and the taking of Charleroy. It put an end to all effectual resistance in the Flemish districts, and so dispirited the Austrians, that their opposition to the French became daily weaker, and of less avail. Six thousand of their best troops had fallen into the hands of the French at Ypres, besides the numbers that had been lost in the different engagements between the French and General Clairfait. This brave but unfortunate officer was no longer able to afford protection to the Spanish towns lying between Ghent and the sea:—the most considerable of which was Bruges, one of the largest and most opulent places in Flanders. The garrison consisted of an inconsiderable body of Hanoverians, under General Walmoden, who, finding his situation unteppable against the numbers that were approaching, retreated towards the army under the command of General Clairfait. This evacuation induced the magistracy of Bruges to submit to the French army, and to acknowledge the sovereignty of the republic. This submission was formally made on the 24th of June, to the great satisfaction of the majority of the inhabitants, who had long har-

boured discontents against the Austrian government, and were heartily desirous of seeing it subverted.

The defeat of General Clairfait had proved no less detrimental to the British forces commanded by the Duke of York, which had been posted at Tournay, as the properest centre of communication between the army of General Clairfait in Flanders, and that under Prince Cobourg, in the more eastern districts. But the disasters that befel the latter wholly disconcerted the plan of operations intended; and the Duke was now obliged to move towards Oudenarde, in order to act for its relief against the French, who had invested it with a large force, and held another in readiness to support the siege, expecting that the allies would not remain inactive spectators of its capture. By this movement the city of Tournay was consigned to the protection of a garrison totally inadequate to its defence against the formidable strength that would indubitably be employed in its reduction. The moment the French perceived that the force which had been stationed there had quitted it, and was removed to a sufficient distance, to enable them to cut off its communication with the city, they marched towards Tournay; which, if properly garrisoned, would certainly have been able to have made a resolute defence. It had been strongly fortified by the most skilful engineers, after it had been taken by the French during the reign of Lewis XIV.; and had cost many lives to the allies, who retook it in the war for the Spanish succession. But such at present was its defenceless situation, and so little

little able was any part of the combined army to afford it protection, that on July 3, after the Duke's division had evacuated it, the considerable body he left behind, consisting of Hanoverians and Hessians, thought it prudent to withdraw from a place which it was clear they could no longer preserve. Notwithstanding the friendly footing on which the British troops and the inhabitants had lived together, so rooted was their aversion to the Austrian government, and so partial were they to the principles and views of the French republican

party, that their troops were welcomed into the town with the loudest acclamations, and treated with every mark of attachment. Upon the very day that Tournay surrendered, the Duke of York found it necessary to abandon his position near Oudenarde, and to retire towards Antwerp; to which city he sent his sick and wounded. Oudenarde fell immediately into the hands of the French; who made a considerable booty here as well as at Tournay, consisting principally of military stores and provisions.

CHAP. II.

Arrival of Lord Moira at Ostend. Evacuation of this Town, and March of Lord Moira to the Assistance of the Duke of York. Ostend surrendered to the French. Exultation of the French at their Successes. Diligence and Activity of the French Armies in improving them. Prince Cobourg defeated, and Mons taken. Brussels surrenders to the French, who establish their Form of Government in that and other Places. Reunion at Brussels of the French Armies of the North and of the Sambre and Meuse. Immense Captures by the French of Provisions, Ammunition, Military Stores, and Magazines of every Kind. Ghent taken by the French. Engagements between the French and the Troops under Lord Moira. He effects a Junction with the Duke of York. Their joint Operations against the French. They quit Mechlin. Movements of the Duke of York. Prince Cobourg proposes to attack the French, but the Dutch decline his Proposal. Reasons assigned for their Conduct. The Hereditary Prince of Orange endeavours to oppose the French, but is compelled to retire. General Clairfait defeated near Louvain, with great Slaughter. That City taken by the French. Project of the Allies to form a Line of Defence between Antwerp and Namur. Frustrated by the expeditious Movements of the French. Capture of both these Cities. The Austrians routed at Liege by General Jourdain, to whom that Place surrenders. The French invade Dutch Flanders. The Dutch evacuate Lisle. Cadzand surrenders to General Moreau. Siege of Sluys by the French. Its brave Defence. Surrenders to the French. Successes of the French upon the Rhine. Kaiserslautern and other Places taken. The French surprised and defeated by Marshal Mollendorf at Kaiserslautern. They gain a complete Victory over the Prussians at Edikhoffen. Another over both the Prussians and Austrians at Tripsdrat. Consequences of these Victories. The City of Treves surrenders to the French. The French retake Landrecy, Quesnoy, Valenciennes, and Condé, with immense Quantities of Stores and Artillery. Their inexorable Treatment of the Emigrants. Their Capture of the Towns in Flanders. Brave Defence of Nieuport. Situation of the Dutch at this Period. Endeavours of the Stadtholder to excite them to unite in Defence of their Country. Discontents and Complaints of the People of Holland. Preparations of the Dutch to oppose the French. Breda and Bois-le-Duc put in a Posture

Posture of Defence. The Duke of York stations his Forces near these Towns for their Protection. Preparations of the French to attack the Duke of York. Their immense Superiority of Numbers obliges him to retire to Grave, after sustaining their Attack of his Posts on the River Dommel with great Resolution. Consternation in Holland at the Approach of the French. Proclamations of the Stadtholder and the States, exhorting the People to Vigour and Unanimity in their Defence. Address of Prince Cobourg to the Inhabitants of Germany bordering upon France. Address of the Emperor to the same. Sentiments of the Princes and States of the Empire at this Time. Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor, who engages to prosecute the War on receiving a large Subsidy for that Purpose. Prince Cobourg resigns the Command of the Confederate Armies. Reasons alleged for his Dismission.

DURING these rapid successes of the French, a considerable body of British troops arrived at Ostend, commanded by the Earl of Moira. Intelligence being received of the perilous situation of the Duke of York, a consultation was held, Whether it were not more expedient to proceed with all diligence to the relief of the Duke than to attempt the precarious defence of a town that was encompassed by so many places possessed by the French? A siege of it would infallibly take place; and were the garrison to make ever so brave a defence, this would not prevent the enemy from pressing upon the Duke with so numerous a force, that without immediate aid he could not maintain his ground. These motives determined the Earl to march his troops with all speed to the assistance of the Duke, while the garrison of Ostend should immediately embark in the fleet that brought them from England. This evacuation was effected with great dexterity by Colonel Vyse; who used so much expedition, that in the space of a day, the 1st of July, before night, all the troops of which the garrison consisted, with their baggage and stores of every kind, were safe on board. The French troops, apprized of what was transacting at

Ostend, made so rapid a march as to reach it towards the evening; a strong detachment entered the town as the last of the British troops were embarking: they directly began to fire on the shipping; which answered them with great spirit.

It was at the end of June before the arrival of the Earl Moira at Ostend; and the fleet on which the British troops and garrison embarked, sailed for Flushing, in Zealand, on the 3d of July. Only one vessel was lost on this occasion. It ran aground in the entrance of the harbour, and was burnt, to prevent its capture by the enemy.

Notwithstanding the benefits resulting to the people of Ostend while it remained in the possession of the English, so infatuated were the inhabitants, as to imagine that much greater advantages would accrue to them from the French. They received them of course with every demonstration of joy; and the French, in return, organized them without delay, according to their own plan. The force brought from England, under the command of the Earl of Moira, amounted to ten thousand effective men. Previously to the approach of the French to intercept his communication with the allied forces,

Lord

Lord Moira had secured his junction with the army under General Clairfait.

In the mean time, the exultation of the French at their uninterrupted successes, was boundless; the Convention resounded with the applauses of their Generals; and they spoke of their enemies in the most unqualified terms of indignation and contempt. On the 4th of July, the celebrated Deputy Barrere made a speech on occasion of the victories gained by the French, wherein he enumerated them with great pomp, or rather affectedness of expression. By the statements he laid before the Convention, it was asserted that in the different engagements with the combined armies, these had lost thirty thousand men slain in battle, besides those who had been made prisoners. It may be added, that had he disclosed the numbers of killed on the side of the French, they would not probably have been found less considerable. While the people in France consoled themselves in their victories, for the many calamities that had befallen them in the progress of this sanguinary revolution, the French armies, elated at their superiority to all the resistance the allies fruitlessly endeavoured to make, and presuming on the consternation which was daily encreasing among the allies and their adherents, were becoming more active and enterprising than ever. Instead of relaxing in their career, they now exerted additional diligence in improving their good fortune. This indeed was their leading characteristic at this period; and to this they were indebted for the surprising prosperity that now at-

tended them. Actuated by this fundamental maxim of all permanent success, they pressed upon their enemies in every direction; they pursued them without intermission, and afforded them no opportunity of making any effectual stand. After the battle of Fleurus, Prince Cobourg having reassembled his broken army at Halle, exerted his abilities to recover it from the dejection as well as the disorder into which it had been thrown, by so terrible a defeat. He advanced towards Mons, hoping to protect it from the enemy, by taking an advantageous position in its neighbourhood; but he was on the 2d of July attacked with relentless fury by the French, who forced him to abandon his post, and to evacuate Mons, into which they made their entrance at one of the gates, while he was hurrying with all speed out at another.

Prince Cobourg, determined to stand another trial to save Brussels from the enemy, threw up strong entrenchments in the forest of Soignies, that lay between the French and that capital of the Austrian Netherlands. This being the last effort he proposed, or would indeed be able to make for its preservation, he resolved on the most resolute defence. The Austrians under his command fought accordingly, on this occasion, with great courage and obstinacy; and particularly made a vast slaughter of the French, by means of a formidable artillery; but the latter terminated at length this bloody conflict, by rushing on the Austrians with their bayonets. Notwithstanding the skill displayed by Prince Cobourg, his troops were broken and their batteries seized; seven thousand of

them

them were slain, or left wounded on the field of battle; and the residue of his army, with the greatest difficulty, made its way to Brussels, through which it effected a retreat during the night. Whether he was afraid lest the inhabitants of this metropolis should have gathered such intelligence from his retreating men, as might have proved detrimental to the allies, or whether he was unwilling that the people of Brussels, whom he knew to be disaffected, should enjoy the satisfaction of witnessing the flight of the Austrians, their former masters, from a place where they had so long exercised unbounded, however hated authority, Prince Cobourg laid the strictest injunction on the inhabitants to remain within their houses, without opening their doors or windows, or presuming to look through them, during the whole time of his army's retreat. Instant death was threatened to the disobedient. Such was the last act of sovereignty exercised in this capital seat of the Austrian domination and grandeur in the low countries, by the last Austrian commander that had it in his power to enforce obedience.

The inhabitants of this great city beheld this revolution of affairs with uncommon pleasure. Every victory which the French gained, had long been to them a motive of rejoicing, as far as they durst avow their sentiments. On the rapid decline of the Austrian interest, they could no longer contain their satisfaction; and the mingled effusions of their anger and sarcasms at the flying Austrians, proclaimed loudly to the world how ill, or at least how injudiciously, that family had ruled their subjects in

the Netherlands, how little it knew how to conciliate their affection or esteem, and how unwise the attempt to maintain its power by haughtiness and coercion. Brussels fell into the hands of the French on the 9th of July. This event was reciprocally viewed, by both the allies and the French, as a final conclusion of all farther hope on the part of the Emperor of ever repossessing it. Republican principles were so deeply rooted among the Flemings, and so few of them retained the least regard for the government of that family, which was now looked upon as expelled, that they proceeded, immediately on the junction of their metropolis to the arms of France, to borrow from the conquering people, to whom they now professed an unbounded attachment, all the forms and regulations which these new masters thought proper to recommend for the good order of the state. Thus the whole French system was adopted, and in a short time established in every part of the Netherlands, from which the Austrians were forced to withdraw. It was peculiarly fortunate for the French armies, that the period of their conquests in the Netherlands was approaching to that of the harvest. The ground promised abundant crops of every kind, and, notwithstanding the irregularities attending the motions of armies, the natural fertility of the soil, and the laborious industry of the inhabitants, had prepared ample supplies.

The different armies of the Meuse, the Sambre, and the North, on the surrender of Brussels, united their whole strength at this point, from which they proposed, as from the centre of their future operations,

to direct their movements against the allies. The plunder of every denomination which became the prize of the French, was equally of immense value, and of the highest utility. The rapidity with which the allied troops everywhere retired before them, left no leisure for the preservation of their magazines and stores; and had the French made themselves masters of these alone, they would have found enough to supply the demands of a whole campaign. The gaiety with which the reception of the French was everywhere accompanied, was a remarkable contrast to the sullen silence with which the Flemings had beheld the arrival of the Austrian troops, and viewed their departure. They seemed so pleased with their new guests, that they met them at their gates with wine and other refreshments, and hailed them as their deliverers from oppression. We have seen in the course of this work, that several years before the French revolution, the imperial government had become hateful to the higher orders among the Flemish nation, on account of the premature and impolitic reforms of the Emperor Joseph II. As the higher ranks were discontented from a recollection of the past conduct of the house of Austria, so the lower classes were moved and agitated by the example of France;—and such in general is the brief history of insurrections, revolts, and revolutions. The poor, forming the mass of the people, are always persuaded that they have something good to hope for from a change of government. The rich and great, dissatisfied with their ancient rulers, and afraid of their return to power, suffer things

to take their course. The reign of popular orators commences: outrages follow: the greater part of the nation are overawed by fear: an apprehension of popular violence, on the one hand, and a mistrust of royal amnesties on the other: a general listlessness and despondency prevails: an indifference about all political matters, which by the silent lapse of time strengthens the hand of usurpation. The revolutions of France and of the low countries, may be clearly traced to the same origin: the faults of their respective governments, but principally their corrupt administration of the finances, squeezing payment for soldiers, and pensions for courtiers, out of the blood and vitals of the people; premature and rash innovations; and a multiplicity and fluctuation of councils and laws, which perplex the minds of plain men, and leave them in some matters at a loss to know what is the precise conduct that they ought to hold with respect to government. Confidence in government once lost, is not to be restored by manifestos and proclamations. It becomes impossible to arrange the people around a centre of common opinions: scarcely are there two men who entertain exactly the same sentiments concerning public affairs. An appeal is made, not to public law and the rights of nations, but to arms; and all things are determined by physical force, instead of moral persuasion.

In the mean time the loss of Oudenarde had been followed by that of Ghent, which the French entered on the 5th of July. This large city enabled them to station in it a numerous force, and to keep the allies in its neighbourhood in continual

continual alarm. The Duke of York, in consequence of these losses, found it advisable to relinquish the position he had taken, and to draw nearer to Antwerp; where it had been determined to form a junction with the troops lately brought from England by Lord Moira.

This prudent and indefatigable commander had, after a most tedious and difficult march, and encountering continual obstacles, reached the town of Alost. Such had been the sufferings of his troops, that, from their leaving Ostend to their present position, they were without baggage and tents, and exposed all the way to the inclemency of weather. Presuming on the fatigue they must have endured, and their consequent weariness, the French attacked them on the 6th of July, immediately after their arrival, and forced an entrance into the town; but they were obliged to abandon it, after a sharp dispute, wherein they sustained a much more considerable loss than the British troops. Two days after this action, Lord Moira effected a junction with the Duke of York. They posted their united forces along the canal between Brussels and Antwerp; but here they were not permitted to remain. The French attacked them in great strength on the 12th of this month; and they were compelled to take shelter in Mechlin, closely pressed by the French; from hence however the latter were driven in their turn by a reinforcement brought forward by Lord Moira, and obliged to fall back on their posts with considerable loss. This check did not prevent the French from renewing their attack three days after. They as-

sailed the posts in the front of Mechlin, towards the canal, in its vicinity. The allies, occupied a dyke, from whence they were not dislodged without an obstinate defence. But the numbers and impetuosity of the French improved this first success so completely, that no longer resistance was made, and the allies retired into Mechlin; which appearing in their present situation untenable, was immediately evacuated. The French were now in such force near Antwerp, and this last defeat had so enabled them to command its environs, and straiten it on every side, that with such inferior strength as the Duke's, it was not possible long to retain possession of it. The Duke resolved however to remain there, in order to cover the operations of the Dutch, and afford them an opportunity of putting their strong holds in the neighbourhood in a condition to make a vigorous defence.

But whatever determination the Dutch might have come to, to defend their fortresses with resolution, they were totally averse to meet the French in the field. Prince Cobourg had resolved, notwithstanding his late disasters, once more to have hazarded a battle with the enemy: but the Dutch troops refused to second him. It was alleged by those who excused the Dutch, that their numbers were so reduced, that had the French been victorious, which was much to be apprehended, the loss of the Dutch, if killed or taken, might be so great as to disable them from effectually protecting their frontiers; which in that case would infallibly fall into the hands of the French. This defection of the Dutch entirely frustrated the intentions

tions of Prince Cobourg. His plan was, it seems, to collect whatever could be found in good order and condition of the allied troops, and with these to venture one courageous trial of fortune with the enemy. His superiority in number was visibly the principal cause of his success: and if, through skilful dispositions, this superiority could be guarded against, the chances of war would remain equal, and hopes might be justly entertained of giving battle to the enemy with success. But this, in the opinion of many, was a very perilous scheme. The numbers of the French were continually brought forwards with so much arrangement, expedition*, and dexterity, that it was impossible to avoid them. Their tactics were so ordered as to maintain a constant succession of attacks, which could not by any art be prevented: thus, whatever numbers they might bring into the field, they were all brought into action, and rendered of certain utility.

We have been repeatedly assured by different persons, well informed on the subject of French affairs at the present period, that the military plans and stratagems of the French armies in the present campaign, were not so often formed by the Generals, though unquestionably men of great genius and ability, as by the joint (if not superior) talents of a military committee established at Paris, for the

peculiar purpose of directing all the grand operations of war on the immense frontiers of France in a systematic, and by the aid of the telegraph, an almost instantaneous manner. This committee was treated by Robespierre in his own way. The members who composed it were placed, and in fact confined in the Thuilleries; whether all kinds of military charts were brought to them from the war office, and all the military memoirs and observations of the most celebrated commanders that had been produced by France. In the antichamber of these gentlemen there was a number of aid-des-camps, and a multitude of couriers, for the purpose of transmitting such orders as could not be communicated by the telegraph. A hint was given them, that in case their measures should not prove successful, the guillotine was at their service. In this manner the cunning tyrant contrived to avail himself of the abilities and experience of many officers warmly attached to the royal family and the old government. It was of officers of this class indeed that the committee principally consisted; and, what is also very remarkable, among the members of this committee, there were several gentlemen who had offered their services to the army under the French princes in 1792, but were rejected on the score of their not belonging to the roy-

* Among other ingenious inventions in the art of war, a contrivance had by this time been fallen on for sending reinforcements of men from one place to another on sudden and great emergencies, with great celerity and without fatigue. It seemed, like other inventions of great importance, very simple and obvious too after it was invented. It was no other than to take the assistance of coaches and other wheel carriages. In this, as in other military improvements, the French have been imitated by their neighbours.

alists of the first and purest class, or in other words, those who had emigrated about the same time with the princes, or joined them in a few months thereafter, at Coblenz.

Another striking circumstance, of which we are well assured, and which will not appear anywise incredible to any one who attends to the natural movements of the mind and heart, was, that even the greatest royalists in that committee, acknowledged afterwards, that, on receiving intelligence that their plans had been crowned with success, they could not refrain from indulging the same kind of satisfaction that is enjoyed by a good player at chess, when he gains a piece by a train of judicious combinations.

Although what we have here related may seem to carry in it somewhat of the marvellous and romantic, we have not the least difficulty in giving it entire credit, as it appears to our satisfaction to be sufficiently attested; and as it is in

perfect unison with the character of the dictator, and the new, strange, and often whimsical situations in which all things were placed by the successive revolutions *. It was long a very common error to ascribe all successes in war to the character of the chief commander. But it is no longer permitted to any others than poets to introduce heroes, taging like Diomedes and Achilles in the midst of hostile armies, and ruling the storm of war by personal exertions, and the magic power of example. Great names have no doubt an influence on the minds of the soldiers. A King at the head of his troops increases their ardour in his cause; a victorious General inspires his troops with confidence; but the strength of modern armies consists much more in the organization of the états-majors, the artillery, and the skill and dexterity of the engineers, than in any superiority of talents in the General. Now all the advantages just mentioned, it must be owned, were on the side

* From the military committee of Robespierre, we are led, by a natural association of ideas, to observe that a very considerable portion of the army were friends to monarchy at their hearts; though it was impossible for great bodies of men all at once to pass from their usual habits, modes, and we may add means of life. But they did not conceive that it was any violation of duty, or unbecoming their character as military men, to remain in the army and fight the battles of France against all hostile invaders. Sentiments of regard and attachment to the royal family in the army broke forth, on some occasions, without any disguise. The following anecdote of Pichegru is told by a gentleman, worthy of credit, who could not be under any mistake as to the fact which he relates, and of which he was a witness:—General Pichegru towards the end of 1794, being in Holland, said openly at table before many strangers as well as Frenchmen, that he wished for a restoration of monarchy, and that he wished that he could contribute to so desirable an event. It cannot be determined whether Pichegru said this from an unguarded temper, or a design to sound the public mind, and particularly that of the army, on this interesting subject. But his words did not seem to excite any surprise at the time when they were spoken. It was probably in consequence of some hints from Pichegru himself, that overtures for the restoration of the French monarchy were afterwards made to him by the French princes.

of the French. But it is farther to be acknowledged; that the government of France was more calculated to produce a great number of good Generals, than those of the Emperor and the other allies. The former opened a career of glory to all who were born with a military genius, however humble their station; as distinguished merit was asure, as it was the only road to preferment; whereas, in Germany, all the great offices, military as well as civil, were in the possession of the nobility. The courts were under a degree of necessity of bestowing marks of confidence and favour on the great families; and a General must have committed many faults and errors, before any minister could come to the bold determination of dismissing him from his office. Democratical governments are equally inimical to the tranquillity and happiness of their own people, and the peace and security of their neighbours: they breed turbulent and pestiferous citizens; but alert soldiers, able officers, and formidable armies.

However the intrepid spirit of Prince Cobourg might view the circumstances of war with coolness and fortitude, the allied armies could not fail, after such a series of defeats, to feel some degree of dejection at the repeated disappointments of their most expert officers. It now appeared impracticable to act on a parity with the French. The advantages on the side of these were so numerous and evident; and there was so little probability of diminishing them, that valour and experience did not appear a sufficient counterpoise for the prodigious weight that constantly attended them. The com-

manders of the allied forces were now chiefly occupied in preserving from utter destruction what now remained of the strength with which they had fought so many battles. The hereditary Prince of Orange, who had frequently signalized his courage and capacity during the present as well as the foregoing campaign, continued with undespending activity to oppose the enemy to the last. After the unfortunate battle of Fleurus, he placed himself in so advantageous a position, that the French could not compel him to abandon it; until their approach towards Brussels, in immense force, rendered all farther resistance on his part equally vain and hopeless. Retiring towards Louvain, he made a resolute stand on the banks of its canal; but here he was again overpowered by numbers, and fell back on the river Dyle; which he was also obliged to cross, to prevent them from surrounding him.

The French, after taking possession of Brussels, determined to use all expedition in subduing the remaining parts in the district of Austrian Brabant, and in the contiguous provinces. For this end they advanced upon Louvain, the second city of note in this district. The division appointed for the reduction of this city, was under the command of General Kleber, an officer of great merit in the French service: General Clairfait commanded a large force of Austrians in the proximity of the city, and with a courage and conduct worthy of a better fortune, again hazarded an engagement with the French. The battle was fought with great fury on both sides, as usual: but the fortune of the French again prevailed.

vailed. General Clairfait was entirely defeated, losing no less than six thousand men, together with all prospect of maintaining his ground in that quarter. The result of this defeat, which happened the 15th of July, was the loss of Louvain. It was not however yielded to the French with a desperate conflict, wherein much blood was shed. A stand was made by the Austrians in the neighbourhood; but they were put to the rout by the French General Lefevre, and pursued with great slaughter as far as Tirlemont.

The rapidity with which the French carried all before them, totally confounded the plans that had been formed to resist them. After it had been found that a defensive system was the only one to be adopted after so many disasters, a line of defence had been projected, wherein the principal places esteemed tenable were included. The two extremities of the line proposed were Antwerp and Namur; and it was expected that by filling these places with numerous garrisons long and tedious sieges might be sustained, and, not improbably, weary out the patience of the enemy, and prove in the issue materially obstructive to his general designs. But the unexpected celerity with which the French pursued whatever they undertook, totally frustrated this plan: whether from not being previously put in a state of preparation for a regular defence, or that a want of proper vigour was imputable to the allies, the French experienced little or no difficulty in compelling the almost immediate surrender of every town they approached. Doubtless, the disaffection of the

inhabitants to the cause of the combined powers, operated against them; but as they were disarmed, a resolute garrison might have kept them in awe, as well as maintained their post against the enemy.

Both Antwerp and Namur were famous in history for the sieges they had sustained. Namur particularly had been successively besieged by Louis XIV. of France, and William III. of England, in person, and neither of them reduced it until after an obstinate resistance: but both these cities were now abandoned in a manner which, by the severe criticisers of the conduct of the allies, throughout this campaign, was stigmatized as denoting feebleness of conduct, and dejection of spirit.

The troops at Namur were withdrawn by General Beaulieu: they were so apprehensive of being made prisoners, that they took advantage of a dark night; and before the morning of the 17th of July, had evacuated both the city and the citadel; where, on taking possession, the French found a numerous artillery.

The importance and extent of Antwerp had rendered it a general dépôt of all the principal stores and magazines of the allied army. The quantity of these was immense. Eager to seize a prey of such value and consequence, the French hastened to Antwerp the moment they were able, and summoned it to surrender; which it did accordingly on the morning of the 23d of July. The enemy was disappointed however in his expectations of booty; all that could be serviceable to him having been previously destroyed. It was computed at the time, that the value thus lost amounted to

more than five hundred thousand pounds sterling.

The capture of so large and important a place as Louvain, had in a manner decided the fate of all the eastern parts of Brabant. The French had no position of much strength to encounter between that place and the city of Liege, which was the next object of consequence they had in view. Here however they were secure of the warmest attachment of the inhabitants of all that country, who waited impatiently for the retreat of the allied forces to manifest their disposition. General Jourdain was now advancing towards this city with the victorious armies of the Sambre and Meuse; the way was clear before him, and the success of the other armies had removed every obstacle that might have been apprehended on the side of Brabant. He posted his troops on the ground before Liege on the 27th day of July, and attacked the Austrians in front of the city with so much fury, that after standing a heavy cannonade, finding the numbers of the enemy increasing, and preparing to surround them on every side, they withdrew in good order to the high grounds adjacent to Liege; from whence they did great execution on the French with their artillery. The reception of the conquerors by the inhabitants of Liege, was conformable to that which they had invariably experienced in every place in the low countries that fell into their hands. The people of this city and its dependencies, were however peculiarly distinguished by the zeal they had long shewn for a connexion with France of the strictest kind. The French go-

vernment was conscious of this; and it was with particular satisfaction they recovered possession of a territory so considerable in wealth and extent, and of which the natives were so firmly devoted to France.

While this part of the Netherlands was thus returning to the obedience of the republic, its arms were equally triumphant in others. The Dutch, justly apprehending that the French, after seizing all the Austrian Netherlands, would not fail to attempt their own country, endeavoured to put their frontiers in a situation of resistance. But the fate of their allies followed them. Lillo, a fort formerly constructed to guard the inland entrance into the Scheldt, was found untenable against the strength which the French were expected to bring against it, and was therefore evacuated.

On the coast of Flanders, opposite Zealand, the Dutch were masters of some towns and fortresses reputed of great strength. One of these lay in the Isle of Cadsand, renowned for having been the scene of many actions between the Spaniards and Dutch, when these first threw off the Spanish yoke. But General Moreau now took it without difficulty, on the 29th of July, together with a number of cannon and of warlike stores. The town of Sluys, that lay contiguous to that island, had not been taken however till after a gallant defence. The governor and his garrison were, it seems, determined to resist to the last, that torrent of success to which others had in their opinion yielded too readily. The answer returned by the governor to the French General who summoned him

him to surrender, was much applauded at the time for the spirit and laconism of the style: "The honour," said he, "of defending a place like Sluys, that of commanding a brave garrison, and the confidence they repose in me, are my only answer." The name of this brave officer was Vanderduyn; and he made his words good by the valour with which he acquitted himself: that siege was carried on with great vigour from an early period in July till near the close of the next month, when the place was surrendered on honourable terms, in consideration, said the French, of the soldier-like behaviour of the garrison. The reduction of Sluys took place on the 25th day of August; and it was considered as an epocha of note in this campaign, not only for the length and spirit of its defence, but for having led the way in first making an able resistance.

In the mean time, during this victorious career of the French on the side of the Netherlands, their armies on the Moselle and the Rhine were not less fortunate. After the brilliant successes obtained in the close of the succeeding year by Generals Hoche and Pichegru, the raising of the siege of Landau, and the retreat of the Duke of Brunswick into winter quarters, the French might boast of the prosperous termination of a campaign which had now placed them in a situation promissory of the highest successes in that which was to follow.

The campaign of 1794, in this quarter, began by the reduction of the fort of Kaiserslautern, of Spires, and of other places in those parts, wherein large quantities of military

stores were found. Notwithstanding the rigour of the season, these exploits were achieved with an expedition and alacrity that alarmed the enemy, who had not expected such early exertions from the French. Intimidated by so unlooked-for an incursion, the Austrians in garrison at Fort Vauban deserted it, after applying matches to the mines, in order to blow them up before the arrival of the French, who were fast approaching, and whom they entertained no hope of being able to resist. As soon, however, as the rigour of winter abated, the Austrians took the field, impatient to recover that ascendancy which the French had gained over them. Many bloody skirmishes happened between both parties, the animosity of whom was reciprocal; and who lost numbers of men in this destructive but undecisive mode of warring. It was not till towards the end of May that any action of consequence took place. Marshal Mollendorf, who had succeeded to the Duke of Brunswick in the command of the Prussian army, after this prince's resignation, was desirous to justify his master's choice, and to signalize his own appointment. The French were entrenched at Kaiserslautern, and did not imagine that their enemies would venture to attack them in such a situation. But the Marquis, suspecting this persuasion, resolved to improve the opportunity which it afforded him of attacking them by surprise. He accomplished his intentions so successfully, as to force their entrenchments, and put them to a total rout. Their loss in slain and taken amounted to more than 3000, besides a number of cannon. This defeat happened on the 24th

of May. This unexpected event rendered the French more circum-spect, as they had been routed through mere accident, for which they had not been prepared; it neither diminished their courage nor their confidence. They waited with additional vigilance for an opportunity of revenge. But the conduct of Marshal Mollendorf long prevented them from obtaining any material advantage; and the whole month of June elapsed without any transaction of great consequence. In the beginning of July the French army received considerable reinforcements; and its commanders became sensible that it behoved them to strike some blow before the enemy himself was reinforced. For this end they advanced with their whole force on the Prussians, who received them with their accustomed bravery. The conflict was long and obstinate; and victory seemed doubtful during a great part of that day and of the next, during both which the battle lasted. The French were seven times repulsed, but their eighth charge was successful. The Prussians occupied strong entrenchments on a very high mountain, which the enemy, by means of superior numbers, assaulted on every side with such unceasing fury, that they were carried at last with great slaughter. Several Prussian officers of note fell upon this occasion; and the loss of the French was very considerable. So averse were the Prussians to relinquish the contest, that it was eleven at night before they retreated. This battle took place on the 12th and 13th of July, near a place called Edikhoffen. Not satisfied with this success, the French resolved to bring matters

to a final decision, and to render the present action conclusive of the whole campaign, by continuing it till the enemy was entirely overthrown and disabled from keeping the field. To this end, early in the morning of the 14th, they made another attack on a large body of the enemy entrenched on the high grounds at Tripstadt. After a furious combat, very destructive to both parties, the French carried the works, with a number of prisoners and pieces of cannon. Elated by this additional success, and full of the plan they had so nearly completed, they extended their attack on the following day, which was the 15th, along the whole chain of posts occupied by the Imperial and Prussian troops. The artillery of both parties did dreadful execution among them on this day, as from their reciprocal position, they were remarkably exposed to its effects. This destructive cannonade lasted above six hours without ceasing; and it was difficult to tell which guns were best served, those of the French or of their enemies. It was dark before the action was concluded, when the allies, protected by the night, made a hasty retreat. The Imperialists crossed the Rhine; and the Prussians retired further down the left banks of that river, towards Mentz. The French may be said to have entirely carried the point they had proposed, by the violent exertions they made during these four decisive days. Sixty miles of territory in length, from France to the Rhine, were immediately abandoned by the allies, in consequence of this defeat; and no appearance remained of their being able, during the residue of this campaign, to recover any part

part of that ground. Another effect produced by this victory was, the determination to proceed against Treves. The army of the Moselle was now no longer necessary to support that of the Rhine, but at full liberty to pursue its operations along the former river. It began its march accordingly on the 5th of August: after forcing some posts on its way, it arrived on the 8th in sight of the city of Treves. A body of government-troops stationed there, evacuated it immediately; and the French made their entrance in the afternoon of that very day, to the seeming satisfaction of the inhabitants. The magistrates met them at the gates in their formalities, and assured them of a sincere welcome. The French, on their parts, issued the strictest orders against all irregularities; and organized the government of this city and its dependencies on the republican plan. The French had now nothing more to accomplish for the most prosperous termination to the campaign, than to recover those towns that had been taken by the allies within the precincts of France. In order to accelerate their surrender, they threatened the garrison to put them to the sword if they made a defence; which they must be conscious was totally needless in their present circumstances, from the absolute impossibility of their being relieved. These threats had been decreed by the sanguinary administration of Robespierre; as had also the order to give no quarter to the British troops, nor to the Hanoverians*. But the French officers and soldiers had too much honour and huma-

nity to become the instruments of such cruelty. As there was no likelihood of receiving any kind of assistance from the allied armies, the various garrisons that had been left in these towns, did not think it prudent to exasperate the French by a resistance, which could only produce effusion of blood, without serving the cause for which it might be shed.

Landrecy was the first of these towns summoned to surrender. The garrison consisted of 2,000 men, well provided with the means of defence, had it been practicable. They did not however yield to the first summons, and waited until the French General had opened ground, which he did in the night, so near to the town, that not apprehending him to have approached so close, the fire from the garrison was directed to a much more distant point, and of course was lost. A capitulation was proposed by the Governor, but refused by the besiegers; to whom the place was at last surrendered at discretion, about the end of July. The next of those French towns that returned to the obedience of France, was Quesnoy. It was, like the former, in excellent condition, and duly prepared for a siege: but the same motives that operated the reddition of the one, effected the surrender of the other. The garrison amounted to 3,000 men, who delivered up the place to General Scherer, the same officer who had reduced the preceding; and who refused all terms but those of absolute discretion; to which the garrison submitted on the 15th of August.

Less harsh terms were granted

* The barbarity of this order was nobly contrasted by the sentiments of humanity and moderation which dictated, on this occasion, a proclamation by the Duke of York. See State Papers in this volume, page 168.

to the allied troops that garrisoned Valenciennes. They were allowed a capitulation; by which, though prisoners, they were permitted to retire to their respective armies, on condition of not serving against France till regularly exchanged. The reduction of this important town took place on the 26th of August. So thoroughly was the Imperial ministry convinced that Valenciennes would remain to the House of Austria, that they determined, as soon as it was taken in the preceding year, to lay out considerable sums on its improvement. The period of its surrendering to the allies, promised them far other events than those which they so shortly after experienced. The French had been so unfortunate, that few persons imagined that they would ever recover themselves. Hence, the vast projects formed by the coalesced powers seemed to them in a state of certainty to be realized; and nothing could exceed the astonishment with which they were struck on the great disappointments that followed.—The stores, provisions, and magazines of every species, deposited in Valenciennes, were immense, to say nothing of the military chest, containing more than 6,000,000 of German florins in specie. All these amounted to a heavy and serious loss to the Emperor, at a time when his revenues were insufficient for his expences, and the treasures he had accumulated entirely exhausted by this unpropitious war. A circumstance that rendered the surrender of this town to France an occasion of deep sorrow, was, that at least 1000 French emigrants fell into the hands of their enraged countrymen. It could not be doubted

that the fate of these unhappy men would be similar to that of their companions, who had been taken in arms against the republic, and whom the inexorable decrees of the Convention never failed to sacrifice to their vengeance when and wherever it could find them. Numbers had been regularly executed on being found in the other places taken by the French; and it was become a matter of surprise that, knowing the fate that awaited them when taken, they were so ready to serve in garrisons.

The strong town of Condé closed the list of those which reverted to their ancient masters: though of small extent, its strength had induced the allies to make it a principal depository of all their warlike appurtenances and preparations. The place contained whatever of that nature it could hold. The quantities of all those articles were prodigious, and alone a capture of inestimable value. It surrendered on the 30th of August; and the garrison, amounting to nearly 2,000 men, remained prisoners of war. The fortifications of every one of those towns had been considerably augmented and improved, and they were altogether in a better condition for defence than before they were taken by the allies.

Previously to the recapture of these places, various fortified towns, especially in Flanders, had been reduced by the French. That which claimed principal notice was the little but strong town of Newport. After the fall of so many other towns in its vicinity, the French did not imagine it would have attempted a defence: but the garrison consisted of men who, like those at Sluys, were determined to hold

hold out as long as they were able. The French assembled no less than 30,000 men for the attack of this place; which was defended with a valour and obstinacy that ought and might, in the opinion of good judges, have been exerted on several occasions of the same nature. The artillery brought against it was truly formidable; and it sustained a bombardment that lasted from the beginning to the end of the siege. The garrison surrendered on the 15th of July.

The war was now become, on the side of the allies, purely defensive. Those who coolly viewed their situation, and were competent to judge of it, were of opinion, that, by concentrating their force and acting on a plan unanimously supported by every part of the confederacy, they might put a stop to the progress of the French, and secure the Seven United Provinces, and the adjacent countries between the Meuse and the Rhine. Those provinces, it was alleged, had, in the infancy of the Dutch republic, withstood, with a proportion of strength comparatively much less than they had at present, the veteran and victorious armies of Spain, commanded by the best Generals of the age. To this, however, it was replied, that the Dutch were at that time an united people, animated with the double enthusiasm of liberty and of religion, either of which principles was singly capable of inspiring men with the most desperate and invincible resolution: but it was notorious, that at present the Dutch were actuated by neither. The attention of the natives of those provinces was very little occupied with the active service of their country: their armies were made up of any foreigners

that would take their pay; and, what was worse, they themselves were divided into two irreconcilable parties, one of which was determined to side openly with the French the moment it could do it with safety, and even to bring them into the country rather than submit to the present government.

As this representation of the state of Holland at this time could not be denied, no reliance could be placed on its co-operation against a power to which a majority of the people was friendly. Nor did the allies, even while the Dutch troops were with them, put any confidence in the Dutch themselves: their troops being chiefly Germans, looked upon the United States rather as paymasters than as sovereigns; and felt of course none of that patriotic warmth which only accompanies men who are really fighting for their country.

The Stadtholder used frequent endeavours to excite his countrymen to unite cordially against the French. He had repeatedly, during the campaign, issued addresses and exhortations to the inhabitants of the Seven United Provinces, on the necessity of exerting their strength in common with their allies, in order to arrest the career of so dangerous a power as France. When the tide of success had brought the French to the frontiers of Holland, he renewed his applications with additional fervour:—he reminded the Dutch of the fortitude with which their ancestors had resisted the potent monarchs with whom they had at several times contended. The liberty and independence of Holland, he observed, had been established and maintained in the midst of every difficulty. Spain first, and France next, had vain

stroly

strove to subdue their valiant forefathers. The condition of the republic was much more critical in 1672, than at the present period. Not only some towns, but three entire provinces, had fallen into the hands of the French; and the affairs of the republic were desperate in the extreme: but though surrounded by victorious enemies on every side, and reasonably past all hope, still their brave ancestors would not despond: they resolutely called forth all the resources of the state,—they employed them with equal prudence and courage,—they undauntedly faced the enemy,—they nobly hazarded their lives and all that was dear to them in repelling him from their country,—and they happily succeeded, to the astonishment and admiration of all Europe. Examples like these claimed the imitation of their posterity: and he hoped the Dutch at the present day would shew themselves worthy descendants of their valiant progenitors.

Such was the general purport of the various addresses, issued occasionally to the people of the Seven United Provinces: but the effect produced by them fell far short of the wishes of those who framed them. They were powerfully counteracted by the spirit of discontent that had been increasing among the Dutch ever since the coercive interference of Prussia in the affairs of the republic. The Dutch complained, that ever since their Stadtholders had intermarried with royal houses, they had disdained the station assigned them in the commonwealth, and had never ceased to use their keenest endeavours to subvert it, in order to render themselves absolute masters

of the state. Herein they were constantly abetted by those sovereigns with whom they had formed family connections. When disgusted with this conduct of the Stadtholder, they had, on the demise of King William of England, declined the renewal of this office, in order to be free from the dangers attending it. The intrigues of a collateral branch of the House of Orange, seconded by the many interested adherents who sought its exaltation for their private ends, procured it a matrimonial alliance with the royal family of Great Britain, hoping, through so powerful a medium, to restore it to the dignity of the Stadtholder. This being accomplished, much against the sense of a majority of the principal people in the different provinces, a number of regulations passed, whereby the Stadtholderate was converted almost into a monarchy. It was made hereditary both in the males and females, and additional prerogatives annexed to the office. Thus the United Provinces became in reality a kingdom, and, like some other kingdoms in Europe, were made subservient to the views and politics of the reigning family. The interest of the Stadtholderian family, it was everywhere alleged in the provinces, was alone consulted by those monarchs with whom it was thro' marriages connected. The interest of the state, it was said, required peace with all nations; but that of the Stadtholder being only secondary, and subordinate to the courts to whom he was related, he would of course give them the preference, and act according to their directions. Thus the late Stadtholder was governed by the councils of

Great

Great Britain, and the present by those of the British and Prussian ministries united: he had in fact been no other than the lieutenant of both these powers in Holland, ever since they had by force of arms replaced him in the office from which he had been expelled by the voice of the public and the authority of that state, for his criminal adherence to these powers against the welfare of his country.

These heavy charges had for many years been laid to the House of Orange: they had subsisted ever since the war between France and Great Britain, for the protection of its American colonies: they had continued during that unhappy war, which terminated in their separation from their parent state; and they were now become louder and more rancorous than ever, since the Seven United States had, against the consent of the nation, as they boldly asserted, been forced into the war with France in pure subserviency to the coalition against that power.

The enemies of the House of Orange were indefatigable in disseminating these sentiments among the people: and they visibly gained ground among all classes. They were aided by the emissaries of France, who were no less industrious in representing the advantages that would accrue by casting off the yoke of Great Britain and Prussia, and uniting with a republican government, such as their own might have been, after they had divested it of the pernicious as well as expensive formality of a Stadtholder.

While the opposition in Holland, seconded by the secret agents of the French, were labouring to ex-

tend this inimical spirit to the present measures, the ruling powers of the state exerted all their efforts to avert the evils which they dreaded from the French nation. This appeared an event so replete with mischief, both public and private, that they omitted nothing that remained in their power to prevent it. They still had the disposal of a numerous and well-disciplined military, which, in conjunction with the British troops, including those in British pay, composed a formidable strength. As defence alone was the system proposed, the strong towns on the frontiers of the United Provinces were intended to be sufficiently garrisoned for a vigorous resistance. The precedents of Sluys and Nieuport had proved, that with bravery and fidelity in the men, and ability in the commanders, the French, notwithstanding their numbers, might meet with such obstacles as would impede their progress, and give time for a further accession of strength to oppose their designs upon Holland.

Breda and Bois-le-Duc were the two places against which it was probable they would direct their first attacks; their strength was perfectly competent to a long and obstinate defence, and would depend on the courage and determination of their garrisons to protract the sieges, as far as courage and skill could effect such a purpose. History afforded numerous instances of conquerors being stopped in their career, by the unyielding valour of those who had resolved never to submit but in the last extremity. Were such resolutions to be taken when it became men to take them, many more obstructions would be thrown in the way of
victorious

victorious armies that they might be able continually to overcome. It was more by terror and multitudes that the French had obtained such constant successes, than by superiority either of valour, discipline, or experience. It was therefore in fortresses that their enemies should henceforth confide for protection against their numbers. Here the immensity of those numbers could not overwhelm opponents secured by fortifications against their violence and impetuosity; and here cool and deliberate intrepidity would have due scope and leisure for its utmost exertions.

These were the grounds whereon some very judicious and veteran officers built their hopes of being able to withstand the impetuous torrent of successes that accompanied the French armies. Relying on the precedents of former wars, they flattered themselves, that, through a parity of exertions, they would be equally fortunate with the many who, like themselves, had experienced a multiplicity of disasters, but had at length, by a manly perseverance, risen superior to them all. It was time for the allies to act seriously according to these maxims. The French were now complete masters of Austrian Brabant, and preparing to invade that part which belonged to the Dutch. The Hereditary Prince of Orange was diligently occupied in putting Breda in a proper posture to receive them: the British forces in the mean time covered his operations; and to this end were at his request encamped in the neighbourhood of that town. Their numbers had, thro' various causes, suffered considerable diminutions since the opening of the campaign:

yet, after quitting Antwerp and its vicinity, and marching to the frontiers of the United Provinces, they were computed to be near 26,000 strong. They remained in the position they had taken near Breda till about the end of August, when the Hereditary Prince of Orange had completed his preparations in that town. They proceeded next to Bois le Duc, for its protection, while measures were taken for putting it in a like state of defence. On their march to this place, they were interrupted by a body of French, who retired after a slight engagement; their intent being chiefly to reconnoitre the motions of the British troops. After Bois le Duc had been supplied with the necessaries for a vigorous defence, it was garrisoned with near 7,000 men. Much expectation was formed from the natural strength of this place: it was surrounded not only with good fortifications, but with large bodies of water, which, in case of a siege, could be rendered a great annoyance to the besiegers.

Besides the reduction of Breda and Bois le Duc, the French had formed the design of attacking the army commanded by the Duke of York. As it consisted chiefly of native British, they were the more desirous to obtain a victory over a people who had gained so many battles over them, and whom they considered as the most formidable of all their enemies. They were determined however to leave as little as possible to fortune, and to provide against the chances of war by such a superiority as might ensure success. The strength which they collected for this purpose amounted to 80,000 men. At the head of this immense body Genera
Pichegru

Pichegru marched, in the beginning of September, towards the Duke of York's army, that lay encamped between Bois le Duc and Breda, in order to be at hand for the assistance of both. After employing some days in securing advantageous ground, and making necessary arrangements for an action which the French General was particularly solicitous to render successful, on the 14th of September he attacked the several posts which the Duke had taken along the river Dommel, and after a well-contested dispute, so overpowered them, that they were unable to make head against the multiplied assaults with which they had to contend. Finding his position untenable against so superior a force, the Duke retreated on the 16th across the Meuse, and took a station near the town of Grave. The loss of the British troops, and those in their pay, in the action of the Dommel, was very considerable; and that of the French may be reputed not less. But the latter carried a point of material consequence, by clearing that extent of country lying between Bois le Duc and Breda, and obtaining thereby an opening across the Meuse into the Seven United Provinces, by the pass of Dommel; which, though a place of strength, they were confident of being able to force, as they had done so many others of equal, if not superior strength.

The proximity of so daring and numerous an enemy as the French, and so able a commander as Pichegru, occasioned a deep alarm throughout the Seven Provinces. Those who were inimical to the French, began seriously to apprehend that, aided by their numerous

partisans in Holland, who now began to shew themselves less upon their guard than ever, they would not fail to succeed in the design which it was known they had framed, of revolutionizing the Seven Provinces on the same plan as those in the Austrian Netherlands. The approach of the French armies had already occasioned additional proclamations on the part of the Stadtholder and the states general, exhorting the Dutch in the warmest terms to make their utmost exertions for the common defence of their country. Various schemes were proposed for levying money, raising men, and for providing every requisite to encounter an enemy so much to be dreaded as the French were at present, from the determination they seemed to have taken to sacrifice every other consideration to that of bringing utter destruction upon every government and people that did not coincide with their views and yield to their demands. But though these admonitions were well accepted by those who dreaded an entrance into Holland by the French, their adversaries constituted a majority that testified no disposition to act suitably to their requests. These proclamations were dated so early as the 6th of August, when the allies were retreating everywhere, and the rapid successes of the French had filled all who wished well to the state with the strongest apprehensions.

It was about the same time that Prince Cobourg himself, alarmed at the progress of an enemy who had triumphed over so many German armies, addressed himself to his countrymen, in order to agitate

mate them to new efforts against the French. He described them as a people infuriated with false ideas of freedom, sporting with the lives and happiness of men, tearing asunder the bands of civil society, and lavishing their blood at the command of their tyrannical rulers. He reproached the people of the Netherlands for refusing to listen to the call of their Sovereign, and neglecting, from a criminal infatuation in favour of the enemy, to co-operate against him in defence of their country. He required of the Germans inhabiting the left banks of the Rhine, an immediate contribution of provisions and of money for the supply of his army; he insisted at the same time on their taking up arms and defending their country against the French; and after pathetically requesting them to comply with his demands, he concluded by threatening, that if, like the people of the Austrian Netherlands, they should now suffer themselves to be misled by secret seducers, he should be obliged to pass the Rhine and to leave them a prey to their enemies; but would at the same time deprive them, without scruple, of what the enemy, were it left in their hands, would convert to his own subsistence.

The Emperor now probably despaired of being able to retrieve his affairs in the low countries; and was no less fearful that the enemy had in contemplation to invade his German possessions. Actuated by these considerations, he warned the Circles of the Upper Rhine to prepare the most vigorous resistance to the French, if they were inclined to preserve their country from subjugation. He informed them

that his treasures were exhausted, and that he was unable, singly, to defray the charges of a war against France. He complained with great bitterness that, notwithstanding the most ample subsidies he had received from the British court, the King of Prussia's efforts had not been adequate to his promises. He stated that unless the empire united vigorously with him for its common support, he should be under the necessity of recalling his troops to the defence of his own territories: the enemy now being so active and successful, and their numbers so immense, that he must concentrate all his force, in order to oppose them with any hope of success. He concluded by reminding them, that they ought, in a state of so much exigency, to have recourse to those resources which yet remained unemployed in the hands of ecclesiastics as well as seculars. This memorial was dated the 17th of August.

The wisest heads in the Austrian councils began seriously to apprehend that a pacification was necessary; and that, as little hope remained of turning the tide of war, the sooner it was terminated the more advantageous terms might be procured; whereas, should it continue and the enemy still retain his superiority, the most calamitous issue might justly be expected.

These reflections appeared to be so well-founded, that they alarmed all those who were not resolved to prosecute the war at all events. Most of the German princes were desirous of terminating it. The grandeur and interest of the House of Austria were rather invidious objects to them; and the depression

of that potent family had always proved acceptable. The war, for these reasons, was not popular in Germany. Even in the Emperor's hereditary dominions, peace was the general wish of the inhabitants.

In these critical circumstances, the British ministry deeming it necessary that the confederacy should not be dissolved, took the resolution of employing the most efficacious means for its continuation. The Earl of Spencer and the Honourable Thomas Grenville were deputed to Vienna, in quality of Ambassadors Extraordinary, in order to induce the Emperor to remain firm in his engagements. They arrived in August, and succeeded in their negotiation. The Emperor stipulated to act with the confederacy; and a large subsidy was granted to enable him to fulfil his stipulations. A

vigorous prosecution of the war being thus determined upon, as ample reinforcements were sent to the Imperial armies as could be procured. They were no longer under the command of Prince Cobourg: he resigned his post in the close of August, and in a valedictory address to his army, which was expressed in very manly and patriotic terms, he assigned infirmity and want of health as the cause. This however was controverted by some persons, who pretended to be fully competent to judge of the real motives of his dismissal. He had, it was insinuated, placed improper confidence in some persons who betrayed him; and, being himself of a candid unsuspecting nature, lay too open to the artifices of designing men, to avoid their cunning and duplicity.

CHAP. III.

General Jourdain defeats, near Liege, the Austrians, commanded by General Latour. Use made of an Air Balloon upon this Occasion. The Austrians again defeated with great Slaughter, and compelled to abandon Aix la Chapelle, which is taken by the French. The French meet with a Check from General Clairfait. They attack the Chain of Posts he had formed from Juliers to Ruremond, and after a Battle that lasted four Days, completely defeat him, with great Slaughter, and force him to retreat to Cologne and cross the Rhine. Juliers, Cologne, and other Places, surrender to the French, who endeavour to conciliate the Inhabitants by their Regularity and Moderation. Reduction of Coblentz by General Moreau. Worms and other Towns on the Rhine submit to the French. General Pichegru appointed to the Command of the Army destined for the Invasion of Holland. The British and Dutch Forces obliged, on account of his vast Superiority of Strength, to remain entirely on the Defensive. The French reduce the Fort of Creveœur, and shortly after Bois le Duc. The Duke of York retires to Nimeguen. The French attack the British Posts with Success, and force them to retreat across the Waal. They advance to Nimeguen, and obtain further Advantages. They besiege that Town, and meet with a resolute Defence. It falls into their Hands through an unfortunate Accident. Surprise excited by its sudden Capture. Considerations on the Disposition and Conduct of the Pro-

ple of the United Provinces at this Crisis, and on the Political Ideas current in the Netherlands and Germany. Advantage taken of them by the French. Maestricht besieged and taken by them, after a long and obstinate Defence. Pichegru prepares to invade Holland. Inferiority of the Forces opposed to him. Distracted Situation of the Dutch.

THE operations of war continued in the mean time with unabated vigour on the part of the French. After their expulsion from Liege by General Jourdain, the Austrians retired to a strong situation at some distance, where they threw up some entrenchments, intending to wait for expected reinforcements, with which they did not despair to make a further stand, and possibly to commence an effectual check to the progress of the enemy. But General Jourdain, strengthened with additional supplies of men, resolved to attack the Austrians before they could receive any increase of numbers. To this purpose he divided his army into four bodies, with which he proposed to make as many separate attacks. The Austrians, 18,000 strong, were posted on the other side of a river which he had to cross, exposed to the fire both of their artillery and musketry: the banks were steep and rocky, and the entrenchments were fortified with uncommon care. General Latour, an officer of great experience, commanded the Austrians, who seemed to look on their situation as secure. On the 18th of September the several divisions of the French army attacked the Austrian encampment with their usual impetuosity. They made little use of their fire-arms; and as soon as they had crossed the river, they rushed forward with their bayonets; and their numbers enabling them

to relieve each other, and to make incessant attacks, the bravery and discipline of the Austrians proved unavailing. They fought however with such remarkable obstinacy, that they did not begin to retreat till the French had penetrated into every part of their camp. Their loss of course was very considerable, exceeding two thousand slain on the spot, besides prisoners. The action lasted till night; and they did not retire without making a great slaughter of the French, whose success was in a great measure owing to the discovery of the position and movements of the Austrians made by two expert engineers, whom the French sent up in an air-balloon. From this machine they perceived with facility whatever was transacting in the Austrian camp, and gave continual notice of all they saw by notes, which they threw down among their own people. By these means the number of troops in the camp, the quantity of their artillery, their motions and probable designs, were instantly made known to the French, who directed their attacks accordingly against the weakest parts, assaulting these with the largest bodies, and with the greater confidence, from their presumption and the probability of success.

The balloon, soon after its invention, was considered in Britain, as well as some other countries, merely as a curiosity; as it could neither carry a burthen, nor be conducted

conducted according to the will of the aeronaut. It is true, that in trade and commerce, it does not yet appear that it can be turned to any useful purpose: but still, among an ingenious people, and in a great nation, this was no reason for neglecting the study and improvement of balloons. There is not a doubt, but various purposes to which balloons may be applied, will be found out in the progress of time. Things are discovered first; their uses afterwards. The properties of the pendulum were discovered long before it entered into the minds of those who knew them, to conceive that they would become the means of measuring time with so much accuracy. The art of ship-building was brought to its present state by very slow degrees. The properties of the magnet were long known before they were applied to navigation. Many of the purposes to which gun-powder has been applied, were long unknown. Nor is there almost any discovery of which the same thing may not be said. The French, who are the original inventors of the balloon, have all along treated it with more liberality than we have done. Here it was abandoned to shew-men. In France, its principles were investigated by men of science; who, instead of collecting shillings, collected improvement,—and declared that it would one day be of utility. It was not on the single occasion above-mentioned that the French armies made use of the balloon, but on several occasions before, and on more since; at the battle of Fleurus, during the siege of Mentz; and more recently during that of the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein, on

the right bank of the Rhine, opposite to Coblenz. In all these cases it was found of utility; but particularly in this last, where the great height of the fortress and its inaccessible position, not unlike that of Gibraltar, rendered it impossible by any other means to reconnoitre the internal parts.

The French armies are attended with a new species of reconnoitring engineers, whose business it is to do every thing relative to the preparation and use of balloons. The person who mounts in the balloon, is furnished with paper and pencils of different colours. The marks to be made, are agreed on beforehand; and the paper, after being marked, is attached to a small rod, like an arrow, one end of which is loaded and pointed, so that it strikes in the ground, and stands upright. A small piece of coloured silk is attached to the other end, like a flag, to render it more visible. This is dropped from the balloon, on ground that is in possession of the army to which the balloon belongs; and thus the information obtained, is fully communicated.

But a contrivance for communicating intelligence of still greater importance, and which was also first made use of by the French, as we have above observed, was the Telegraph; of which it would be altogether inexcusable in this place not to give some account; for next to the power of prophecy is that of knowing what passes at a great distance in a short space of time.

Whether the language of sound or of signs existed first, it is certain that they are both of them natural languages. The human voice cannot, even with the aid of a speaking-

ing-trumpet, be heard at any considerable distance: and as the firing of cannon, or other loud noise, is not susceptible of those variations in which the perfection of the human voice consists, signals by means of sound are never employed with advantage, except when the intelligence to be communicated is simple, consisting only of one or two facts, and where those facts and communications of signals and persons are previously agreed on. The telegraph is an instrument, or machine, intended to communicate intelligence with accuracy and dispatch; and is different from any other contrivance for making signals, in this, That it expresses not words, but letters; so that any information that may be given by writing, may be given by the telegraph.

The telegraph, in so far as it represents words, is a new,—but in so far it makes use of signs, is a very ancient invention. There is reason to believe that there was some sort of telegraph in use among the ancient Greeks. The burning of Troy was certainly known in Greece very soon after it had happened, and before any persons had ventured from thence. A Greek play begins with a scene in which a watchman descends from the top of a tower in Greece, and gives the information that Troy was taken: “I have been looking out these ten years,” says he, “to see when that would happen, and this night it is done.” The Chinese, when

they send couriers on the great canal, or when any great man travels there, make signals by fire, from one day’s journey to another, to have every thing prepared: and most of the barbarous nations used formerly to give the alarm of war by fires lighted on the hills or rising grounds*.

The telegraph of the present day is, however, infinitely more perfect than any mode of conveying intelligence quickly from one place to another, known to the ancients; and differs as much from former signals, as the articulate sound of the human voice differs from the noises made by brutes. Many of the brute animals, such as dogs, horses, and others, can by noises and signs shew what they want, or give the alarm when frightened or hurt. But farther than such a general annunciation of a few very common wants, feelings, and events, their language does not extend; at least as far as men can understand them.

Men who are deprived of the use of speech make signs, and have different motions or positions for the different letters; and, when properly taught, can communicate every thing they know with accuracy. And this fact it is that has probably led to the French invention of the telegraph, by Monsieur Chappe: for this machine has an upright body, and two arms, like a man, each of which arms has a joint or elbow; so that, were two men to make signs to each other, at a

* The ancient Gauls were an exception from this. Instead of lighting fires, they gave great and continued cries; which were repeated by all who heard them, until the whole country was alarmed. This was but a slow and imperfect mode of communication, when compared even with signals by fire. The ancient Gauls or Celts seem to have been as much behind other nations in improvement, as the modern French are in many instances before them.

distance too great for seeing the ordinary motions as made by dumb people, they would move their arms as Monsieur Chappe moves his telegraph; which is an upright post, having affixed to it a transverse beam, with two moveable arms; the beam itself being also moveable. The different forms of which the machine is capable of assuming, are sixteen; and these are the telegraphic alphabet. A number of telegraphs are erected at convenient distances; and the signals are repeated from one station to another. Early in 1794 this machine was tried in France, and found to answer. And as the combined armies were at that time in the Low Countries, a chain of telegraphs was established from Paris to Lisle, by which short sentences were conveyed in a few minutes with great accuracy.

The invention of the telegraph was announced by Barrere in the Convention, on the 17th of August. The news, he said, of the recapture of Quesnoy, by means of this machine, had reached Paris in an hour after the troops of the republic had entered that place. The recapture of Condé was, on the 30th of that month, reported to the Convention with equal speed in the same manner.

The telegraph is as yet but a very imperfect as well as expensive machine. But, like other inventions, it will admit of many improvements; and, among others, probably a reduction of the expense. And it is certainly to be considered as one of those inventions which opens a door to wonderful changes. It has hitherto been employed solely in the service of a bloody war: but it

will also be found subservient to a number of purposes in times of peace. With the aid of one intermediate station across the Channel, news might then be conveyed from London to Paris in an hour; and in three or four hours, an answer received to a few simple questions. This easy approximation of minds would wear away jealousies and antipathies, and promote reciprocally a good understanding. It is a pleasing task to record the progress of discovery and invention: but it is melancholy to reflect, that the most splendid inventions of our day have been hitherto employed, not for the benefit of mankind, but their destruction.

In an age characterized by the application of discoveries in science to practical purposes, during a war in which most part of the European nations have been engaged; and in which the French, the most active, and certainly one of the most ingenious of all nations, has played so distinguished a part, warlike inventions were to be looked for, and are still further to be expected.

This nation, partly by new methods of combining and employing physical force, and partly by operating on the human passions, have withstood, and in many instances defeated the tactics of the most experienced Generals. Before the invention of gunpowder, it was reckoned a capital point in all engagements, to call forth the courage and exertion of every individual soldier. For these two last centuries, the great art of war consisted in reducing the soldiers to mechanical obedience. The French, in their practice, returned in no inconsiderable degree to the principles and conduct of ancient warfare,

fare, in which trumpeters, drummers, and bag-pipers, were officers of great consequence; as in the time of Virgil, who gives great praise to him who was skilful:

*Ære ciere viros, Martemque accendere
cantu*.*

The power of the Marseillois hymn, and other songs, are well known. It is a fact worthy of notice, that while the French soldiers were sometimes without shoes, the army was always furnished with the best bands of music in Europe.

It has been predicted by men of speculative genius and philanthropic dispositions, that the progress of science, by increasing the enormous expence of military preparations by the instrumentality of powers less and less subject to resistance, and by the reduction of the whole business and consequences of war more and more to calculation,—would be favourable to the tranquillity and happiness of the human race. But the present war, more sanguinary and atrocious than any recorded in history, reminds us how much the passions of men prevail over their judgment, and forbids us to indulge in such pleasing anticipations.

A powerful corps of Austrians were posted in the midway between Liege and Maestricht: they were under General Clairfait, who, on receiving intelligence of General Latour's defeat, ordered a strong detachment to his assistance; by means of which he made good his retreat, and checked the pursuit of the French. But on the morning of the 19th they renewed the attack with such fury, that he was

forced to continue his retreat till he had reached the body of men stationed under General Dalton, as a further support in case of need. The pressure of the French, however, upon the Austrians, was so violent in every quarter, that they were totally unable to maintain their ground. They were broken and thrown into much confusion at Aix la Chapelle, where they had endeavoured to make a stand, and fled with the utmost precipitation and disorder towards Cologne; where, with much difficulty, the scattered troops were rallied on the third day after this unfortunate engagement.

General Clairfait, in consequence of this defeat, was compelled to withdraw as far as Juliers, where he was rejoined by the fugitives. The French in the mean time took possession of Aix la Chapelle, from whence they proceeded on the 26th in quest of Clairfait, a division of whose army they attacked in great force. But they met with so resolute a defence, that after several violent charges they were unable to make an impression on the Austrians, and obliged to retire with loss.

The situation of General Clairfait was so advantageous, that while he kept possession of it, the French would be materially impeded in their operations. He had stationed a chain of posts, reaching from his camp as far as Ruremond; and they were all in excellent order. The French, notwithstanding the frequent defeats of this brave officer, knew his value, and that none of them were due to want

* To rouse the warriors, by the sound of the trumpet, and inflame their courage by a song.

of vigilance or of skill. They neglected of course no means of facing him successfully ; and were as circumspect in their operations with him, as with any General in the confederacy.

They acted on the present occasion with a precaution that shewed how much they stood in awe of his valour and experience. They waited at Aix la Chapelle till they had collected such a strength as would justify the bold attempt they had projected, which was, by a decisive action, to render themselves masters of all those parts that lay between the Meuse and the Lower Rhine, and to force the Austrians to retire wholly on the other side of that river.

General Clairfait clearly comprehended their design, and made suitable arrangements to oppose it. The importance of the event was equal to both parties ; and they were alike determined to dispute the point with the utmost obstinacy. The French commenced their attack on the 29th of September. It extended along the whole chain of Austrian posts. They first made good their passage over a river in their front, and assailed the Austrian lines with the utmost fury. The resistance they met with was of the bravest and most skilful kind ; and they soon found that, in case of success, they must purchase it at the dearest rate. The conflict lasted with various success, on the first and second day ; and the dispositions made by General Clairfait were so judicious, that, notwithstanding the disparity of strength, it remained doubtful to some of the French commanders whether they would not finally be

obliged to abandon the attempt : so resolute in the mean time were the combatants, that after fighting the 29th and 30th of September, without coming to a decision, they recommenced the action on the 1st of October, and continued it until the 3d. The slaughter on both sides was dreadful, and nearly equal. But superiority of numbers and perseverance gave the victory to the French. The principal difficulty they had to overcome, was, a lofty mountain well fortified, and covered with batteries of heavy metal. It was assaulted four times by the most intrepid of the French troops, before it was carried. On the morning of the 5th day of this destructive battle a fog arose, which enabled General Clairfait to conceal the motions he was now under the necessity of making to secure a retreat. Upwards of ten thousand of his men had fallen ; and the remainder of his army was unequal to any further contest. He was followed however so closely by the victors, that no less than three thousand more were added to the slaughter of this day.

This was truly a decisive battle : it was considered in that light by all parties ; and all hopes of repairing for a long time the losses of this campaign, were now extinguished. It appeared even more decisive than the battle of Fleurus that had begun (but not completed) the ruin of the Austrian armies in the Low Countries : from whence they were now totally expelled, without any prospect of return.

It was however allowed, that this last conflict was maintained with a skill and resolution that did honour to both parties. They

fought with a courage worthy of the prize for which they were both contending; and those who lost it still preserved their honour.

General Clairfait had ample reason to be satisfied with the behaviour of his men; and notwithstanding the general character of unfortunate, which a series of untoward accidents had affixed to his name, still the officers and soldiers under him had lost none of their esteem for his abilities; and were determined to do him the justice he deserved, by seconding his measures with their wonted alacrity and spirit.

This General conducted the retreat of his army to Cologne with great circumspection. The enemy pursued it the whole of its way, and harassed it so incessantly, that it was not without much care and dexterity he was able to reach that city: but, as it was defenceless, and the inhabitants averse to his cause, he thought it prudent to hasten over the Rhine with all expedition. The French were so close on his rear, that they almost came up with the last division of his troops that were crossing the river, insultingly telling them "that was not the road to Paris."

On the 6th of October the French made their triumphant entry into Cologne, where, in compliance with the request of the inhabitants, only four thousand of their most orderly men were stationed. They were extremely desirous, pursuant to the strict injunctions of their rulers, to impress all people with a conviction that they would respect the property and religion of every country and place that submitted to them; and

this they were not remiss in verifying by their conduct. The people of Cologne, on this occasion, experienced so much good behaviour on their part, that few of them left the city; as they found their persons and possessions in no danger of being molested, nor the exercise of their religion in the least interrupted.

Juliers had already surrendered, immediately after the Austrians had left its walls. Venloo on the Meuse, and belonging to the Dutch, submitted next, and was followed by Nuis and Bonn, both situated on the Rhine, and part of the electorate of Cologne.

There was a place in the vicinity of this town which the French government were particularly solicitous to reduce. This was the town of Coblentz, a dependence of the electorate of Mentz. It was highly obnoxious to them, on account of the celebrity it had acquired for having long been the principal receptacle of the French emigrants; and the capital seat of their consultations and resolves against the measures originating from the revolution. For these reasons, it was determined by the heads of the republican government, that it should no longer remain in the possession of its enemies. General Jourdain was therefore directed to detach a sufficient force for its reduction. Expecting the French would not fail to attack it, the allies had employed a considerable time in fortifying it; and the garrison it contained would, it was hoped, make a resistance adequate to the expences laid out for that purpose.

General

General Moreau, a young man who possessed abilities far beyond his years, and had raised himself in the military line by his sole merit, was entrusted with the command of a division for the execution of this design. Having previously put to the rout a strong party of the Austrians, who had endeavoured to obstruct his march, he arrived the 23d of October before Coblentz. The celerity with which the works erected at so much expence were carried, was truly astonishing. Hardly any opposition was made; and after a mere show of defence, the Austrians hastily retired to the other side of the Rhine. The country to the south of Coblentz was now undergoing the same destiny. Worms, the seat of a bishopric, and several other towns of less note, surrendered about this time to the French armies stationed upon the borders of the Rhine.

The great project now in agitation among the French, was the reduction of Holland. Winter was approaching; and it was not doubted among them, that should the season prove severe, and the rivers that surround the United Provinces be frozen, but they would serve as bridges for the French, to penetrate into the very heart of the country. The talents displayed by General Pichegru, in the course of this arduous campaign, pointed him out as the fittest man to be employed in a task of this nature, wherein the versatility of his genius would find a variety of objects to work upon.

But antecedently to so great an undertaking, it was necessary to overcome several obstacles which,

if not surmounted in due time, might probably increase to a degree that would render them very difficult to be encountered. The Duke of York's army, though compelled to retreat before a superior force, still continued to maintain its ground, and only waited the reinforcements promised by the late treaty, to recommence offensive operations. Until this army was overcome, as others had been, Pichegru's entrance into Holland would certainly meet with powerful obstructions.

But the total rout of Clairfait's forces was a gloomy presage of what would probably befall those under the Duke. It was now become impossible for reinforcements to arrive from Germany, unless by a circuitous march, that would consume more time than could be taken to await them. Finding his strength incompetent for those active operations that had been planned, on the presumption that he would be seconded by the Austrians, and these now being unable to co-operate with him, it became necessary that he should adopt only defensive measures, in conjunction with the Dutch, whose situation was daily becoming more critical, and who had only the British forces to rely on for any effectual aid.

The French in the mean time had been preparing for the siege of Bois le Duc, by seizing some places in the neighbourhood that might facilitate its progress. The chief defence of this town consisting in its power to inundate the country round, the chief object of the French was to obviate a measure which would so effectually render the place inaccessible. For

this end they found it previously indispensable to be masters of the strong fort of Crevecœur, where the sluices were situated. They invested it accordingly; and it surrendered to them on the 27th of September. The loss of so important a place, together with the defeat of General Clairfait, which followed it soon after, threw a damp on the measures that were pursued by the British and Dutch commanders. Bois le Duc, deprived of its principal means of defence, was no longer viewed as possessing much strength. The French immediately laid siege to it; and it yielded to them on October 10th, by a capitulation, which permitted the garrison to retire into Holland, on condition of not serving against France till regularly exchanged. The like terms had been granted to the garrison of Crevecœur. The artillery and military stores found in Bois le Duc were very considerable.

The Duke of York was now encamped under the walls of Nimeguen. On the taking of Crevecœur, and the approach of the French army to Bois le Duc, he thought it necessary to relinquish Grave, as of too dangerous a proximity to the very numerous forces of the enemy. From the beginning of October, when he took this position, to the middle of the month, the French were chiefly occupied in the siege of Bois le Duc: but as soon as they had secured this important place, they resolved to strike a decisive blow on the Duke, and, if possible, to compel him to retire from the defence of the United Provinces. For this purpose the French crossed over

the Meuse with thirty thousand men, which were to attack the British posts on the right, while another body of no less strength was advancing to take them on their left. On the morning of the 19th of October, the several divisions of the Duke's army on the right were accordingly assailed by the French, who, forcing a post which was occupied by a body of cavalry, a corps of infantry, which was stationed near it, was thrown into disorder, and compelled to retreat along the dyke on the banks of the Waal. Unfortunately, they were followed by a body of the enemy's cavalry which they mistook for their own; nor did they discover their mistake till the enemy came up and attacked them before they could assume a posture of defence. The whole of that infantry was either killed or made prisoners. The superiority of the French rendering at the same time all farther resistance vain, the Duke withdrew all his troops from the posts which they had occupied, and stationed them on the other side of the Waal, in order to oppose the passage of the French over that river. Encouraged by this success, and firmly intent on the accomplishment of their plan, the French, on the 27th of October, made a violent attack on the British posts in the front of Nimeguen, and, after an obstinate conflict, obliged them, in order to prevent their being wholly surrounded, to alter their position, and move to another of greater security. The French were now encamped in such force in the environs of Nimeguen, that it would have been rash to have attacked them in the field; all that could be effected was

to maintain the posts very near the town, and so situated as to admit of ready assistance if assailed. Impatient at the resolute defence of the garrison, the French endeavoured to surround the place with a multiplicity of batteries, in hopes of keeping so incessant a fire on every part of the town as should reduce it to a heap of ruins. The situation was such as rendered this an attempt extremely difficult. They succeeded however in erecting one particular battery, with which they annoyed the town in a very destructive degree. General Walmoden, the governor, determined that a sally should be made, in order to destroy it. In the night of the 4th of November, General Deburgh, a remarkably intrepid officer, was placed at the head of three thousand men, British, Dutch, and Hanoverians, to effect the object proposed; and they marched out accordingly with all customary precautions; but the French, by means of their spies, were previously acquainted with the design, and duly prepared for it. The consequence was, that both parties engaged each other with much fury, and that a great slaughter ensued; but General Deburgh was wounded, and the attempt wholly frustrated.

Two days after, the French erected a battery against the bridge of boats from the town, over the Rhine, and another against the town itself. The fire of the former destroyed immediately two of the boats; and the other proved of great annoyance. It was therefore judged advisable to leave no more troops in the town than were requisite for its defence, and to

withdraw the others. This was executed accordingly during the following night; and the bridge being expeditiously repaired, afforded a safe passage to the British, Hanoverian, and Hessian troops. A large body of these was to remain with the Dutch, and to form a garrison; which, it was presumed, would be adequate to the defence of the town. But this arrangement proved ineffectual: when the major part of the troops had passed the bridge, the Dutch division, which brought up the rear, found it on fire. They attempted to cross the river in the large flying bridge, which was the usual method of passing; but it swung round towards the town, the ropes being cut by the cannon-balls of the enemy, or possibly of their own party, who fired on the French, not knowing exactly how to direct their shot.

The result of this accident was very unfortunate. The French, while this business was transacting, had found means to effect an unexpected entrance into Nimeguen: they directly proceeded to the bridge, and made prisoners all the Dutch troops there, as well as all the others whom they found remaining in the town. Such was the issue of the siege of Nimeguen: it had been expected, amidst the rapid success of the French in the subduing of so many strong towns, that this one would have escaped the general imputation of having surrendered too soon. The number of excellent troops it contained, the gallantry they had displayed on every occasion, the importance of holding out till it became evident that no succours could be expected from

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any quarter, and, above all, the propriety of proving to the world that the spirit of national resistance had not entirely deserted the Dutch, and that they did not prefer the throwing themselves into the hands of the French to the danger of repelling a foreign yoke at the risk of their lives and individual property;—all these various motives combined, had induced the public, in every country, to look on the siege of Nimeguen as an event that would terminate in great celebrity, from its duration, the number of brilliant actions it would produce, and the unyielding obstinacy with which it would on both sides be accompanied.

The sudden and unexpected disappointment of all these expectations put an end to the hopes that had been entertained, that, laying aside the animosity of parties, the Dutch would at length cordially unite in opposing the threatened invasion of the French. Plain reason pointed out the infatuation of committing themselves to the good faith of strangers interested in keeping them under subjection, and preventing them from acting as an independent people. Those Dutchmen who exhorted their countrymen to subvert their present government, and call in the assistance of the French to erect another on its ruins, did not consider that so mighty and so victorious a nation would, like all other conquerors, consult their own views, and render those who submitted to them the instruments of their future wars and conquests. Historical experience spoke invariably this language; and the pretended establishment of liberty, so

continually held forth as an inducement to join the French, was either the plea of that fond credulity which is incident to ignorance, and the usual concomitant of fanaticism and all violent passions, or of that general enervation, selfishness, and indifference to their country, which seems to have fallen on so great a portion of the Dutch nation. The Hollanders had been now so long unaccustomed to war, that they could not well be expected to measure their strength with troops that had conquered the Emperor. As little was it to be expected that there should be any cordial union between the Belgians and Batavians for the support of the Emperor and the Stadtholder, whose power and government were odious to so great a portion of their respective people. If the Flemings and Dutch had been at liberty to follow their own inclinations, they would have remained neutral like the Danes, and the people of Hamburgh. There is a period of declination and degradation in the history of states, when they become reconciled to the idea of acting a submissive and cunning part, and when they resemble the beadles and doorkeepers of those churches in Switzerland and Germany that are open to Lutherans and Calvinists in their turn; and who pay equal respect to whichever of these sectarians is in actual possession.

That the French were determined to conquer for themselves, and in order to attain that end would employ all the means that could accelerate it, was obvious to all persons of discernment. The

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most efficacious of these means was, to settle the government of every country of which they obtained possession, exactly on the plan of their own. This was an act of the profoundest policy. They seemingly divested themselves of all direct authority over the natives, whom they appeared to leave in the fullest plenitude of their freedom, both in their public and private concerns; but they took care, at the same time, to retain it thro' the infallible influence of the power which they exercised in virtue of their ostensible connexions with the state, and their secret intrigues with the party that having first introduced, was now necessitated to support them.

That such would be the fate of the Dutch was no longer doubted: the unwillingness testified by the inhabitants of both the towns and country to co-operate with the military against the French, was open and avowed. They seemed even sincerely desirous of their absence; and expressed their wishes with little or no dissimulation. Such a state of their minds was very astonishing to those who were acquainted with the long standing habits of coolness and circumspection in their general conduct, for which the natives of this part of Europe have been so usually noted. It proved that uncommon pains must have been taken to alter their ideas; unless it may be supposed that, being convinced the career of the French was utterly irresistible, they judged that the sooner they made terms with that conquering people, the better treatment they would experience.

Reasonings of this nature began

at this time to be very common among the commonalty, both in the Belgic and the United Provinces. Not only the lower but the middling classes evinced a decided repugnance to espouse the cause of any king; and attributed the invincible character of the French to the conviction they were under, that they were no longer fighting for their kings, but for their country. A persuasion of this kind, well or ill founded, was also diffusing itself very fast in many parts of Germany; and was the real cause of the repugnance which the people on the frontiers of the empire visibly exhibited when called upon, with exhortations and menaces, to join heart and hand in repelling the French from the confines of Germany. When these various considerations are laid together, it was not surprising that the French themselves, conscious of the partiality their cause excited in the majority of the inhabitants of those countries they were invading, should, by so flattering and cogent a motive, be actuated to the most indefatigable and daring exertions; and prove in the issue superior to those who contended against them, under so heavy a discouragement as the hatred of the natives of those countries which they were employed to defend, not for them, but for their masters.

The very loss of the town, which has given occasion for the foregoing observations, was imputed to the secret machinations of those within the walls who were labouring for the service of the French, and continually giving them notice of whatever was transacted in

in the garrison. While such practices were on foot, it was impossible for either courage or military skill to be of much avail; and those who were so ready to extol the French for their exploits, ought to have acknowledged that, situated as their enemies were, the latter deserved no less admiration for bearing up so resolutely against difficulties, in their nature insurmountable; as they were infallibly calculated to baffle all intrepidity of spirit and wisdom of exertion.

The loss of Nimeguen was accompanied with that of another place, still more famous for the various sieges it had sustained at different periods, during the three last centuries. This was the strong and important town of Maestricht. It had, by its noble defence against commanders of the highest fame in their day, acquired a reputation which, it was presumed, it would not fail to maintain; while those who were entrusted with its defence recollected the motives that should animate them. The garrison consisted of select officers and soldiers, and amounted to upwards of 8000 men, abundantly furnished with the means of a brave and obstinate resistance. The honour that would result from the taking of such a place was a very stimulating motive among the French. The person chosen to command on this occasion was General Kleber, who had already signalized himself by his courage and conduct. He summoned the town upon the 26th of September; but was given to understand that it would not yield but in the last extremity. The besieging army was very numerous, and the corps of

engineers attending it composed of the most expert in that department. On the town's refusal to surrender, a number of batteries were planted on every spot from whence the town was annoying. Their execution proved formidable; and it became necessary for the garrison to exert its utmost efforts to counteract them. As there was a considerable body of cavalry in the place, a determination was taken to employ it in making a sudden and rapid sally on a battery, of which the situation required an expeditious attack. It was accordingly attacked and entirely destroyed, and one of the guns carried off. Encouraged by this success, the besieged made another sally on the French batteries; but the enemy was duly prepared, and the attempt miscarried. A third sally succeeded better; and the battery against which it was directed was almost entirely demolished. But these vigorous efforts, on the part of the besieged, produced no permanent benefit. The mountainous ground in the environs of the town, afforded so many situations to erect battering pieces, and those which were injured by the besieged were so speedily replaced by others, that the besiegers, being constantly supplied with heavy cannon, and constructing additional batteries wherever they could be serviceable, surrounded the town with them in such a manner, that their firing continued without intermission. No part of the town remained unexposed, and many parts were laid in ruins. This destructive scene lasted several days and nights, during which a great slaughter was made of the garrison and

and the inhabitants. The French having completed their approaches, and effected sufficient breaches, were preparing to give a general assault, when the magistracy of the place waited on the Governor, to request he would not deliver them to certain death, by continuing a resistance which could only terminate in a massacre of the garrison and people. These remonstrances induced him to consent to a capitulation; by which the garrison were to be considered as prisoners of war till exchanged. On these terms Maestricht surrendered to General Kleber on the 4th of November; after having stood a siege of forty days, and suffered a loss of more than 2000 houses and public buildings, either totally demolished or materially damaged.

The capture of two cities of such high consideration as Nimeguen and Maestricht, filled the ruling party in Holland with the most evident consternation; they now began thoroughly to despair of being able to make head against France, especially as their domestic enemies were well known to have formed the resolution of taking an active part in favour of the French, the moment they could do it with any prospect of personal safety.

The invasion of Holland was an object of universal expectation in Europe. The force under the command of General Pichegru, who was placed at the head of this great expedition, amounted to no less than 200,000 men. His abilities, and those of the officers who were to serve under him, annexed

a security to the enterprize, which equally elated the French and depressed their enemies. In less than two years from the accession of the governing powers in the United Provinces to the confederacy which was to have reduced France, they found themselves on the point of becoming the subjects of that irritated power, by the most humiliating and disgraceful of all means, those of subjugation and conquest.

The strength which was to oppose this vast and victorious army, consisted in the remains of the British troops and those in their pay, and of the Dutch troops. But their numbers were beneath consideration, when compared to the multitude of their enemies; and though far from deficient in military knowledge any more than in spirit, they did not appear adequate to the arduous task of preserving Holland from the designs in agitation against it.

A neutral party subsisted in Holland, which, without inclining to the Stadtholder or to his enemies, were decidedly averse to the entrance of the French; which they foresaw must put an end to the independence of the Dutch as a nation. But their remonstrances on the necessity of a reunion of all parties against a foreign invasion, were lost in the fixed determination of those in authority to trust none but their adherents, and in the no less obstinate resolution of their antagonists to destroy their authority through the assistance of the French.

CHAP. IV.

Military Operations of the French in Spain. Difference between the present and former State of Spain. Its Decline and Want of Population insufficient to encounter the French. Their Preparations for the Campaign of 1794. They first attack the Western Borders of Spain, and rout the Spaniards near St. Jean Deluz, and at other Places, and take a Number of Prisoners, with an immense Quantity of Artillery and Warlike Stores. General Dugommier forces a Spanish Army to lay down their Arms. Count De L'Union defeated by the French, in attempting to raise the Siege of Bellegarde, which surrenders to them, with a large Garrison. General Dugommier obtains a signal Victory over the Spaniards, but is slain: Honours decreed to his Memory. Battle of St. Fernando Desfigueres, wherein a large Army of Spaniards is forced into its Entrenchments; and Count De L'Union killed. St. Fernando Desfigueres taken by the French, together with a numerous Garrison, and an immense Booty of all Kinds. The Spaniards again defeated, and unable to keep the Field on their Eastern Frontiers. Successes of the French on the Western Borders of Spain. General Delaforde forces the Spanish Camp at St. Jean Deluz, and takes a large Number of Prisoners, and a great Quantity of Military Stores and Provisions. A remarkable Victory gained by the French over a Spanish Army of superior Force. Losses and Consternation of the Spaniards; Rapidity of the Motions and Successes of the French. Fontarabia and St. Sebastian submit to them with their Garrisons. Immense Magazines of all Kinds fall into their Hands: Conduct of the French towards the Spaniards, diminishes their Aversion to the Politics of France: Alteration in the Spanish Character since the French Revolution. A large Body of Spaniards defeated by a small one of French. Desertion of some Spanish Troops to the French. The Spanish Lines, extending near forty Leagues, are forced by the French, and the Spaniards routed with great Loss of Men killed and taken. Disengagement of the Spanish Court and Ministry. Their fruitless Attempt to raise the People in a Mass. Distress of the Spanish Government: The Methods it employs to raise Money. Military Operations of the French in Italy. Political View of the Effects produced by the Revolution on their National Capacity and Strength of Duration. Former Disappointments and Disasters attending the French in the Invasion of Italy. They open the Campaign in that Country by the Siege of Oneglia. Their cautious Conduct towards the Republic of Genoa. Oneglia besieged and taken by them. Consequences of this Capture. They defeat the Sardinians and Austrians, penetrate into Piedmont, and seize large Quantities of Provisions and Warlike Stores. Exploits of Dumerion their chief Commander. He forces a strong Encampment of the Sardinians. Numbers of them are killed and taken, with all their Cannon and Magazines. He attacks and carries the Sardinian Entrenchments at Colde Sanda, and compels them to abandon that Pass with great Loss. Consternation of the Court of Turin. It forms the Project of raising the Inhabitants of Piedmont in a Mass. They assemble in large Numbers, but are quickly dispersed by the French. Successes of the French in the Alps. Their General (Dumas) attacks the Fortifications of Mount Cenis, and drives the Sardinians from them, with great Loss. The Sardinians again defeated. The Austrians and Sardinians form

form a Project against the French, which is completely counteracted by these, who compel them to abandon all their Posts, and take shelter in Alexandria. The French remain Masters of the open Country; and the Austrians and Sardinians are reduced to act on the Defensive. The strong Situation of the French in Italy alarms the Powers of that Country. Strictures on the Political State of that Country. Conjectures on the Effects of the French Revolution in Italy. Situation of Europe at the Close of 1794. Review of the Primitive Causes of the Revolution in France, and of the Effects originating from those Causes. Their Strength and powerful Operation. The People of France transformed by them into a Nation wholly different from what it was. The Face of Europe so altered by the Events of the Campaign of 1794, that it is no longer the same. The Consequences of that Campaign not terminated. Reflections on the Enthusiasm of the French in favour of their present Government.

WHILE the armies of France were victorious in the Low Countries, and on the frontiers of Germany, they were no less successful on the borders of Spain. A singular change had now taken place in the fortune of this once mighty monarchy. Destined for the space of near two centuries to figure at the head of christendom, and to disturb by its ambition the peace of all Europe, it was now reduced to the necessity of courting the alliance of other powers, in order to preserve the remains of its own importance. The loftiness and dignity which used to characterize its transactions with other states, impressed little weight on them; and it was with difficulty that the court of Madrid maintained its rank, and some portion of its former influence in other countries. The war, in which it had united with the coalition of other sovereigns against France, had deeply tried its resources both in men and money. Hitherto the balance of war had inclined to Spain; but it was through the most violent exertions it stood its ground. The narrow population of a country larger than France, but not containing half the number of its

inhabitants, was a constant drawback on all its efforts to recruit the armies requisite to face such numerous forces as the French were preparing to bring into the field; their intention being to crush Spain with the weight of their multitudes, as soon as they had overcome some difficulties which retarded the proper organization of those numbers that were ready in the southern provinces of France to embody themselves, and to strengthen the French armies employed in that country. The close of the campaign in 1793 had been favourable to the Spanish arms; upwards of 5,000 French had fallen, either slain or wounded, in the battle of the 22d of September, won by General Ricardos, in the neighbourhood of Perpignan; and the campaign terminated with another defeat of their forces, not far from Collioura, on the 28th of December. But although these were unpropitious events, the French government was not in the least apprehensive of their consequences. Relying on the strength which would be added to the French forces employed against Spain at the opening of the next campaign, they entertained a sanguine hope that

it would prove entirely different from the former. The French army took the field early in the month of February. Impatient to recover the credit they had lost by their preceding defeats, they attacked the Spaniards that were posted near St. Jean Deluz, and routed them with great loss on the 5th of that month. Encouraged by this success, the French forces stationed on the eastern frontiers, marched, in the beginning of April, against the Spanish army encamped at Cerat, and obliged them to abandon it, together with the town of Boulon: they again attacked them, on the 1st of May, near the former of those places, of which they had attempted to retake possession, and gained advantages over them of the utmost importance: they took an immense quantity of artillery, together with 2,000 men; the slain and wounded were also very numerous.

But the event which gave a decisive turn to the war in Spain, was the splendid victory obtained on the 23d of May by General Dugommier, an officer of great celebrity, over a Spanish army near Collisare. Besides those that fell in action, 7000 men laid down their arms; and all the baggage and cannon fell into the hands of the French. This event was so satisfactory to the Convention, that it was proposed to erect a column on the field of action, with an inscription to commemorate it.

In the meantime, the strong town of Bellegarde, which the Spaniards had taken in the preceding campaign, was invested by a large body of French troops. Count De L'Union, a Spanish General of great eminence, formed a plan for its

relief. At the head of some chosen regiments he attacked the besiegers with such impetuosity, that they were at first driven from their posts; but they soon rallied and recovered them. The fight continued with obstinacy for a long time. General Mirabel, a French officer of merit, and who contributed by his exertion to the success of his countrymen on this day, was killed with a number of them; but they were at length successful, and the Spaniards were totally routed, with the loss of near 3000 men. This brave but unfortunate attempt of the Spaniards to raise the siege of Bellegarde, took place on the 30th of August. The garrison still hoping to be relieved, held out till the 29th of September; when, despairing of any effort in their favour, they surrendered to General Dugommier. On the very next day Count De L'Union, unapprized of this event, made a very resolute attack on the French; but was again compelled to retreat with considerable loss. The number of Spanish troops made prisoners at Bellegarde, amounted to 6000; a heavy loss in such a scarcity of able soldiers as Spain now daily experienced.

The continual failures of the Spanish commanders in their repeated attacks of the French, roused them to a determination to collect such a force as might, through the goodness of the troops, as well as their numbers, afford better hopes of success. With a strength thus selected, they advanced against Dugommier, the most formidable of their enemies, and whom for that reason they were chiefly desirous of having the honour of defeating. He met them at Spanilles on the

17th of October. The victory was disputed with great valour on both sides, but after a bloody conflict declared for the French, who made a dreadful slaughter of the enemy, and particularly of their emigrated countrymen in the Spanish service. A great number of cannon and warlike stores, with tents for 12,000 men, fell into their hands.

But the glory of this day was heavily clouded by the loss of the General to whom it was owing. Dugommier, zealous to reconnoitre the motions of the enemy, in order to complete the plan he had formed to cut off his retreat, was slain by a cannon-ball in the moment of victory. No officer seems to have been more respected for his various great qualities. The convention decreed that his name should be inscribed on a column in the pantheon of Paris, among those warriors who had deserved well of their country, and fallen in its service. Three days after this great victory, another still greater was obtained. Exasperated at their continual defeats, the principal heads of the Spanish army resolved to concentrate their whole strength in a position strong by nature, and which they had rendered still stronger by a chain of entrenchments and batteries, to the number of near 100. These stupendous works had employed six months of assiduous labour. They were defended by an army of 40,000 men; and it was thought by adequate judges in military affairs, that the French would certainly be worsted, if they attempted to force them. In this hope, some of the most eminent officers in the service of Spain had repaired to this army, in order to contribute

their exertions on the critical day that was shortly expected.

Convinced of the necessity of overcoming the obstacles thus thrown in their way, before they could make a farther progress, the French commanders drew together the best troops that could be mustered from the various posts they occupied, resolving to make the utmost trial of their valour. On the 20th of October they marched to the attack of the Spanish entrenchments; and after three hours fight penetrated them in every quarter, to the utter astonishment of the Spanish commanders. Indignant at so unexpected and humiliating a disappointment, after using every effort that bravery and skill could employ to retrieve the fortune of the day, they seemed determined not to survive it. Count De L'Union and three other general officers were amongst the slain; and their army was completely defeated and put to flight. This great and decisive battle was fought in the neighbourhood of St. Fernando de Figueres, a place of great strength, and garrisoned by near 10,000 men: but the loss of such a battle in their sight, filled them with such dismay, that they surrendered to the victors in three days. The booty found in this fortress, and in the encampment that had been forced, was immense. Among other articles of high value, twelve founderies for cannon, with all the materials in readiness, were taken. The importance of this victory was such, that all resistance fell before the French in those parts. They followed the retreating Spaniards with so much expedition, that overtaking them at a place where

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they

they endeavoured to make a stand, they put them to a total rout, killing and taking numbers, and, among other captures, seizing their military chest, esteemed of uncommon richness. These successes made them masters of several towns of importance, and of which the situation opened the way into those parts which they were chiefly desirous to attack.

While the French armies were gaining so many victories on the eastern frontiers of Spain, the northern borders of that kingdom were equally the scene of their success. The Spaniards, after their defeat at St. Jean Deluz at the commencement of the campaign, had made the greatest efforts to retrieve that misfortune. They assembled a large force on the same spot:—but they were not more fortunate than before. General de la Forde, a French officer of extraordinary activity, fell upon them in their camp, which he forced, together with an adjacent fort, in one day. The slain and prisoners were numerous; and the quantity of military stores, and especially of provisions, was so very considerable as to occasion the most serious distress to the Spaniards. This advantage, which was obtained towards the close of July, prepared the way for another of still greater consequence. A body of 15,000 Spanish troops had taken a strong post on a mountain, the whole extent of which they covered with their numbers. The force of the French was much inferior, not exceeding 6000 men; but as the execution of their design was materially obstructed by the position of the enemy, they resolved to risk an attack upon it,

notwithstanding their inferiority. With that furious impetuosity which has so frequently proved irresistible, they rushed on the Spaniards so unexpectedly, that they were thrown into a confusion from which they never recovered. They retreated with such precipitation, that they abandoned their magazines, 200 pieces of cannon, and tents for 20,000 men, and lost in their retreat 2000, who submitted without resistance. This brilliant action struck the Spaniards with so much terror, that it seemed to have deprived them of all presence of mind. The rapidity of the French was such, that they were before the walls of Fontarabia on the evening of this very day, when it immediately surrendered. The following day was signalized by the seizing of Port Passage; and on the ensuing, they invested St. Sebastian, which capitulated the next. Thus they accomplished in four days what in former times had cost the labour of months and the lives of thousands, and had put to the test the abilities of the most illustrious commanders. These remarkable days were the 1st, 2d, 3d, and 4th of August. The capture of those important places was accompanied by that of more than 3000 prisoners, besides the acquisition of immense accumulations of stores of every kind with which those towns were filled.

The conduct of the French on this occasion entirely reconciled the inhabitants to their fate. The severest orders were issued, conformably to the directions of the French government, against any species of depredation or disrespect against the established religion of the country. This indeed was
dictated

dictated by a policy peculiarly requisite in a country so wedded to its religious opinions as Spain. It was chiefly the violent apprehensions of the natives that the French would deprive them of the freedom of their worship, that had excited their enmity and aversion to that people. This induced them at first to take up arms, under a persuasion that Heaven would assert its own cause, and not permit the French to triumph over those who were fighting for it. But when the course of events had shewn that, however hostile to kingly government, the French were indifferent to speculative opinions on spiritual manners, and left every man's conscience at liberty, they no longer considered them with the same abhorrence; and began to view the war in the light of a political contest between the French on the one side, and the European princes on the other, both parties contending with equal obstinacy; the former for the republican system they had adopted, the latter for the restoration of monarchy.

Nor should it pass unnoticed, that the general disposition of the people in Spain had undergone a remarkable change since the great alterations that had happened in France. The inhabitants of the northern provinces of the former, and these of the southern in the latter country, have so many motives and methods to preserve a communication with each other, that all the precautions taken by the Spanish court to prevent it, had not been sufficiently effectual for the purpose chiefly intended; which was to obviate an intercourse of ideas and opinions on the

transactions of the times. Many of the political maxims adopted by the French, had been introduced among the Spaniards, and met with abettors; and the impropriety of blending religion with politics was clearly understood. Hence numbers of people of all classes, especially the middling and industrious, began to wish for a limitation of the regal authority, the weight of which was experimentally found too heavy for commerce and industry. But the only means of reducing that excessive authority within bounds, was to humble it by distress; and no instrument of such humiliation appearing so ready and efficient as a successful attack on the part of the French, those who secretly wished for a diminution of the power hitherto exercised by the court, were glad of the opportunity offered them by the successes of the French; and omitted no occasion to throw a damp on the spirits of the Spanish military, and to discourage that pertinacity of resistance for which the Spaniards had always been so remarkable in their hostilities with France.

Thus the reduction of the places that had fallen into the hands of the French, was not a little owing to a change of sentiments among the Spaniards. Such pains were now taken, tho' in an indirect and imperceptible manner, to magnify the prowess of the French, that the opposition to them was weakened in the most visible degree, and the whole country submitted to them that lay between the places that had already surrendered and the city of Tolosa.

The Spanish commanders, alarmed at the readiness to admit the French, which appeared daily to

gain ground, thought it their duty at all events to encounter them before it had spread farther. They collected a considerable body, with which in the beginning of September they marched against the French; but either they took such improvident measures, or their soldiers were so ill disposed to second their officers, that a division of the Spanish force, consisting of 6000 men, were engaged and defeated by a detachment of hardly 1000 French. A transaction took place on this occasion, to which may be justly ascribed the defeat of the Spaniards. A corps of the King of Spain's Walloon guards deserted to the enemy, either during the fight or previously to it: it excited such a suspicion that more treachery was intended, that universal confusion ensued, and a retreat became immediately necessary.

It was a whole month before the Spaniards recovered from the panic into which they had been thrown by this most unfortunate event. Their spirits still appeared too much depressed for their commander to venture on offensive operations, and they kept within a line of strongly fortified posts, extending nearly forty leagues. The French however determined to attack them, and did it with such vigour and effect, that notwithstanding the strength of the works occupied by the Spaniards, who had bestowed an entire year on their construction, they were forced in no less than twelve different places, where they were at once assaulted. Two accidents only prevented the entire destruc-

tion of the Spanish army; a large division of the French, which was to have cut off their retreat, did not arrive in time; and a thick fog arose, which enabled the Spaniards to make a retreat, after losing however 5000 men, killed and taken.

Disasters so unusual and so repeated, filled the court of Spain with consternation. What chiefly aggravated them, was a persuasion that they were in some measure due to disaffection. The violent and absurd superstition that had so long characterised the Spaniards, appeared to be considerably effaced, and a disinclination to the present war evidently to operate among a large portion of the commonalty. Symptoms of so dangerous a tendency deeply alarmed the Spanish ministry, some of whom began to be of opinion that in the present temper of the nation it would be advisable to have recourse to a pacification, in order to labour effectually for a subjugation of the principles that had been imported from France; and that threatened a still more general diffusion, were the French to make farther advances into the kingdom. Their prodigious successes had so disheartened the soldiery, that no expectation remained with administration to recover them from their despondency; and, what was still worse, the loyalty of numbers of them was, from what had happened, not justly suspected.

In a situation so truly critical, it was proposed by some of the most zealous adherents to government, that recourse should be had to that measure which had proved so useful and efficacious in the case

ease of France, the raising of the people in a mass*: but those who were so weak and deluded by their ignorance, as to recommend such an attempt, soon found it impracticable. The French were become a nation of enthusiasts; the Spaniards still remained a nation of bigots. The French, however they might be mistaken in their object, had now risen above all principle but that of a violent attachment to the constitutions established in their country, and as violent a hatred to that which had been abolished. But the Spaniards, though desirous to reform the defects in their government, still maintained an implicit devotion to the absurdest tenets of the religious system so long prevailing among them. Hence their minds were debilitated by superstition, and unable to rise to that height of

comprehension and vigour which adds so powerfully to manliness and courage, and without which mere bravery loses half its effect. The attempts which were made to disseminate among the people a spirit of universal resistance to the enemy, failed everywhere, to the great mortification of the court, which had not expected to be relinquished in so marked a manner by the nation at large. Other methods of encountering the approaching danger were now to be provided with the utmost expedition; and it was hoped that by appealing to those who were most interested in the support of government, it would be able to maintain its ground, and if not to overcome, still to prevent the enemy from extending his conquests into the interior parts of the kingdom. The nobility, the

* This expression of raising the people in a mass is vague, and neither conveys any precise idea, nor refers to any fact or event from which any clear idea may be formed. At the famous epochs of 1789, the 14th of July, and the 5th of October, the people of Paris assembled in an immense body for a short space of time. But if it had been necessary for this immense body to march out of Paris, it would soon have found that they neither would nor could march to any great distance. In France, since the commencement of the revolution, the national guards have been formed into military bodies, as the volunteers have been since in England; but this organization requires time. And it is only after any number of men, armed for the defence of their country, have been duly trained and disciplined, that they can be of any material service, either by recruiting the old armies, or by forming new ones. If whole nations of men were to rise in masses, and to remain for such a length of time as would be necessary for the purposes of war whether offensive or defensive, how are they to be led? how clothed? how armed? Who is to establish magazines for them? to provide lodgings? to furnish camp-equipage and necessary carriages? There have appeared several quacks in Germany, Italy, and Spain, who have talked much of the people rising in a mass; and periodical publications have re-echoed the sound. But there is no man versed in even the rudiments of the military art, who will lay any stress on the possibility of a nation carrying on war in a mass, and who will not consider the idea as absurd and ridiculous.—The country people sometimes assemble in multitudes, for the purpose of attacking the remnants or wrecks of a conquered army; but the effects of such risings are momentary, adventitious, of little consequence, and never to be much reckoned upon. To build any hopes of either subverting or restoring empires by such means, is to enlighten a quarter of the world, and so skilful in all military arts as Europe, is extreme ignorance and folly.

clergy, persons in office, and the opulent adherents to government, were now called upon to assist it to the utmost of their abilities. A fourth part of salaries and pensions was now made a voluntary donation by the incumbents themselves. The rich ecclesiastics contributed largely; and the wealthy in all classes imitated these precedents in the most liberal manner. Besides all this, it was resolved that henceforward no placeman or pensioner should be entitled to the receipt of more than a stated salary, though in the exercise of various employments. The very highest offices were placed under this arrangement; and the zeal and alacrity with which they testified their readiness to make these sacrifices, did much credit to the Spanish character, though it proved at the same time to what distresses the government was reduced. These transactions took place in September; a period distinguished in every theatre of the war by the calamities that were accumulating upon the enemies to the French republic.

While the armies of France were thus triumphant in the Netherlands, in Germany, and in Spain, they were no less victorious in Italy. During the preceding campaign, the fortune of war had remained undecided in this part; and the French had experienced some considerable defeats: but the present year totally altered the face of things, and placed the arms of France on a footing of success, which alarmed all the powers of that country. The armies of the Emperor and the King of Sardinia had in former times always succeeded in keeping the entrance of

Italy shut against the French; or, at the worst, in expelling them with great loss whenever they entered. Before this year, the plan of the confederacy seems to have presumed the Sardinian armies competent to resist the attempts of France in that quarter, while it was attacked by such potent enemies in so many other parts. But the French had now opened a career of exertions, of which Europe had never imagined it to be capable. Accustomed to judge of the present by the past, it calculated the strength of France on a relative proportion at the utmost, to that which it had yet displayed in the most splendid æras of its military grandeur. Lewis XIV. under whom it arrived at its highest summit, never had armies exceeding altogether 450,000 men; and these were deemed greatly disproportionate to the just and natural strength of his dominions. The misfortunes that befel him towards the close of his reign, were imputed to the prodigious expences and efforts of every description to which he was necessitated to have recourse, in order to maintain such enormous multitudes. Robespierre was as great a despot as Lewis XIV. But the court of Lewis consisted of great and rich landed proprietors; whereas that of Robespierre was composed of men who had neither property nor character. In imposing the heaviest taxes, and exacting contributions to any amount from the rich, Robespierre met with no opposition from his courtiers. If Lewis XIV. had taken it into his head to sell the lands of the great lords of his court, he would not have carried his design into execution without formidable resistance

ance. A monarchy therefore, if limited, is more favourable than a democratic government to the interests of humanity, in as much as it lays the rulers of kingdoms under a necessity to put an end to wars when they become a greater burthen than can be borne by the exhausted people.

The rulers of a great nation, subjected to the principles of democracy, are not restrained in the exercise of power by any opposition, nor by any responsibility. They dispose of the property as well as the lives of the people, at pleasure. Public misfortunes and calamities which weaken the hands of royal administrations, strengthen those of democratical governments. It is no difficult matter to persuade the poor and numerous classes of society, that they are fighting in their own cause, as long as they can persuade them that it is necessary, by a contest in arms with foreign powers, to maintain the national independence. When once a people are fully persuaded that this is really the case, their efforts in the prosecution of whatever they may think concerns their safety, their welfare, or their honour, are beyond the reach of ordinary calculation: from whence a very obvious corollary is to be drawn, which has no doubt been duly considered by the sovereign princes and statesmen of the present times.

There is no nation that has ever verified the truth of these observations so conspicuously as the French. Placed in the centre of Europe, and exposed to the resentment of the formidable potentates, whom their conduct had so grievously offended, they found them-

selves in the most critical of all dilemmas. Their only alternative was, submission to their enemies on the terms which these should please to dictate, or a resistance which they foresaw would require such exertions as would almost undo them. They magnanimously chose the last. And though this determination has been attended with events that make humanity shudder, yet candour will extort the confession, that in such difficulties and perplexities as they were constantly surrounded with on every side, with potent enemies assailing them from abroad, and the most rancorous and restless party incessantly conspiring against them at home, they had no choice but of inflicting death upon those, or of suffering death themselves, and of conquering their foreign foes, or of resigning their freedom and lives to their discretion. Such a situation necessarily called forth every ability they possessed. Their courage, their capacity, their resources, were stretched to the utmost. This was not effected by the mere power of government; it was not the work of administration; it was the deed of the nation itself. No other agent could have performed what was done: the universal mind co-operated as a single one: no labour, no hardship, no misery, was refused: in these every man partook, as they also did in the triumphs produced by the activity, the patience, the sufferings; which, by being endured in common, and evidently for the sake of all, were the more cheerfully borne by every one in particular.

In order to produce these vast exertions, it is by no means necessary

that a nation submitting to those burthens they require, should be certain of obtaining those ends for which it is willing to bear them; or that the object for which it is contending, should not be an illusion. It is sufficient that such a nation is persuaded of the reality of that object and of those ends, to act a part which no other cause could possibly effect; to astonish the world by events beyond all the rules of probability, and almost of possibility, and to set, as it were, at defiance the conjectures of wisdom and the experience of ages. Such now was the spirit and temper of a people always famous for the brilliant characters it often exhibited, both in arms and arts; but which, though highly elevated in the system of Europe, was never thought capable of facing alone all the nations around. But the time was come, owing to the causes enumerated, that the combination of all the European monarchies would be found insufficient to reduce that nation to the terms intended to be imposed upon it.

Among the countries of which the powers were inimical to France, there was none wherein the French had for a succession of ages met with so many disappointments as in Italy. The ambition of their monarchs had frequently led them into that country; but their successes had always been transitory; and it was proverbially denominated the burying-ground of the French, from the constant overthrow and destruction of their armies. It was of course expected, that the same destiny would again attend them; and that, should they invade it, they would, as heretofore, be finally expelled. On this pre-

sumption, their entrance into Italy was viewed without much alarm in the native powers. Nor did they at first seem to threaten much danger to those princes whose territories they invaded. But the French having successfully got over the first trial of the strength brought against them by the coalition, and terminated with advantage a campaign which they began with the gloomiest prospects, they now derived from thence such hopes; that they determined to leave no means untried to realize them.

They formed accordingly a multiplicity of plans for the attack of their different enemies, equally daring and sagacious; that which was proposed for Italy promised to compensate for the disappointments of the last campaign there; and their success in the outset excited their most sanguine expectations. Among the possessions remaining to the King of Sardinia on the sea coast, the only one of any consequence was the town and harbour of Oneglia. It was noted for being the receptacle of a number of privateers, which committed many depredations on the commercial shipping of the French sea-ports in its neighbourhood. It was resolved, for that reason, to commence the campaign by the siege of that place. As it was encircled by the territories of Genoa, it became necessary to calm the inquietude that might arise from marching through these to attack that town. The fortune of France had not at that time declared itself in such a manner as to render the French inattentive whom they offended; and they were particularly desirous to commit no violations of the treaties subsisting between them and

and other states, however inconsiderable these might be, and incapable of resenting ill treatment. The strictest promises therefore were made, to observe the respect due to the sovereignty of Genoa on its own territory; and they were kept accordingly on this occasion to the particular satisfaction of that republic; which was exceedingly solicitous to preserve its neutrality in the midst of those hostilities which it had not the power to remove from its neighbourhood.

A passage being thus opened to Oneglia, it was besieged and taken in the beginning of April. Hereby the direct communication of the court of Turin with the British fleets in the Mediterranean, was entirely cut off; which was a main object with the French. The capture of this important place was soon after followed by the defeat of a considerable body of Sardinians and Austrians; and the French penetrated into Piedmont, some districts of which were compelled to submit to them. Large quantities of provisions and warlike stores fell at the same time into their hands, and proved an irreparable loss to the troops that were advancing against them. The principal officer among the French was Dumerlion, a very resolute and active commander. He had four strongholds to reduce before he could execute the design he had formed of attacking the Sardinians in a fortified camp, which they occupied. He attempted them, however, successfully, the beginning of May, and immediately marched to the Sardinian encampment; the forcing of which did him the more honour, as it had been fruitlessly

attempted in the foregoing campaign.

The French on this occasion made two thousand prisoners, and killed a considerable number of the enemy. A numerous train of artillery fell into their hands, besides vast stores of provisions and ammunition. This success was directly followed by another of still more importance. Eight thousand of the enemy were entrenched in one of the narrow passes into Piedmont, known by the name of Colda Tanda. This had in former wars often resisted numerous forces, and effectually guarded the country behind it; but it could not resist the impetuosity with which the French assailed it. The Sardinians were completely defeated, and lost a great number of men in their retreat. These advantages, obtained by the activity and bravery of Dumerlion, in the districts between Turin and the sea-coast, fully decided the superiority of the French in those parts, and spread dismay through all Piedmont. The King of Sardinia's ministry began to be very seriously alarmed at the approximation of so resolute and successful an enemy; and were highly perplexed in what manner most effectually to put a stop to his progress.

After many consultations on the dangerous posture of affairs, it was proposed to make an appeal to the inhabitants of Piedmont, representing to them the danger threatened to their religion, and the duty incumbent on them to protect it from the violence and profanation of an impious enemy. The attachment of the Italians to the Romish religion is notorious. Long before the revolution in France, they considered

considered the French as far from being such real and sound Roman Catholics as themselves. That event, and its consequences lessened still more their good opinion and respect for the French in these particulars; and since the abolition of the papal jurisdiction in France; and the dereliction of christianity, openly avowed even by some French ecclesiastics in the course of the preceding year, they looked upon the generality of the French with abhorrence. Such a disposition in the bulk of the people, appeared highly favourable to the design of exciting them to rise in a mass to oppose the French. The Piedmontese displayed on this occasion more willingness than the Spaniards had done. Encouraged by their clergy, and the numerous friars who exerted themselves in spiriting up the multitude everywhere, they assembled in July, to the number of ten or twelve thousand, and marched confidently to the enemy. But so little were the French alarmed at this method of opposing them, that they did not think it necessary to make any extraordinary preparations to meet this body of undisciplined peasantry. A few regiments were sufficient to put them to the rout. They quickly dispersed to their habitations, thoroughly disheartened at a trial, from which both they and others had formed better expectations; but which neither seemed inclined any more to repeat.

While the French armies succeeded so completely in the southern provinces of the Sardinian dominions, their forces in the northern parts were equally fortunate. No country in Europe could be

more susceptible of every assistance arising from military knowledge. Full of mountains, defiles, and precipices, it was often with difficulty troops could proceed on their way even without seeing the face of an enemy. The Sardinians had fortified every post that was tenable either by nature or by art; and the French were compelled to fight for every inch of ground on which they stood. The strongest of the many fortresses scattered over this country of rocks and mountains, was that so well known to travellers by the name of Mount Cenis. It formed a central post, supported by several others; every one well garrisoned and fortified. Their situation obstructed the passage to it so effectually, that without previously taking them, it would remain inaccessible. Dumas, the French General, whose particular experience in this mountainous warfare had recommended him to this arduous expedition, exerted himself so skilfully, that he had in the beginning of May made every preparation requisite for the commencement of his intended operations. On the 10th of this month, at the close of day, a chosen body were ordered to attack a fort that occupied the first pass. It was carried, after a stout defence, together with a valuable train of artillery; and the garrison was obliged to capitulate for permission to retreat. In the mean time, Dumas himself, at the head of a select division, descended into a valley intersected by a chain of posts, through which he forced his way, and made himself master of another fort. After overcoming these obstacles, a number of precipices lay before him, through which, with equal courage

courage and circumspection, he directed his march to a strong hold; which having secured, he next advanced to the foot of Mount Cenis. This formidable mountain was covered with redoubts and batteries that did great execution on his best troops, as he led them to the assault. But, after a vigorous defence, they were all taken by storm, and the Sardinians driven from their position. While this was a-doing, another division of the French army came upon them, by a circuitous march across precipices that were not thought passable. This sudden appearance of an additional and unexpected enemy, so discouraged the Sardinian troops, that they immediately retreated; leaving behind them all their cannon and warlike stores, and a great number of prisoners and of slain.

This was a victory of the highest importance to the French. It not only enabled them to subjugate a considerable extent of this mountainous country, but it struck such a damp on their enemies, that it was with the utmost precaution they ventured to encounter them on open ground, and were continually throwing up intrenchments in every place where they expected them in considerable force. A variety of partial engagements and skirmishes occupied the remainder of the summer, till the middle of September; when the Sardinians came to a more serious action with the French: by whom, after maintaining a regular contest, they were at length defeated with a great loss. They still however continued to dispute their ground with so much judgment and vigour, that the French, notwithstanding their ac-

tivity, received several checks, and were not able to make farther progress in those parts.

In order to retrieve the disasters of this campaign, and to terminate it more auspiciously than it had begun, the court of Turin concerted a plan with the Austrian commanders, the object of which was, to attack in great force the various posts occupied by the French to the north of the Genoese territory; and by means of which they were enabled to make incursions far into the Sardinian districts. Whether the French discovered this project, or had formed another to a similar purpose against their enemies, they counteracted it so effectually, that before it could be ready for execution, the Sardinians and Austrians were assailed in all their posts, defeated in the completest manner, and compelled to retreat with the utmost precipitation, as far as the strong town of Alexandria; to the gates of which they were pursued.

This great defeat, which happened in the latter part of September, closed all the material operations of the campaign. After rallying their scattered forces, the Sardinians and Austrians remained wholly on the defensive; and by chusing advantageous positions, so far recovered the credit of their arms, as to prevent the French from advancing further into Piedmont, and even to worst them in some encounters. But these were not of a nature to raise any apprehensions in the French that they should suffer a reverse of fortune. They seemed indeed to others, as well as themselves, so firmly settled in Italy, that the various Princes and states of this country

country, began to entertain serious fears that they might acquire such a degree of power there, as on divers pretences, to refuse relinquishing it. Plausible motives would easily be assigned for their keeping possession of what they had obtained; and while they continued superior in the field, their reasons would remain uncontroverted.

Italy, in the opinion of the soundest politicians, was a theatre whereon the French would act a more remarkable part than in any other country in Europe. The Italians, divided into sundry states and principalities, none of which were intrinsically very formidable, had ever cherished a jealousy of each other; which rendered them altogether of little consideration in the scale of European politics. Their country was perpetually exposed to the invasion of those potentates who thought proper to form pretensions to parts of it, and in the sanguinary disputes occasioned by those pretensions, none were exempt from experiencing eventually the horrors of war. Often had the wisest heads in that country, which certainly produces as wise heads as any, endeavoured by arguments, and by the influence their high stations gave them, some of them being no less than Sovereigns, to form such an union of force among the Italian princes and states, as might enable them to expel foreigners from their country. The propriety of this advice was incontrovertible; and it might have been followed, to the benefit of all concerned, had the least patriotism existed among those who ought chiefly to have taken the lead, in promoting so national

a measure. Italy being therefore the property, partly of Sovereigns who have no natural relation to it, and of others who consider their possession as precarious, and the rulers of states assuming the name of commonwealths being usually at variance with the people under them, it follows of course, that national attachments and reciprocal confidence between the governors and the governed, are unknown in this country. The only exception is found in Piedmont; the inhabitants of which are in general very well affected to the princes of the House of Savoy, their native Sovereigns for many centuries.

Matters being thus circumstanced, it was the firm persuasion of persons of political knowledge and discernment, at the close of the year 1794, that Italy would be that country wherein the consequences of the French revolution would finally be felt in their fullest extent, unless the alliance between Sardinia and Austria should be more prosperous than it had hitherto proved; which, however, from past events, did not seem probable: an alteration of circumstances in favour of both these sovereigns, depended not only on the success of their arms in Italy, but also on the better fortune of those of the whole confederacy.

The termination of this campaign left the affairs of Europe in the most astonishing condition they had ever experienced since that political system had been formed, which had kept them so long in equipoise, and happily prevented any nation from exceeding those limits of power and consequence which must have necessarily endangered

gered the authority and importance of the others. That system was now forgotten ; that equipoise destroyed ; and the whole fabric of the standing politics of centuries tottering to its foundation. The causes of this amazing change lay much deeper than either the revolution of France, or the confederacy formed to counteract it. A spirit had started up, which, disdaining to be fettered by those maxims to which mankind has submitted for a long course of ages, had struck out new paths, embraced new principles, and seemed determined, in defiance of all opposition, to establish a new order of things throughout the civilized world *. This was an attempt of such a nature, that it could not fail to excite the most violent resistance. The enmity of many would arise from the interest they would feel in its suppression ; the abhorrence of others would flow from the persuasion of its pernicious consequences to society ; and multitudes would condemn it, on account of that dislike of change which must be attended with much confusion before things can be thoroughly settled.

In the mean time the operations of this spirit were incessant. As it fell chiefly on minds the most restless, most turbulent, and most resolute, its activity at last knew no repose ; its audacity dreaded no danger ; and it laboured with an indefatigable assiduity to gain proselytes among all whose qualities and way of thinking were similar to those of its propagators. Individuals of this frame of mind possess a natural ascendancy over

all others. Doctrines supposed to be founded on moral rectitude, the most powerful principle among moral agents, were readily embraced by men who believed that while they consulted their self-interest, they paid homage at the same time to immutable truth and justice. Novelty too, proverbially the pursuit of most men, contributed largely to their rapid diffusion ; and as they differed essentially from many received notions, the truth of these began to be called in question, and they were gradually dismissed to make room for more acceptable ideas. Time and speculation having, by degrees, ripened them into a regular system ; among their numerous adherents, the fervour with which these maintained and were determined at all hazards to support them, gave birth to a resolution to let them no longer lie buried in theory, but to bring them forwards into actual practice.

It happened at the same time, that a coincidence of extraordinary events co-operated with the most ardent wishes that could have been formed by the professors of this new system. A nation the most fervid, and susceptible of those impressions that fascinate the imagination, had long lain dormant and deprest under an accumulation of difficulties which had exhausted its patience. Its government abounded with errors, which had produced much misery ; and the public was anxiously seeking for remedies to its distresses. Matters indeed were in a train for gradual and even speedy reformation ; but the impatience of the French nation cannot brook any delay ; and is dis-

* See Vol. XXXIV. of this Work, page 4.

posed to pursue its object through certain dangers, rather than to wait for its certain and safe accomplishment at any future period.

This was the moment which the spirit of novelty and reform seized with the keenest avidity for immediate exertion. The very nation so situated, abounded with spirits of this stamp. They lost no time in seizing so favourable an opportunity of introducing themselves into the most active functions, and of preparing the materials wherewith to erect the fabric they had in contemplation.

With a circumspection arising from the profoundest policy, they concealed their ultimate views from the majority; whose minds, though in strong unison with their own respecting a multiplicity of objects, were not yet arrived at that point which would be requisite for the accomplishment of those ends which were finally proposed; but when, through a surprizing variety of favourable incidents, they had gained possession of the public mind, they threw away all concealment, and openly avowed their purposes to the world.

As these purposes were highly soothing to the sentiments of men desirous of making a figure in society, they were instantly joined by all the bold and daring spirits in the nation. Of such only they accepted for the execution of those projects which were necessary for the security of the system they had established. In the collision of the many rivals struggling successively for power, all principles of humanity were trampled to the ground; but those principles on which their system had been founded, remained unshaken in the attachment of the

public. The very suspicion of enmity to these was a crime; and tyranny, cloaked a while with the pretext of patriotic severity, was, on the instant of its discovery, doomed to immediate destruction.

These maxims and passions have wrought a radical change in the reciprocal conduct of the French and the European powers, in their various relation with each other. Conscious of the irradicable enmity borne by those powers to their principles, they can be friendly to none, and are therefore suspected of eagerly watching for opportunities of subverting every system of government but their own.

While Europe remains suspended in its expectations and fears of what will finally prove the result of this natural state of hostility between France and those potentates whose all is now at stake, dissimulation may hold forth the appearance of peace; but its reality will never, it is much to be feared, be known till that awful decision is made which will either confirm the new system of things, or procure, thro' its entire ruin, the restoration of the old: a consideration complete with terror, when that fatal alternative is weighed, which hence will of necessity arise, or at least may be dreadfully apprehended, that either France will ultimately succeed in overturning every government in Europe, or that, after shedding seas of blood, and converting this part of the world into scenes of devastation and horror, the old government will effect the total ruin of that country and people, and ensure, by the rights of war, its depression and degradation for ages to come.

In searching for an event, or æra
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in history, that might be found to bear some analogy to this great revolution in the sentiments of so large a portion of the European world, and that might suggest some anticipation of its probable result, and some instructions for the conduct of nations, we have not been able to discover any nearer parallel than the reformation of religion; which, after various preludes in different countries, blazed forth in Germany in the first part of the sixteenth century. The

Wars that ensued were, like the present, wars of opinion; and after a struggle continued, with some interruptions, for upwards of a century, were terminated at the peace of Westphalia by a compromise. The more a man reflects on these two objects, the more circumstances he will certainly perceive of discrimination; but the more he revolves them in his mind, in their origin and progress, the more he will also discover of resemblance.

CHAP. V.

Causes of the rapid Changes of Men and Measures, and of the Vicissitudes in Government during the Progress of the French Revolution. Discontents excited by the Barbarities exercised by various Parties. Motives for the general Submission of the French to the Ruling Party at the Commencement of the War with the Coalesced Powers. Determination of the Royalists to unite against the Republicans. Insurrection in La Vendée. Its Causes, Beginning and Progress. Joined by Numbers of the Noblesse and the Clergy. Military Plans and Dispositions made by the Vendéans. Alarm of the Convention. Policy of the Insurgents in concealing the Names of their Chiefs. Charette the first Promoter of the Insurrection. He erects the Royal Standard. Risings headed by Stofflet and Caigneau. Fears and Preparations of the French Government against the Vendéans. Distribution of the Vendéan Army into three Divisions. Appointment of Deltée to the chief Command. The Insurgents supply themselves with Arms, by seizing those of the Conventional Troops. Advantages resulting from the Situation of their Country. They adopt Defensive Measures. Their Victories: They meet with a Repulse at Nantes. Numerous Forces march against them. They defeat these Forces. New Method to reduce them adopted by the French Government. They are overpowered and forced to abandon their Country. They retreat across the Loire. They lose their principal Chiefs, who die of their Wounds. They march into Brittany. They attack St. Malo and Grandville without Success. They defeat the Armies sent against them. They quit the Sea-Coast, and make an Irruption into Maine and Anjou, against the Advice of their Chiefs. Immense Force ordered against them. They receive Intelligence of the intended Assistance from England, and march towards the Sea-Coast. They are overtaken by the Conventional Troops and entirely defeated, with a prodigious Slaughter. The Isle of Noirmoutier is taken by Charette. He is left by most of his People, and Noirmoutier is retaken by the Conventional Troops. His remaining Followers obliged to disperse. Barbarities exercised by the French Government upon the Royalists.

HISTORY does not furnish an example of a nation that, having emancipated itself from despotism, and acquired a constitution founded on principles of freedom, was again so quickly enslaved as the French. Elated with their acquisition, and impatient to give it every improvement of which it might be susceptible, they did not reflect that no species of system requires so much inquiry and deliberation, and is slower in its progress towards perfection, than a political constitution. The rules that are applicable to the disposition of one people have, it is well known, being sometimes found inapplicable to others: and the propriety of any government depends so much on the circumstances of time, place, events, and individual characters, that what may suit one nation, may prove unfit for another; and what may be proper for a nation at one period, may be highly improper at another. Totally inattentive to these maxims, and hurried on, partly by a native impetuosity, partly by the artful impulse, communicated by men who had deeper designs in contemplation than the rest, the French took such rapid strides in their revolutionary motions, that they underwent greater changes in their political system during the short lapse of five or six years, than some nations have experienced in the course of so many centuries. From an absolute, they emerged to a limited monarchy: from thence they passed to a democracy; which speedily gave way to an oligarchy: and this was shortly absorbed in the tyranny of one. In these expeditious changes, the character of the nation was singularly prominent:

inconstant in its ideas, fickle in its attachments, restless in its motions, and invariably preferring what it expected to what it possessed. When to this radical frame of temper are added the machinations and intrigues of ambitious individuals, and of those who had been, or thought themselves ill used or neglected by men in power; when we advert to the current notions of the times, the popular zeal of liberty, the suspicious light in which numbers were held, the resentment for past sufferings, the dread of their return, the consequent hatred borne to the former arbitrary government, and the violent adherence to those principles that overturned it; when the private views by which so many were actuated, are weighed, together with the public motives by which the mass of the nation was guided; when the vanity and opposition to each other, of leading interests and opinions, are considered, the warmth with which they were espoused, the determination with which they were supported and enforced:—when we take all these things into consideration, we shall be at no loss to account for the uncertainty and fluctuation of the power successively possessed by the parties that were precipitated from the helm with such rapidity; nor yet for the effusion of blood that accompanied these changes, and that marked so strikingly the dread as well as the hatred in which they reciprocally held each other.

The national character of the Americans, and the geographical as well as moral and political circumstances of that people, were so different from those of the French, that we are not surprized to find

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very different results arising from their national councils. But there is another circumstance of diversity besides all these, to which, partly, the wide difference between these results may be traced. In all the stages of the American revolution, one regulating and presiding mind combined a great variety of parts, and harmonized them into that unity and consistency of design which is scarcely to be expected from the joint councils of a number of men, actuated by a variety of opposite views and passions. Perhaps, if Mirabeau had lived, and only perhaps, France might have derived from him benefits similar to those conferred on America by General Washington.

It was natural that, viewing the progress of revolutionary measures, attended by such direful consequences, a large party should embrace the contrary side of the question. Comparing the inexorable character of those who supported the democratic establishment that rose on the ruins of monarchy, with the severity of which this latter was accused, they could readily perceive, that in the very worst periods of monarchy, no such barbarities had been exercised as since its abolition.

As facts are always more impressive than arguments and reasonings, however plausible, or even well founded, the multitude was forcibly struck with this difference, and paid little attention to the apologies that were made for the harsh measures that were pursued. Their barbarity was obvious; and no pretence of their necessity could screen them. Though strongly attached to the cause of freedom, the people sincerely regretted that such

means should be employed to maintain it. The only motive that induced the generality not to approve, but, in some degree, to bear with the system of terror and implacability now triumphant, was the apprehension that, were the formidable coalition, now acting against France, to prove successful, no mercy would be shewn to its opponents; and France, after being converted into a field of slaughter and destruction, would finally be parcelled out among the coallesced powers, in the same manner as the unhappy kingdom of Poland.

To such considerations may be imputed the tame acquiescence with which the French beheld the supreme power devolve into the hands of the most merciless tyrant that ever was, through an unforeseen concurrence of events, fortuitously raised, in reality, though not in name, to a dictatorial throne.

In the mean time, the cruelty of the ruling powers, and especially of him in whom all the power of the state became finally centered, had excited the adherents of the monarchy to unite with more vigour and firmness than ever in opposing the new system. Among those numerous opponents none signalized themselves so conspicuously as the inhabitants of that part of France formerly called Poictou; and in the new division of that country denominated La Vendée. As they acted with no less sincerity than zeal in the cause they undertook to maintain, nothing could exceed their activity and courage. Had not the strength and abilities they had to contend with been of the first rate, it is probable that the issue of the contest would

have been in their favour. But that strength and those abilities had overpowered the combined force of the most formidable coalition that had ever been framed against a state; and thus, notwithstanding the desperate resistance of men who knew that, if defeated, death would be their fate, and that in victory alone lay their security, the genius and military knowledge of those who acted against them proved ultimately successful. It was a considerable time, however, before that resolute party was subdued which took up arms for the royal cause in the department of La Vendée. All Europe beheld, with astonishment, the obstinacy and courage with which they maintained their ground, in defiance of the immense superiority of numbers and soldiership, and of every advantage resulting to their enemies from the support of a settled and powerful government, and an active and vigorous administration of its vast powers and resources.

The long and celebrated contest between royalty and republicanism in this province, had subsisted ever since the death of Lewis XVI. to whose cause and memory the inhabitants bore the most fervent attachment. Their resistance to the established government was of a peculiar nature, and displayed in a singular manner the character of men invincibly attached to the political and religious system of their forefathers. No part of the French nation had beheld the alterations in the spiritual government of the kingdom with more disapprobation. They had remained equally attached to the ancient noble families of the province, and had zealously protected them

from that barbarous treatment which the noblesse had experienced in so many other parts of the kingdom. When the disobedience of such numbers of the French clergy had subjected them to the penalties enacted against them by the Constituent Assembly, they braved all dangers in affording them an asylum against persecution. So radically indeed were they attached to the former establishment, both in church and state, that they looked with contempt and abhorrence on every decree that thwarted them; and appeared constantly determined to seize the first favourable occasion of openly opposing them. Conformably to this disposition, they had, as soon as they were apprized of the King's flight from Paris, resolved unanimously to take up arms in his defence, and made themselves ready to join those who should espouse his cause.

These various considerations had rendered them particularly obnoxious to those who were in possession of the supreme power; while it pointed them out, at the same time, as the fittest instruments of their designs to those who were meditating an opposition to revolutionary measures. From the sentiments unequivocally professed by the inhabitants of La Vendée, that department had long been the receptacle of many of those daring spirits who had formed a resolution to avail themselves of the discontents of the people, to incite them to insurrection. The dethronement of the King, and his imprisonment, had filled them with the highest indignation; but his trial and execution had roused them to such a pitch of rage, that they were

no longer able to contain themselves within the bounds of discretion, necessary to gain time sufficient to prepare for the bold design they instantly formed, and determined without delay to execute. This design was, to rise in a general mass throughout the whole department, and attack the republican party in every quarter. This daring measure was suggested to them by the numerous individuals, of courage and character, who had suffered for the royal cause, and taken refuge among them. These men no longer concealed themselves; they appeared in public, avowed their purpose, and openly encouraged the multitude to join them. They succeeded to the utmost of their wishes. The peasantry of the whole province unanimously submitted themselves to their direction, and immediately proceeded to action. Armed with clubs, pitchforks, scythes, axes, and similar instruments, they fell upon the municipal soldiery with such fury, that these were unable to resist so sudden and unexpected an attack. They were compelled to resign their arms to the insurgents, who supplied themselves from the public magazines with all the warlike utensils of which they stood in need. Elated with their success, they spread themselves over the whole country, inviting all men to follow their example. They broke open the prisons, and set at liberty all those who are detained there for adhering to the royal cause. Numbers of the noblesse and clergy were thus delivered from confinement, and became a powerful addition to the Vendéans, from the weight of their character, and the superiority of their abilities. They

organized those raw but resolute multitudes, and by these means added immensely to their strength, and inspired them with fresh vigour. These transactions took place in the beginning of March.

This insurrection, which had in its commencement appeared no other than a mere ebullition of popular phrenzy, which timely firmness would easily suppress, assumed, in a short time, an aspect of the deepest alarm. An extent of country, more than a hundred miles, had openly thrown off obedience to the Convention, and taken up arms against it. What was still more terrifying, all the discontented hastened from every part of France to their assistance; and these were the more formidable, that they consisted in a large proportion of officers and military men of all ranks, who had either been discharged on suspicion, or had quitted the service out of disgust. The order and arrangement introduced by their means among the numerous and fierce peasantry that received them with open arms contributed in a short time to reform them to a degree of discipline and subordination sufficient to qualify them to meet any troops that could at first be opposed to them. The regular forces of the nation were occupied on the frontiers against the coalesced powers; and the Convention could provide no other troops against the Vendéans than such as were as inexperienced as themselves. Against armies of this nature the Vendéans marched with a confidence and resolution that constantly procured them the most decisive victories.

Among other measures adopted by the insurgents to preserve them-

selves from the vengeance of an irritated government, they transported into the most remote and inaccessible parts of their country, their wives, children, and aged relations, together with the most valuable of their property, and especially every necessary article of subsistence. Here they were guarded by a force of 50,000 men stationed in those passes through which the enemy could not penetrate. Thus delivered from the anxiety naturally resulting from the dangers to which all that was dearest to them must otherwise have been exposed, their whole attention was employed in resisting and annoying their enemies. The heads of the Convention were fully sensible of the necessity of an immediate suppression of this dangerous insurrection. All the troops, and all the best officers that could be spared from the armies in Flanders and Germany, were sent against the Vendéans; but, however experienced and active, the soldiers and commanders who engaged these desperate insurgents, found them more than an equal match for all their courage and capacity. The accounts daily received from this quarter, and which found their way into all the countries in Europe, excited their universal astonishment. A particularity well deserving of notice, was, that in the midst of the continual successes attending the arms of those insurgents, it long remained undiscovered who were their principal leaders, the motives that led these to conceal themselves were equally modest and discreet.

Being persons of respectable families, and many of their relatives being in the power of government, they dreaded to become known, lest the vengeance of their enemies, unable to reach them, should be wreaked upon their friends and relations. Thus they sacrificed the renown they might acquire by their actions, to the generous feelings of humanity.

The more effectually to conceal themselves, they attributed the honour of their exploits to a fictitious chief, upon whom they conferred a name of great celebrity in the annals of France. This name was Gaston, borne at different periods by some of the first and most celebrated personages in the kingdom. But the real truth was, that the principal instigator and actor in this great and formidable insurrection, was the famous and unhappy Charette*. He was originally an officer in the navy, where his talents and character distinguished him conspicuously. He was at this period in the flower of youth, little more than eight-and-twenty years of age: but the opinion of his capacity was so well established, that all eyes were fixed on him as the properest person to assume the chief command. He was accordingly acknowledged as such; and in virtue of that character, on the 10th of March, 1793, he publicly erected the royal standard, and proclaimed the infant son of the unfortunate Lewis XVI. King of France, by the name of Lewis XVII.

This was neither a vain nor an ostentatious ceremony. It was per-

* There are in Poictou, or La Vendée, a great many families of the name of Charette. In this country as in the Highlands, and some other parts of Scotland, almost all the natives of some districts have the same names.

formed at the earnest desire of the Vendéans, and as a signal of reunion to all the friends of royalty. It operated with prompt efficacy. A resolute subaltern in that body of brave soldiers, formerly known by the name of Swiss Guards, followed the example of Charette. This was the well-known Stoffet. Another individual, less known, but not less intrepid, imitated them. His name was Catineau, and his rank in life no higher than that of sexton to a parish church: but the vigour of his mind, and the intrepidity of his disposition, elevated him above his station, and he derived from them a credit and authority to which birth alone could not have entitled him in such critical times. These were the three men under whom originally arose that formidable opposition to the republican government, which created more anxiety in its ablest and boldest heads and assertors, and cost a greater expence of blood to France than all the strength and exertions of the coalition itself. What chiefly intimidated the supporters of the republic, was the dread lest the unyielding perseverance of the Vendéans should raise up imitators in the many places throughout France, where their wellwishers abounded. This dread was founded on the consciousness of the hatred borne to the rulers of the nation, not only by the royalists, but by the more moderate of their own party; who deeply abhorred the sanguinary maxims they had adopted and continually practised without remorse or shame; and who, notwithstanding their partiality to a republican form of government, could not reconcile themselves to the means by which it was supported.

Notwithstanding their first successes, and the daily increase of their numbers, the insurgents soon found that they were surrounded on every side with difficulties of such magnitude, that, unless they were aided from other quarters, their own exertions could only serve to protract the date of their destruction. All the country round them was in the hands of their enemies, and the generality of the inhabitants in their interest. Numerous forces were advancing against them from every one of the adjacent provinces. In this perilous situation, after consulting on the means of facing the immense multitudes that were preparing to assail them, they divided their strength into three parts:—The first was stationed opposite the district of Nantes, and was put under the command of Charette, who, being born in the proximity of that city, was well acquainted with the people and the country, where he had numbers of wellwishers. The second division was posted in the neighbourhood of those districts that lie towards Rochelle, and was intended as a protection to the southern confines of La Vendée. The third took its position in the country bordering on Saumur, a city of great importance, and which it was foreseen the enemy would make his head-quarters, and the centre of his operations. These dispositions were allowed by the best judges to have been extremely judicious. They were the result of that zeal for the common cause in which they had embarked, and which had prompted the first leaders and promoters of the insurrection to devolve their authority upon those military gentlemen who either had

been rescued by them from prison, or had afterwards joined them. Out of those gentlemen a selection was formed of excellent officers; at the head of whom was placed as commander M. Delbée, a person of long standing and experience in the service. The vigorous frame of body of the numerous peasantry of which the Vendéan army consisted, and the lofty spirit and invincible courage of those multitudes of the young noblesse who flocked from all parts to the insurgents, gave an appearance of strength and of lustre to their cause, which inspired its defenders with the warmest hopes.

In the midst of these arrangements, they still remained alarmingly deficient in the most necessary articles of war. They wanted arms, and could procure none, but by taking them from their enemies; they wanted also ammunition, and every species of warlike stores. The first object, therefore, that engaged their attention, was to obtain these in a sufficiency to supply the vast numbers of their people. Herein they succeeded through incessant attacks on the republican troops, whom they constantly defeated. In a short time, through repeated victories, they became possessed of immense quantities of military necessaries; and at the same time struck a panic into the enemy, from which it was long before he recovered.

The plan they first adopted was entirely defensive. Swayed by those among them whose knowledge and experience in the conducting of war entitled them to proper deference, they avoided all unnecessary risks, and kept within the limits of their own country, sallying forth

only to procure arms, ammunition, and such implements of war as they absolutely needed. The face of their country being rugged, uneven, woody, intersected by marshes, and altogether difficult of access, secured them sufficiently against any sudden surprize from the enemy. The three divisions of their army were so advantageously posted, as easily to assist each other in case of need; and the many defiles and narrow passes, enabled men of genius to throw continual obstacles in the way of the most numerous foe. Notwithstanding the superiority of an enemy regularly supplied with all he might want for carrying on his operations, or to repair his losses, such was the activity and vigilance of those who commanded the Vendéans, that during the space of more than five months; from the middle of March to the end of July, they led them to perpetual victories, that succeeded each other with daily rapidity. History can hardly furnish a parallel to the career of success that so long attended this obstinate and spirited insurrection.

While the Vendéans were thus triumphant in the field, they endeavoured to establish a government among themselves, on the same plan that had prevailed under the old monarchy. The affairs of the province were managed by a supreme council acting under the authority of the crown, and acknowledging the late king's brother, the Count of Provence, the regent of the kingdom. The political views of this council extended no farther than to secure the country from the attempts of the republican government, and to protract the stand they were making against it, long enough to afford time to those
among

among the coalesced powers, who were most able to give them aid to effect their purpose in the manner they judged most advantageous. At the same time, it must be observed, that the government they aimed to settle was very imperfectly organized; they were obliged, in many cases, to apply military law; and, by the want of regular government, a door was opened for the reception into their number of whole bands of vagabonds and highway robbers. It is the opinion of many, considering the numbers and courage of the insurgents, the natural strength of their country, the gradual influx of malcontents from every district around, many of whom were military men of experience, and the knowledge in warlike matters both officers and soldiers were continually obtaining, the probability that, had they remained firm and compact in such a situation, powerful succours would have been sent to them, from the prospect of their proving useful—it is the opinion of many, considering all these circumstances, that, if they had uniformly adhered to their original plan, they might have maintained their ground to the present hour. But being elated with unchecked successes, and allured by promising circumstances, they began to relax from that caution which had hitherto kept them chiefly on the defensive. In the course of their operations they had frequently forced the entrenched camps of their enemies, cut several of their armies to pieces, stormed some of their towns, and acquired a prodigious booty both in money, magazines, and valuables of every kind. Among other places of note, they had, on the 12th of June, taken

the important city of Saumur, and, with it an immense deposit of every article necessary for war. The acquisition of this place was followed by that of Angers, on the 15th, and had been preceded by a dreadful battle, wherein vast numbers had fallen on each side; but which ended in the completest victory over the republican army. Here it was they should have stopped, and been satisfied with the fruits of so great a victory. But they were so intoxicated with this last exploit, that they began to look upon their enemies as no longer competent to meet them in the field. They were, at the same time, secretly invited by the inhabitants of some towns of note, to march immediately to their support, promising to join them as soon as they appeared. These invitations, with the likelihood of succeeding in offensive as they had done in defensive measures, were laid before the council, and canvassed with unusual heat. The moderate and cautious, strongly recommended a continuance of that conduct which had been productive of so much safety as well as prosperity; but numbers carried it in favour of a more enterprising plan of acting. They alleged that the further they advanced, the more friends they would find; and it was even hinted, that terrified as the enemy had certainly shewn themselves, a march to the capital might be attempted.

Though an enterprise so hazardous was laid aside, through the many prudent considerations that militated against it, yet it was agreed, not however without much dissention, that an attempt should be made on the city of Nantz. Hither a large body of insurgents

marched, and assaulted it on the 20th of June with their usual ardour: but the inhabitants were prepared for them. Supported by a large garrison, they made so resolute a defence, that the insurgents were entirely foiled, and compelled to abandon this rash undertaking. They retired after losing a number of their bravest men.— This was a check that restored, in some measure, the spirit of their enemies.

These transactions and others, sometimes prosperous, sometimes adverse to the Vendéans, happened between the beginning of March and the latter end of August. They were of a nature to excite the utmost solicitude in the ruling powers, who clearly perceived that unless the insurgents were immediately suppressed, their successes would encourage others to follow their example, and raise at last such an host of internal foes, as would enable the foreign combination to recover itself, and shortly to renew its efforts against the French Republic with better hopes of success than before. It had happened, luckily for the republican interest, that by the articles of the capitulation of Meutz, when it surrendered to the Prussians, the garrison had only engaged not to serve against the combined powers; and was therefore at the French government's disposal in other respects. It did not fail to avail itself of this favourable circumstance, and ordered that garrison to hasten with all speed against the insurgents of La Vendée. This veteran body, reinforced by several others, some of whom consisted of tried soldiers, recommenced hostilities against the Vendéans in the beginning of September; when

these imagined they had nothing to apprehend till the spring of the ensuing year. They re-assembled, however, their scattered forces, and fell upon the enemy with such fury that they could not resist it; and were defeated everywhere with prodigious slaughter. What rendered those defeats totally unexpected, the Vendéans encountered the troops acting against them with far inferior numbers. Five or six thousand of those resolute insurgents attacked and put to the route twenty-five thousand of the troops of the line; of whom they made a terrible carnage. Another body of them, consisting of much the same number, had the boldness to assail an army of forty thousand men; who were defeated, with the loss of a great part of their artillery and baggage.

Equally exasperated and astonished at these endless disappointments of all their endeavours to crush this formidable insurrection, the French government now determined to adopt the most atrocious means to combat it with effect. Their Generals were commissioned to invade instantly the country of La Vendée at the head of all the troops that could be collected for that purpose, and to set fire to every thing they met with on their march. These sanguinary mandates were executed with a barbarous fidelity. Nothing was spared. What escaped the sword perished by the flames. The immensity of numbers, and the precautions taken by the republican Generals were such, that the Vendéans were no longer able to resist the destructive progress of their enemy, who moved forward deliberately, furnished with every engine of destruction, and guarded by

by all the art of tactics against the expected rage of the people whom they were coming to destroy. The Vendéans were not wanting to themselves in so terrible a crisis. They omitted no means of defence which they were able to provide; and they fought with their usual courage; but their enemies came upon them with such extraordinary preparations, that all their efforts to resist them were unavailing. They were compelled to abandon every post they occupied, and which they had hitherto considered as inexpugnable. They were gradually chased, step by step, from every position they took, in order to make a stand against this dreadful and merciless attack: but they could maintain themselves nowhere, and were forced to retire on every side; while they beheld, in their retreat, all the houses, habitations, and hamlets around them, committed to the flames.

In this desperate extremity their only care at last was to save themselves and their families from the fury of an implacable foe, determined to shew no commiseration and to give no quarter. The numbers of the Vendéans collected for this purpose amounted to about one hundred thousand. They withdrew to the banks of the river Loire, almost destitute of provisions and necessaries. The most resolute would have stood their ground, and presented a front to the enemy, who was close upon their rear; but the majority advised to cross the river, as the surest method of securing the immense multitude of women, children, and aged people, by whom they were accompanied. This resolution was taken, and executed with all possible speed. They

had the good fortune to gain the other side, before the enemy had reached them. This escape was, in their forlorn condition, esteemed a singular and critical deliverance; and, though labouring under the extremes of want, they began to resume their spirits, and to form new plans of proceeding.

The only method that appeared practicable, and held out any reasonable prospect of retrieving their affairs, was, to make the best of their way to the sea-side, where they would be nearest at hand to receive those succours from England they had long been promised and expected. This was truly an arduous undertaking, as they had their way to fight through an hostile country. The length of the journey reached from the spot on which they were, at the banks of the Loire, to the northern coast of Brittany, a space above an hundred miles. But they were now recovered from the terror they had experienced on the sudden and unexpected manner of the irruption into their country by the republican army, and were prepared to encounter all dangers and difficulties in the execution of their present project. The greatest misfortune that had befallen them while contending with the republican army in La Vendée, was the loss of the three principal commanders Delbée, Bonchamp, and Lescure, who were mortally wounded in the last action that preceded the retreat to the Loire. They were highly esteemed and respected by the royal party, and no less dreaded by the republican. Barrere declared openly in the Convention, that the fall of these chiefs of the insurgents was equivalent to many victories over them.

them. They were replaced by Stoffet and Laroche Jacquelin. This latter was a young gentleman of respectable origin, and of great military talents. He was particularly noted for an intrepid coolness, that supplied him constantly with resources in the most desperate situations.

The flight of the insurgents across the Loire had been much disapproved by the two chiefs who happened to be absent when that transaction took place: but it was now too late to attempt the recrossing that broad and rapid river, of which all the passages were strongly guarded. They were of course compelled to follow the impulse of the multitude, and to guide it to the best of their abilities. Under their conduct a bold and rapid march was begun through the province of Brittany; they were opposed by a number of republican troops; but they quickly dispersed them, and overcame every impediment thrown in their way. When arrived at the place of their destination, which was that part of the north coast of Brittany which fronts the island of Jersey, they had no doubt of being speedily succoured from England. They knew that in such case, the two spacious, rich and populous provinces of Normandy and Brittany, abounding in royalists, would have furnished the means of making a powerful impression on the republican interest in those parts; which was chiefly supported by the terror of the severities exercised everywhere upon royalists. After many consultations, the insurgents divided themselves into two armies: the one remained in Brittany, where it blockaded the strong town of St. Malo;

the other entered Normandy, where it besieged Grand' Ville, a town upon the coast nearest to Jersey; but as they were not expert in the tactics relating to sieges, and were ill provided for such an enterprise, they were repulsed, and forced to abandon it. They rejoined that division which had been left in Brittany; and both of them waited with the utmost impatience for the long desired arrival of the English; but, to their heavy disappointment and alarm, they neither saw a single ship, nor heard the least intelligence of their motions. In the mean time, the destruction of La Vendée, and the punctual execution of the inexorable decrees of the Convention, had been publicly notified at Paris, and afforded the amplest satisfaction to the republican party, which now looked upon the insurrection as totally suppressed, and the insurgents themselves as entirely exterminated. It was with the utmost surprise and indignation they were soon after informed, that, after transporting themselves over the Loire they had penetrated into Brittany and Normandy, and were waiting on the shores of those provinces for the assistance promised them from England. It behoved them without delay to obviate the danger of their being joined by the forces that were preparing at this time to make a descent in France, under the command of Lord Moira. They collected with all speed numerous bodies of troops, which were dispatched against them from all quarters. But the Vendéans encountered them with their accustomed bravery; and made such continual slaughter of them, that had not daily and hourly reinforcements arrived to replace

replace the multitudes that were slain, the insurgents must indubitably have carried every thing before them.

But this incessant replacement of men, and repair of every loss sustained by the republican troops, did not daunt the insurgents. The only cause of complaint among them was, the delay of those succours so long held out to them from England. Their patience was at length exhausted; and the majority at last determined to quit the sea-shore, where they had met such continual disappointments, and had so long tarried to no satisfactory purpose, in order to march back into the interior provinces, where they might the more easily procure the provisions of which they now experienced so much need, and would probably be joined by the numerous adherents to their cause, who were secretly but firmly determined to declare themselves, the moment they could do it with safety.

Actuated by these motives, they quitted the positions they had taken on the coast, and which had been chosen with great judgment, to favour the landing of the English, and precipitated their march towards the inland provinces of Anjou and Maine. The plurality, as well as the most prudent of their chiefs, endeavoured in vain to stem the torrent of disobedience to their order, and slight of their advice, which hurried on their people with such thoughtless violence and impetuosity; but they met with the most mortifying and injurious repulse: they were charged with the base design of remaining on the coast for the purpose of securing their own escape on-board the Eng-

lish fleet, and abandoning their people to the vengeance of the republicans. Notions of this kind spread so forcibly among the soldiery and subalterns of the insurgent army, that, without listening to their superiors, they directly began their proposed march in despite of all their entreaties and admonitions. Nothing could have happened more unfortunately for them than the impatience and precipitation they were guilty of on this occasion. They were hardly departed when the British squadron of men of war, and a fleet of transports, with a large body of troops and immense quantities of provisions, made its appearance on the coast which they had left so imprudently. Every sign previously agreed upon was made from the squadron; but no answer was returned; and after waiting fruitlessly a due space of time, and finding its presence useless, it sailed back to England. The insurgents in the mean time had entered the provinces of Maine and Anjou, where nothing was able to stand before them. They defeated the republican troops wherever these opposed them, and spread consternation over all the neighbouring countries. Such was the terror they occasioned, that all the bridges over the Loire were broken down from Nantes as far as Blois; and the city of Orleans itself was filled with the most serious apprehensions for its safety.

The republican troops, intimidated by the successes of the insurgents, and the defeats they constantly experienced, kept within strong entrenchments, and carefully fortified all the passages over the Loire and the other river that lay

lay between them and the insurgents. In this position they remained, waiting for those immense armies that were hastening to their assistance from all parts of France. The executive department had ordered 30,000 of their best troops to be draughted from the army of the Netherlands; and, for greater expedition, they were conveyed in flying waggons to the place of their destination. The forces stationed in that peninsula where Cherbourg is situated, were commanded to repair with all diligence to the same spot; and the troops in the district of Brest, together with those in the other districts of Brittany, amounting to four score thousand men, received like orders. The insurgents were fully sensible of the dangers that surrounded them on every side: but unused to despair, they were taken up with deliberations how to act most to their advantage in this perilous situation. While they were thus occupied, an emissary dispatched from the British squadron, found means, through a multiplicity of obstacles and perils, to make his way to the insurgents, whom he informed of the arrival of the English on the coast, and of the determination of the British government to give them the most effectual support. They were now convinced, though too late, of the error they had committed in forsaking the coast, and plainly saw the consequences of the false step they had so rashly taken; and expressed a readiness to be guided by those officers against whose better advice they had taken it. Laroche, the Commander in chief, instantly seized this opportunity of proposing an immediate return to the coast, and to make directly for Cher-

bourg; which being a town of little strength, they might master with facility. Here they would be able to make a stand till joined by the English, who then would meet with no sort of obstruction in bringing them all the succours they thought proper.

This bold, but not injudicious proposal, was immediately accepted, as it appeared to carry as few risks with it as any that could be adopted in the very critical situation in which they now stood. Their scattered bodies being collected, they set forwards with great resolution and confidence in their schemes. They marched in three divisions; the last of which formed their rear-guard, and were intended to resist any sudden attack, and protect the junction of such of their own people as had not yet joined the main body; as also of those who were desirous to become adventurers in the same cause.

The republican Generals were completely aware that, if the insurgents succeeded in their design, they would become more dangerous than ever; and, aided by so powerful an ally as England, might seriously endanger the very existence of the republic. They exerted, of course, all their abilities and observed every motion of the insurgents with a vigilance which nothing could escape. As soon as these had begun their march, they were followed on every side by the republican troops: a large body of which attacked the rear guard; but were quickly repulsed. Animated with this advantage, the royalists pursued them to a great distance, but unexpectedly fell in with one of those numerous reinforcements that

that were hourly arriving to their aid. Disordered and fatigued by their long pursuit, the royalists had no time to rally, and were unable to stand the charge of fresh troops. They were put to the rout, and a prodigious slaughter was made of them by the republican cavalry, which followed them in their flight as far as the central division. Here was the baggage, the provisions, and all the ammunition and stores of the insurgent army, with the aged, the sick, and the wounded. This division, unprepared for so unforeseen an attack, was instantly broken through, and thrown into irrecoverable confusion. No quarter was given; and the massacre extended indiscriminately to young and old. Those who escaped to the first division, threw it, by their reports, into such consternation, that it lost all courage and presence of mind. Laroche and Stoflet united their efforts to re-animate them; but all was in vain: such a panic had seized them, that they thought no longer of any thing but flight. In order to be the less encumbered, they even threw away their arms, and dispersed on all sides over the face of the country. But they were chased with the most barbarous fury to every spot where they had sought concealment, and unmercifully slaughtered, without distinction of age or sex. According to accounts reputed authentic, this inhuman execution extended to more than one hundred miles. The space through which they were pursued was strewed with the dead bodies of those unfortunate men; and the computation more than 7000 slain amounted to three parts, 000, which was nearly in four of their whole

number. So eager were the victors in this work of destruction, that the searching out and execution of this multitude was completed in fifteen days. The manner in which numbers of them were put to death was so atrocious, as almost to stagger belief. They were shut up by hundreds in barns, wherein they were burnt alive; others were thrown by whole companies into rivers; and such of them as kept above water, or got ashore, were shot.

General Westerman being now called to the bar of the Convention, informed them, that of the rebel army, which had been 90,000 strong in the district of Mons, not a single combatant had escaped. "Chiefs, officers, soldiers, bishops, Countesses, Marchionesses, and Princesses, had all perished by the sword, by the flames, or by the waves." This report was heard with applause in the galleries, mixed with bursts of laughter.

Some part of the insurgents, who had, through more coolness and determination than the rest, effected a retreat, and escaped the fate of their companions, finding it impracticable to return to their country by crossing the Loire, made the best of their way to the district of Morbihan in Brittany; of which the inhabitants were well known to be in the royal interest. But the destiny of their unhappy companions overtook them. They were, after a variety of adventures, assailed and overcome by numbers, and perished all together, as the others had done before them.

While the insurgent army under Laroche and Stoflet were suffering so many disasters, that body commanded by Charette had successfully

fully attacked the island of Noirmoutier, lying opposite to the coast of Poitou: but as soon as they were apprized of the misfortune that had befallen their associates, they were so terrified, that they immediately disbanded. Out of twenty-five thousand men, of which his force consisted, Charette saw himself at once reduced to little more than four thousand. They were men, however, on whose fidelity and valour he could rely, and who, knowing that they had no mercy to expect, were all resolved to die with arms in their hands, rather than be passively massacred in the field, or submit to an ignominious death. With this handful of men he took the intrepid resolution of confronting his numerous foes, and of disputing every inch of ground in his possession. But in despite of his invincible spirit and the courage of his adherents, he was not able long to retain Noirmoutier. The importance of this island was too well known for the republican Generals to suffer it to remain in his hands. The dread of its falling into the power of the English, induced them to assault it with all possible speed. After as brave a defence as the inconsiderable strength he had would allow, he was compelled to abandon it, together with the hopes he had formed of being able, through means of the English, to make it a place of arms; from whence the

royal party in the neighbouring parts might derive a variety of the most important advantages. The loss of this island exposed him and his followers to unceasing dangers. His conduct and their unconquerable courage, afforded constant employment to the republican troops; and it was not without the utmost exertions they succeeded at last in putting a period to their resistance, and compelling them to disperse. This was not effected without many combats and much effusion of blood. Forced at length to yield to inevitable necessity, his brave and faithful band was obliged to disperse for individual safety; which could no longer be preserved while they continued in a body. Both he and they parted with the most extreme reluctance; nor did they consent to this separation, until their numbers had been so reduced by the sword, that those who remained could not, without the most blameable temerity, hope for success in any farther resistance. It was at this calamitous period that the barbarity of the French government was carried to an excess that disgraced it throughout all Europe, even with the warmest wellwishers to the republican system; and that affixed in the imaginations of men a stigma to the national character*, which will require many years to be obliterated. The cruelties that sullied the successes obtained over the in-

* Though not perhaps altogether, it is alleged by some, with justice. Whether at this period the question has been put are we to look for the French character among the royalists, or the republican government? When the Romans groaned under proscriptions, they were to be considered rather as an unhappy than a cruel people. Yet it cannot reasonably be supposed that such a tyrant as Robespierre would have found in Britain, Germany, Poland, Denmark, or Sweden, so many prompt executioners of his bloody purposes.

urgents were such, that had not the Convention, struck with their horrors, deemed itself bound, in compliance with the general feelings of their friends as well as their foes, to bring to open justice the principal agent of those atrocious proceedings, the world, however inclined to hold their conduct in abhorrence, would not have given credit to the horrid reports that were circulated of the abominable treatment experienced by the royalists, after their insurrection had been suppressed, and the republican administration felt itself at liberty to give an unbounded loose to its rage. The only extenuation, if it be one, for the inhuman fury that actuated the whole of their conduct, was, that it originated in one of the most execrable characters that ever held the reins of government in that or in any country. The decrees that either authorized or gave occasion to the atrocious transactions of those bloody times, were ascribed to Robespierre and his associates. The gloomy and inexorable disposition of this infamous tyrant, is certainly well known: but had there not existed an aptitude in the instruments of his enormities for the perpetration of any inhuman deed he could have suggested, and had not these vile instruments proved as numerous and willing to obey him as his sanguinary temper required, France would not have seen so shocking a proportion of its inhabitants acting cheerfully the part of the most unfeeling executioners, and betraying, as it were, a native propensity to sport with the lives of their fellow-creatures.

In a country and nation hitherto

respected for its civilization, its hospitality, its manners, and its eminence in arts, its knowledge, and whatever adorns and refines human life, Europe beheld, and posterity will learn with astonishment and horror, that for the space of several months a tribunal existed in the large and populous city of Nantz, legally commissioned by public authority to exercise the most merciless and cruel despotism, and to condemn to the most unfeeling and scandalous modes of destruction, whole tribes and districts of their fellow-citizens. Allowing that they had been guilty of rebellion against the constituted authorities of their country, and that their lives had been forfeited by the law of the land, still the world must recoil with detestation at that strict and indiscriminating severity which excluded all species of compassion, and could at one breath sentence to perdition whole multitudes of men, women, and children, congregated for this purpose before that horrible tribunal. Death, sufficiently awful of itself to human nature, was clad in every additional terror that could appal the firmest mind. Thousands at once, in pairs of different sexes, were lashed to each other naked, and sent in this manner to be shot or drowned, in derision of every sentiment of humanity. These dreadful executions were styled Republican Weddings. Another species of execution, equally terrifying, was also adopted:—A boat, contrived to drop its bottom at will, was filled with crowds of those unhappy people, who thus were sunk in a moment. This was denominated the Patriotic Navigation, or Bathing. But these frightful deeds were still exceeded by

by those that were perpetrated in La Vendée. Here the vengeance of the republican party was glutted in a measure far beyond the other. After having said this, to enumerate the cruelties committed here would be equally painful and needless: it must be left to the imagination to conceive them. Ingenuity was exerted to secure the perpetuation of calamity and wretchedness in this unfortunate country: it was literally devoted to universal and everlasting ruin. The houses and habitations of mankind, and of the very cattle, were committed to the flames: the fruit-trees, and all that was combustible in gardens and cultivated grounds, were set on fire.

When we reflect on this spirit of death and devastation, and consider at the same time that it raged in the centre of Europe, in the heart of Christendom, me-

lancholy indeed must the fate of nations appear which neither arts can soften, nor religion humanize. It may without partiality be added, that in the scale of comparison between the French and their long noted rivals the English, no deeds of equal enormity can be imputed to the latter. During those civil wars in the last century that afflicted the three kingdoms, the contending parties were mutually satisfied with the blood that was shed in the field of battle. The very few heads that fell on the scaffold were undoubtedly respectable and eminent, and their fall is lamented to this day; but no cruelty or indecent treatment attended their latter hour. The enthusiasm of the victorious party was tempered with moderation, and the British nation still preserved its reputation of humanity.

CHAP. VI.

Second Insurrection in La Vendée. Junction of Charette, Stofflet, and La Roche Jacquin. They expel the Conventional Troops from La Vendée. First Appearance of the Chouans in Brittany. Their Progress and Resolution in contending with Hardships and Difficulties. Joined by Numbers, and become formidable. The Vendéans begin to recover Strength. Manner of fighting practised by the Insurgents of La Vendée. Their desperate Valour in Battle. Prodigious Slaughter made in the Vendéan Insurrection. Quickness in the Military Movements and Operations of the Vendéans. Their Neglect of Artillery. Their Manner of seizing that of the Conventional Troops. Their Want of Cavalry. Their military Accoutrements and Method of proceeding to Battle. Dishonourable Conduct of the Prisoners. Patience and Fortitude of the Vendéans in their second Insurrection. Strength of the Motives and Principles that actuated the Vendéans. Zeal and Courage of the Clergy that joined them. The Enthusiasm of the Vendéans compared with that of the Conventional Troops. Influence of the Women of Distinction who took refuge among them. Attachment of the Insurgents to their Chiefs. Honours paid to their Remains. Death of La Roche Jacquin. Base and cruel Treatment of the Insurgents by the Conventional Troops. The Virtue, Piety, Honour, and Fidelity of the Country People in France during the Revolution. Principal Cause of this laudable Conduct. Con-
vention

Convention decrees that *Generals condemned to Death for Treason shall be executed at the Head of the Army. Abolishes the Practice of Flogging in the Navy, and substitutes other Punishments. Admits Two Mulattoes and One Negro as Deputies to the Convention from St. Domingo. Abolishes Slavery. Establishment of the Maximum, and Speech of Barrère on this Occasion. New Powers granted to the Committee of Public Safety. Decree against reputed Enemies to the Revolution. Answer to the Declaration of the British Ministry. Conduct of Robespierre, Danton, and Barrère. Enmity between Robespierre and Danton. Machinations of Robespierre against the Cordelier Club and its chief Leader Hebert. Character of Hebert and of the Cordelier Club. Designs and Conduct of Hebert. He is arrested and brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal. Charges against him. He is condemned and executed, together with Anacharsis Clootz, and eighteen others. Danton and Camille Desmoulins unite in a Project for a milder System of Government. Robespierre suspects their Designs. Interview between him and Danton. Fabre d'Eglantine and other Members of the Convention arrested. Legarde defends him in the Convention against the Attacks of Robespierre. Accomplices in the Conspiracy attributed to Fabre d'Eglantine. Trial of Danton, Camille Desmoulins, and of the other Prisoners, by the Revolutionary Tribunal. Invektives of St. Just in the Convention against Fabre d'Eglantine. Bold Behaviour of Danton on his Trial. He is condemned to Death and executed. His Character.*

THE unnatural excesses committed by the republican party in La Vendée, produced an effect quite contrary to what had been proposed. By the unmerciful ravages of that country, it was intended to crush for ever the possibility of all insurrection. But in destroying the property of the wretched inhabitants, they had not been able to involve them all in the same destruction. Multitudes had escaped, and lay concealed in the vast forests of that woody region, in the many marshy tracks with which it abounds, and in the mountainous and almost inaccessible parts. Animated with rage and resentment at the deprivations of every means of subsistence, and having no longer any thing to lose but their lives, they were now determined to sacrifice these, in order to be revenged of their oppressors.

The intrepid and vigilant Charette, who, from the various concealments in which he had lain hidden, and indefatigably watched the transactions daily taking place around him, instantly seized this opportunity of rousing once more the royal party into action. He secretly visited those in whom he could place confidence, and through them prepared all the others to unite again for their common defence. He collected in a short time a body of twelve thousand men; endeared to each other by the misfortunes they had participated in the same cause, and rendered desperate by the consideration that their sustenance must henceforwards be procured at the point of the sword. At the head of this body, not less resolute from necessity than from principle, he fell upon a considerable force of republicans,

republicans, who, not expecting an attack from men whom they looked upon as entirely subjugated and dispirited, were taken by surprise, and near totally destroyed.

This was a signal for a new insurrection: all that remained of the royalists scattered over the province, repaired immediately to Charette. He was joined soon after by Laroche and Stoflet, who brought with them all they could collect of their dispersed followers. Their strength gradually increased to nearly forty thousand men; and they began to entertain hopes of renewing their former successes. They proceeded accordingly to clear the countries around them of all the republican troops, whom they attacked everywhere with their former resolution, and with additional rancour for the miseries they had experienced from their barbarity. They quickly expelled them, and gained possession of their country; but it was in a state of desolation. Their villages were in ruins, the fields stripped of their produce, their families fled, and themselves deprived of all those domestic comforts for the defence and preservation of which men are most ready to venture their lives. The chief motive remaining to inspire them was revenge. They had no other choice but of submitting to the foe, or of bidding him defiance. Submission and death they experimentally knew to be the same thing; and it was certainly preferable to die like soldiers in the bed of honour. Such was the language of Charette and his fellow-chiefs; and they found no kind of difficulty in persuading their followers to adopt those sentiments; which indeed were founded on the strictest propriety, as no

others could be suited to their present condition.

They were not, however, entirely destitute of favourable prospects. It was precisely at this period, that the Chouans began to make their appearance in Brittany. They took this name from three young men, the sons of a substantial owner of several iron-foundries, who had put themselves at the head of a number of men, whom they had prevailed on to take up arms for the royal cause. This happened at the time when the royalists, defeated by the republicans, had crossed the Loire, and entered Brittany. They at first shewed themselves in the neighbourhood of Fougères, and, emboldened by the example of the Vendéans, were emulous to imitate them. Like these, they fell with great courage on the republican troops, over whom they obtained many advantages: but on the approach of the numerous forces dispatched against them by the Convention, those whom they had defeated were enabled to rally, and, together with those reinforcements, composed a strength which the Chouans could not resist. They were put to the rout, and compelled to take refuge in the woods and fastnesses thickly spread over that country. The terrible overthrow of the royalists near Mans, and the subsequent disaster at Savenai, by dispersing the Vendéan army, helped powerfully to recruit the Chouans. Unable to rally, and closely pursued by the republican army, the fugitives saw no other means of safety than to direct their flight to Brittany, and join the Chouans. But their numbers united were not sufficiently strong to cope with the republican troops; and they were
a while

a while reduced to such straits for want of clothing, provisions, and all kinds of necessaries, that, contrarily to their primitive designs, they were forced to adopt such methods of supplying their wants as brought them into universal disgrace. They became plunderers and highway robbers; and when they wanted provisions, they fell, in large companies, upon those places in their proximity, where they procured a hard-earned subsistence, and courageously persevered in braving every difficulty, in hope of meeting with better fortune.

These hardships, however, were of such a nature, that the Chouans must have been quickly destroyed, had not they been relieved more speedily than was at first expected. The decrees of that oppressive combination which governed France at this time, were daily becoming so intolerably severe, that numbers of people chose to run all hazards rather than remain passive under them. The constant requisitions of men and money, the domiciliary visits, the suspicions incurred by many, the dread of being accused of disloyalty, the harsh treatment attached to such a situation; these, with a detestation of the conduct embraced by the ruling powers towards those whom they disliked, drove numbers of the inhabitants, both of the towns and country, from their habitations, and added them to the Chouans; who, strengthened by these daily and numerous additions, began again to make a formidable appearance, and to attract the notice of the districts around. The gentlemen in their neighbourhood; and even at a distance, viewed them in a more respectable light; and several did not

disdain to join them. As their force increased, many reputable individuals, urged by their fears, and conscious that their disaffection to government was no secret, determined to place themselves under their protection. By those means, they acquired at length a regular consistency, and adopted a proper organization. Such are the accounts circulated by those who were eye-witnesses of the assemblage of men so long known and so much dreaded, under the denomination of Chouans.

At the time when Charette again drew together the Vendéans, and was joined by La Roche and Stofflet, the numbers of the Chouans were computed at about 30,000. They occupied, in detached parties, that part of Brittany reaching from Fougères, an inland town, to Vannes, a sea-port on the southern coast of that province. Their positions were in woods and places difficult of access. In this manner they stood their ground successfully, and frustrated the incessant enterprizes formed against them by an army of more than 80,000 men.

During these transactions in Brittany, Charette and his two colleagues, La Roche and Stofflet, were exerting their united abilities to form their people to such habits of discipline and subordination as might qualify them to confront, in a soldier-like manner, those regular troops whom they soon expected to encounter. He had the good fortune to provide them with a sufficiency of tents and other necessaries taken from the enemy; and they assumed an appearance of good order and regularity which, combined with their bodily

vigour and invincible resolution, afforded him the strongest expectation of rendering this second insurrection in favour of the royal cause, of more efficacy than the first.

Certain it is, however, that with very little admixture of tactics, the Vendéans had, in their first insurrection, performed such feats of arms, as excited the utmost surprise of all the military men who witnessed them. Their manner of fighting was peculiarly their own. It was by no means framed in conformity to any of those modern plans, so learnedly described and recommended by the most celebrated professors of the art of war. It arose from the circumstances of the moment. Their constant aim, in every engagement, was to close in with the enemy, and to fight man to man. For this they were admirably qualified by their bodily strength, and the vigour and dexterity with which they exerted it. Fearless and almost ignorant of the danger they were about to encounter, they rushed with all the rapidity and violence they could collect, into the ranks of the enemy; and without employing scientific movements and evolutions, fought only by main strength and courage to break and throw him into disorder. Such a mode of engaging was necessarily attended with great bloodshed: but this was no object to the Vendéans. Their animation in battle arose from their detestation of the enemy, and the conviction that to destroy him was the noblest duty they could perform.

In consequence of this persuasion, the battles fought between the Vendéans and the republican

troops were dreadfully destructive; as both parties fought with extreme obstinacy. The slaughter was prodigious. The regular valour of the republican troops, and their cool dexterity in the use of their arms, always occasioned a terrible loss of men to the Vendéans before they could engage them so closely as to decide the contest by personal strength and resolution. But here it was that the Vendéans were sure to triumph. Fired with rage and fearless of their enemies, they fell upon them with a confidence of victory and a torrent of exertion, to which these were utter strangers in all the other scenes of their warfare, and which never failed to surprise and put them in confusion. The carnage that followed was unavoidable. Mixed with their enemies, the Vendéans dealt the surest destruction among them; and it was with the utmost difficulty that these could disentangle themselves and have recourse to flight. In no theatre of the war was so much destruction known as in La Vendée. In less than a twelvemonth it was complained of in the Convention, that through the mismanagement of their Generals, the republican armies were diminished by two hundred thousand men. Of the royalists also vast numbers fell. The fact was, that La Vendée was the ground chosen, as it were, to decide the contest between the republicans and the royalists. Hither the latter eagerly repaired from all parts of the kingdom. The majority of the officers and commanders of the Vendéans came from thence; and of common men an immense proportion consisted of those who flocked to them in crowds from the neighbouring provinces,

vinces, and even farther, and essentially contributed to repair their losses.

One of the most effectual causes of the surprising successes of the Vendéans, was the method of conducting their movements, whether to attack the enemy or to avoid him. The face of their country, broken, uneven, and boggy, was peculiarly unfavourable to the transporting of heavy baggage. For this reason they encumbered themselves with none. Every man carried what was indispensably necessary for himself; and a few horses were sufficient for such luggage as was not portable otherwise. Thus equipped, their marches and their retreats were equally quick. They could surprise, attack, or escape from the enemy with great celerity; to which he was wholly inadequate. When victorious, they were able to pursue him to what distance they pleased; and had only to guard against ambuscades. When overpowered, they soon were in safety, from the quickness of their motions unimpeded by the necessity of securing their baggage and artillery. It was commonly owing to the quantity and weight of these, that the republicans, after obtaining advantages, lost them immediately by following the Vendéans with their cannon and heavy baggage. The Vendéans, on purpose, retreated to narrow passes and marshy grounds, whither the enemy could not pursue them; or where, if he attempted it, his guns and carriages stuck fast, and afforded an opportunity of re-engaging him to advantage. Their local knowledge enabled the Vendéans also, when routed, to rally from all parts without opposition, while favoured by

darkness, and to renew the conflict at break of day, totally unexpected by the enemy; whom, for that reason, they frequently found unprepared to receive them. Often too, when a blow of importance was meditated, would the royalists disperse at the approach of the republicans; who, seeing no enemy, and apprehending no danger to be near, were apt to be less on their guard. When the appointed hour was come, which was always on those occasions a little before the dawn, they rushed from all sides on the encampment of the enemy, who seldom was able to resist them.

Such were the methods practised by the Vendéans in their warfare with the republicans. They so rarely failed of success, that, during a long time, the numerous bodies dispatched by the Convention to suppress the insurgents, were usually either destroyed, or put to flight. So disheartened at length were the republican troops, that it was with the utmost reluctance they marched against the royalists of La Vendée; whom they dreaded much more than any other enemy. What is peculiarly remarkable, amidst the surprising advantages daily obtained by the Vendéans, they had neither cavalry nor artillery. As their first victories had been gained without these, they were never very solicitous to procure them, until they found that sieges could not be undertaken without the one, nor a victory completed without the other. Having, however, no expert engineers among them, they continued very inattentive to the utility of cannon; and though they frequently took immense trains from the enemy,

they hardly made any use of them, though taught by fatal experience what destructive engines they were in hands that were dexterous in their management. This, indeed, rendered them very alert at the commencement of an action, to deprive the enemy of his cannon. Their manner of doing this was singular:—Ten or twelve stout-bodied and resolute men were selected for the taking of each gun; Armed only with cutlasses, for the greater expedition, they ran circuitously with the utmost speed towards the piece they were to seize. The moment they saw the match applied to the touch-hole, they flung themselves on their faces; and when the report was heard, they arose and proceeded in the same manner, till they had reached their intended object; which rarely escaped being spiked, if not taken.

As, from the want of cavalry, they found themselves unable to improve their victories to the full extent, they used their endeavours to procure a sufficient number of horses for this; but herein they never succeeded. Those which they collected from their own stock were taken from the plough, or other heavy and slow work, and of course were almost useless for the field. The only proper horses they could find, were what they took from the enemy; and of those they never possessed more than about five hundred;—so careful were the republicans when defeated to save their cavalry; well knowing the dreadful consequence of their horses falling into the hands of the royalists. The insurgents owed in fact not only their

arms and implements of war, but even their very clothing, in short all they had, to the booty they became masters of by their amazing successes. They took near 300,000 stand of arms from the republican troops and magazines; and had no other powder, and generally no other provisions, than such as they had the good fortune to seize in battle, or in the republican stores. A singularity in the military dress of the Vendéans, was, the relation it expressed to the cause for which they professed to have taken up arms. Over their uniform they wore a garment of white cloth, breasted with a large black cross, and fringed at bottom with relics of saints, or the smaller bones of fellow royalists slain by republicans. Round their necks hung their beads. Thus accoutred, they appeared like soldiers of the ancient crusades; and this strange admixture of war and religion carried a look of fierceness and enthusiasm which perfectly corresponded with their real character. It was chiefly when going to battle that they displayed this in all its terrors. With a slow pace, a downcast eye, their muskets slung over their shoulders, their heads uncovered, and their beads in their hands, they leisurely advanced towards the enemy, reciting together psalms and prayers. This pious ceremony ended, they joined in a tremendous shout, covered their heads, grasped their muskets, and rushed on the enemy with loud vociferation, of “Long live the King, and down with the republicans!” Those who were witnesses of their first charge, concur in representing it as the most terrific scene they ever beheld. No words

words could express their rage and fury, and the outrageous violence with which they broke in upon their foes.

But, notwithstanding their animosity against the republicans, they were not backward in giving them quarter, and setting them at liberty, until these had basely broken the terms on which it had been granted; which were, to serve no more against the royal cause. At the reduction of Saumur, 15,000 prisoners, who had been dismissed by the royalists on that condition, were a few days after found in arms against them. They were recognized by the precaution that had been taken to cut off their hair before they were set at liberty, by way of setting a mark upon them.

When the royalists, overpowered by the republican troops, were obliged to cross the Loire, they were encumbered by about 12,000 prisoners, on whom a retaliation was proposed by those royalists of whom the relations had been inhumanly massacred: but they were saved through the generous intercession of Bonchamp, one of the three commanders in chief of the royalists, who lay at that time expiring of a mortal wound. But his generosity was repaid with the meanest ingratitude:—they were no sooner dismissed, than they were perceived acting in conjunction with the enemy. In consequence of this treacherous conduct, the royalists came to the determination to adopt the severest reprisals, and to make no more prisoners. The patience and fortitude displayed by the Vendéans, during the whole course of this terrible warfare, never was exceeded in history. As their country, through continual

devastations, became at length unable to furnish them with subsistence, they had no other resources than the fortunate casualties of the day; and were literally reduced to live from hand to mouth. When they had crossed the Loire, and made an irruption into Brittany, they encountered every hardship that human nature can endure: they lay on the bare ground in the open air, and fed upon a small pittance of corn boiled in water. The extremes of want, and the impracticability of procuring a sufficiency of food for their numbers, obliged them at last to separate; and this separation broke at once their strength, and was the immediate cause of their overthrow.

Previously to the extreme scarcity which compelled them to disperse, they conducted their marches with an art and dexterity that astonished the enemy, and confounded all his endeavours to waylay and surprise them:—they marched in three columns, at about two miles distance from each other. Upon any hostile appearance between these columns, a signal was given, and they all three closed in upon the enemy. Two remarkable defeats of the republicans were due to this plan: the one at Fougères, the other at Dinant; both towns in Brittany. They had penetrated between two of these columns, and imagined they were broken asunder and unable to reunite; but the Vendéans quickly undeceived them by attacking them on both sides. Thus placed between two fires, they were almost all cut to pieces. After the reunion of the remaining bodies of the royalists under Charette, Stoffet and La Roche, and the second insurrection in La Vendée,

dée, their distresses in this desolated country were such, that the main object of their operations was to procure themselves a sufficiency of provisions for their existence. Many a bloody engagement took place from this sole motive. It was an absolute struggle for life, much more than for victory; but as before this was obtained, the other could not be secured, the Vendéans were necessitated to conquer or to die. As men thus circumstanced, and thus resolved, must naturally become formidable to their enemies, the Vendéans renewed the terror with which they had been viewed by the republican troops antecedently to their late disasters, and became as much dreaded as ever. They revived their former system of combating; and notwithstanding the immense number of enemies surrounding them on every side, they continued vigorously and successfully to maintain their ground and to bear up invincibly both against the indefatigable effort of their enemies, and the still more insupportable pressure of that privation of necessaries, which is so apt to overcome the resolution of the firmest minds.

When we consider this invincible courage under the greatest sufferings, and this determination to persevere in resisting their enemies to the last breath, our admiration cannot be refused to the power and influence of those principles that inspired them with so much heroism. Those which actuated the people of La Vendée, had the strength of ages in their favour. They had been traditionally handed down from father to son for a long succession, and were not of a nature to be easily eradicated: genera-

tions past had cherished them as the greatest comfort of life, and the most powerful support in its many trials: nations around had adopted them; and even those who were lukewarm in their attachment could not deny that they were a source of the brightest hopes and consolations. These principles were, a firm belief in the tenets of the Roman Catholic persuasion, and a conviction that the King had been unjustly dethroned, and that his son was lawful heir to the crown. Faithful to these maxims, they looked on the Convention not only as rebels to the King and monarchy, but as enemies to the Christian religion, in abolishing its legal establishment; and persecuting its ministers for refusing to comply with their injunctions.

Such were the foundations on which the Vendéans erected their resistance, and their resolution to perish rather than embrace the republican system, or submit in religious matters to the decrees of the Convention. What contributed in the highest degree to confirm the Vendéans in those determinations, was the influence of their spiritual pastors, and the vast numbers of ecclesiastics who had taken refuge among them. Their sincerity in the cause for which they contended could not be doubted: they had sacrificed all worldly considerations rather than forsake it, and had shewn themselves ready to lay down their lives in its support. They accompanied the insurgents to the field of battle, exposed to the same dangers as the combatants. They comforted the dying, they attended the wounded, and performed every pious and humane office that religion and charity could dictate.

dictate. Men thus employed, and thus behaving, could not fail to command the sincerest respect and attachment; add to this, that many of them were men of eminence for their birth and talents, and possessed of those insinuating manners and powers of speaking that have such authority over men. Hence arose that enthusiasm in the cause they had espoused, which distinguished the Vendéans from all the other insurgents in France: their motives were pure and disinterested: they sought the restoration of monarchy, and of the ancient religion, unmixed with any other views. The honesty and simplicity they displayed in all their proceedings, won them the admiration and confidence of all those neighbours who entertained the same opinions; and procured them a constant supply of whatever they could afford for their assistance and relief.

The vigour and spirit displayed by the republican armies contending against the coalesced powers for the defence of the nation, forms the most striking contrast, when compared with the very different spirit with which they generally acted against the insurgents of La Vendée. The enthusiasm of these was always far superior to that of the republicans:—it was the enthusiasm of religion, the most powerful and the most terrible that can move the human breast: all other motives of action shrink before it; and, in all ages, it has invariably produced the most wonderful and stupendous effects. Animated with this enthusiasm, the Vendéans rose above all the ordinary rules of acting. The republican soldiers, inspired with the noble ideas of liberty, may be said to have behaved

like men; but they had to deal with adversaries whose principles had rendered them more than human. Nor should it pass unnoticed, that among other motives for behaving bravely, a number of ladies of illustrious families and distinguished characters had repaired to La Vendée, in order to avoid the merciless fury of the French government, and place themselves under the protection of the insurgents. They were received with the warmest affection, and treated with the respect due to persons who had committed themselves to their faith and honour, and had, like them, renounced the enjoyments of grandeur and opulence, to follow the dictates of their conscience. This kind reception was amply requited by the emulation which arose among the many young gentlemen of family among the insurgents, to attract the notice and praise of those ladies, who gradually became the judges and rewarders of the brilliant deeds that were done, by the approbation and applause they bestowed upon them, and their gracious behaviour to all those who signalized themselves by their valour.

Another powerful inducement to the bravery of the insurgents was the close and affectionate connexion subsisting between them and their chiefs. The Vendéans, especially, had long been implicitly devoted to the upper ranks in their country; who justly deserved it by the gentleness and equity with which they treated their dependents and inferiors. The zealous attachment of the commanders appeared in every engagement, in the readiness with which they obeyed their orders, and the solicitude
they

they manifested for their safety. But no testimony of the high opinion and veneration in which they held their chiefs, could be stronger than that which was paid to their memory when they were no more. The bodies of those two brave officers Bonchamp and Lasiere, who died of their wounds a few days before the retreat of the insurgents across the Loire, were carefully embalmed, and inclosed in coffins; which were carried with them everywhere by the royalists, and always, in action, placed at the foot of the royal standard. When they were compelled by the irresistible superiority of the enemy to have recourse to dispersion for their safety, they were anxious to provide a place of concealment for those respected remains; dreading that if they fell into the hands of the republican party, they would be treated with all manner of indignity. The death of that gallant young warrior Laroche Jacquelin, was accompanied with no less lamentation. After the total defeat of the royalists, on their march towards Normandy from Lemans, Stoffet and he, after many escapes from the republicans, had found means to cross the Loire, and to join the royalists under Charrette. Here he continued to exhibit his courage and capacity; and was considered as an officer of the most promising virtues and talents. Unhappily for his party, he did not long survive the reputation he was daily acquiring by his many exploits. He was slain while reconnoitring the enemy, and making preparations for an attack. Together with him fell a young lady, so strongly attached to him, that unable to bear his loss; and impatient

to revenge his death, she rushed at the head of his followers into the midst of the enemies, where she soon met her fate.

Those losses of their chiefs were more fatal to the royalists than any of their defeats. These had constantly been repaired by the skill and valour of their commanders; but when those were fallen, the want of them was speedily experienced. Out of five excellent Generals only two remained, Charrette and Stoffet:—and however great their abilities and merit, they could not alone supply the places of those that were lost.

It was not without the greatest reason they so sincerely deplored the loss of those brave and experienced leaders, under whom they had so often triumphed over their enemies, and whose judicious conduct so fortunately preserved them from what they deemed the worst calamity that could befall them, that of falling into the hands of the enemy. If the various reports may be relied on, which persons of rank and credit among the royalists have circulated, certain it is that the state of those who were made prisoners by the republican troops, was peculiarly lamentable. They were thrust together, as it were, by heaps, and threatened with immediate death on the least noise or stir among them, or upon the approach of any body of royalists. Sometimes they were tied to stakes, and exposed to the derision of the republican soldiery. In order to insult at once their religion and politics, effigies of the King and Pope were sometimes produced before them, decorated with mock insignia of their dignity. They were loaded by some with every species of abuse,

abuse, and reminded by others of the outrages they had committed on the native rights of man, by taking up arms against liberty; and how necessary it was that their guilt should be expiated by making public examples of them. After shooting as many of them as it was thought proper, a selection was made of those that remained, in order to be sent to the neighbouring towns, where they felt the axe of the guillotine, by way of impressing public terror.

During these horrors, it is peculiarly deserving of notice, that the most striking instances of disinterestedness, honour, and fidelity were found among the rustic classes *. The religious and moral virtues seemed, as it were, to have taken shelter there. Whoever was persecuted for his politics or religious opinions, fled to the peasants; and was sure of being carefully concealed, and of meeting with every comfort they could afford. Gentlemen, noblemen, and clergymen, were hidden in this manner in the obscurest parts of the country, and securely evaded, through their charitable care and dexterous management, the barbarous intentions of the ruling powers. Here too the adherents to the ancient religion of the land enjoyed the celebration of its rights without molestation or fear. Numbers also of the royalists, dispersed after their defeats, had met here with the only shelter they could find from the pursuits and research of their implacable enemies. In justice to those who essentially contributed by their pious

exertions to keep alive this spirit of humanity and compassion for the afflicted, truth requires that the most honourable mention should be made of the French clergy. In defiance of the conventional edicts, and in contempt of the hourly danger to which they were exposed by their disobedience, they zealously and intrepidly visited every recess throughout the country, wherever they thought their ministry would be acceptable and useful. They made use of their influence to the most beneficent purposes. Innumerable were the deeds of kindness and generosity due to their interference. The number of lives they helped to save, and of sufferers they were instrumental in relieving, will do them everlasting credit, even with every disapprover of their politics and religious tenets, that is not dead to every feeling of humanity, and that has the sense to know and the courage to avow that the practice of this is a duty paramount to all the obligations laid upon them by the mere hand of power.

The Vendéans, it clearly appears, performed all that human contrivance, heightened by extreme necessity, could imagine;—and all that human courage could dare to attempt; but they laboured under disadvantages which mere contrivance and courage were unable to surmount.

The revolution, from its first beginning, was an object of discontent and dislike to the greater part of both the nobles and the clergy. The first of these orders had, for the most part, when the insurrection

* ———— *Extrema per illos*

Justitia excedens torris vestigia fecit.

Virg. Georg. Lib. 13.

broke out in La Vendée, migrated from their own country and joined the Prussian and Austrian armies; whose aim it was to restore unlimited monarchy. The insurgents, though they raised the royal standard, were not exactly of the same party with the royalists in the exterior of France; being composed of the discontented of various classes; among whom were constitutionalists, federalists, those who had escaped from the scaffolds of the national Convention, and others. This mixed party was headed by chiefs of the greatest courage and bravery; but incapable of forming and acting on such a system as might support itself and extend its influence. The task of drawing up manifestoes was committed to the priests who were of their number; who in their declarations expressed the sentiments of missionaries, not the principles and views of statesmen. They denominated their army the Catholic Army, at a time when the Pope, the Catholic faith, and all monastic ideas were regarded with general indifference, and too general contempt. Thus they wore an appearance of fanaticism which exposed them to the popular and trivial eloquence of the Jacobins, who laboured incessantly to render them objects either of hatred or derision. If they had styled themselves the army of the proprietors of France, they would have comprehended, and might probably have attached to their party a greater number of the people; and of course proved more formidable to the Jacobins. By the aid of women, monks, and ministers of religion, it is possible to make enthusiasts and martyrs; but it is only by a just and profound calcula-

tion of the resources of a country, the modes of directing public opinion to the same object,—of forming an union of the most general interests, and, in a word, of raising all the various supplies, ways and means of war, that it is possible to make successful resistance against a government already organized and in possession of the national territory. The inhabitants of La Vendée, after fighting and conquering the republican troops, were interrupted in their career, by the want of camp-equipage, and military stores and provisions. These they expected from England; but, in their stead, received a number of generals and other officers from the army of the French princes.

It was an opinion very generally entertained at this time by the loyalists in the interior of France, that the coalesced powers were under some apprehension, lest, if the Vendéans should succeed in their enterprise, they might be induced to proclaim a constitutional king under similar restrictions to those that limit and define the royal authority in England, or that of the Stadtholder in the United Provinces; and that, in order to obviate such a resolution, they had judged it necessary to accompany any succours they might send for their support, with such commanders as might incline their mind and direct their efforts to the re-establishment of the ancient monarchy: the only mode of government that suited the views of the coalition. The sentiments of the military chiefs sent to the aid of the Vendéans, did not well accord with those of that people. The measures that depended on the co-operation of England were wholly defeated.

defeated, or abandoned. France lost a great number of inhabitants the best disposed to peace with their neighbours; and the enemies of the revolution were proportionably diminished.

The prospect of a favourable termination of the dangerous contest with the insurgents of La Vendée, was the most auspicious circumstance that accompanied the opening of 1794. The Convention now indulged itself in forming a variety of regulations for the better accomplishment of those purposes which it doubted not its ability to execute whenever it should have no other enemies to contend with than those that formed the foreign coalition. As they had experienced a number of treacheries in several of their principal officers, they resolved that their punishment should be made as public and impressive as the case would admit. With this view, they passed a decree on the first day of this year, importing that every General condemned to death for treason should in future be executed at the head of the army which he had attempted to betray. In order, at the same time, to cherish that devotion of the army and navy to their interests, which was to be their main support, they abolished the punishment of flogging, as unworthy of freemen, and derogating from the dignity of their character. Other modes of punishment were adopted less ignominious, but not less effectual:—Stopping their pay, reducing their rank, imprisonment, public reproof, and others of a like nature. To convince the world of their determination to extend the rights of liberty and equality to all mankind without exception, they pub-

licly admitted to seats in the Convention three deputies from St. Domingo, as representatives of that colony; two of whom were mulattoes, and one a negro. This remarkable admission took place on the 3d of February; and on the 4th, the deputies began the exercise of their functions by laying before the Convention an account of the affairs of that island. It was proposed on this occasion, totally to abolish the practice of slavery in every part of the French dominions; and the proposal was immediately converted into a decree to that intent. A negro woman who was present fainted, it is said, with pleasure at the honour done to her countrymen by the French nation. On the ensuing day, however, after representing the inconveniences that might arise from so sudden a transition from slavery to liberty, it was moved by Danton, that the decree should be referred to the committee of public safety; that they might frame such regulations as should render it effectual and safe.

The scarcity which had lately afflicted France, induced the Convention to exert itself to the utmost pass, for the cure of an evil which, if not timely remedied, would probably be productive of many others. It was notoriously to a scarcity that many of the calamities which had attended the first periods of the revolution, and in some measure that the revolution itself, were due. A committee was appointed to investigate the means of obviating so great an evil, and providing for the future subsistence of all classes. —This committee, on the 17th day of February, laid before the Convention a list of the highest prices that

that should be affixed to all the necessities of life. It was much applauded, as setting bounds to avarice and monopoly. Barrère, in particular, was warm in his encomiums on the pains taken by the committee for the service of the community. Some parts of his speech on this occasion were remarkable. Let the rich, says he, resign the superfluities of their tables, where luxury and vanity alone are fed; let them cease to consume in one day the food of many months; let us all impose on ourselves some civic privations; let us suppress all delicacies, calculated for voluptuaries, and not for republicans.

But the public was divided in its opinion of the propriety of this measure. Heavy taxes on the superfluities, and encouragements to the importers of necessities, restriction on the sale of young cattle, bounties for the largest quantities of indispensable necessities brought to market, severe discouragements of costly entertainments, prohibitions of culinary refinements, a reduction of horses kept for mere parade, confinement to the plainest food in the domestic fare of families:—these, and other regulations of a similar kind, were deemed by many better calculated to reduce the price of provisions, than limiting the rates at which they were to be sold:—a measure that must ultimately tend to discouragé both their growth and importation.

However detrimental the decree that established the maximum might be deemed, that which was afterwards enacted on the 26th of February, for the extension of the powers of the committee of public safety, was evidently of a much

more dangerous tendency. It invested that committee, already too powerful, with the right of setting patriots at liberty. Such were the words of the decree. But as they had been previously empowered to arrest and imprison individuals denounced to them as disloyal, it was clear that this privilege of liberating them at discretion would produce much oppression, by inducing them to deprive people of their liberty, in order to extort money from them for restoring it.

Much worse was that decree which was enacted, at the same time, against those who were deemed enemies to the revolution. It confiscated their effects for the use of the republic, and condemned them to imprisonment until peace was restored, and then sentenced them to perpetual banishment.—This was a stretch of power that indisposed numbers against the government, who were in other respects sincere friends to the revolution. It was a virtual spoliation of all property, as no man could be safe from the pretence of suspicion.

A declaration had been published by the British ministry, stating the motives for continuing the war against France. This declaration had been carefully circulated in all those countries of which the sovereigns were in alliance with Great Britain, in order to let the public see that views of ambition and conquest did not operate with this power; but that it sought only to replace the system of Europe on the footing on which it stood previously to the troubles which now agitated it. It asserted that a majority of the French nation was desirous of a restoration of monarchy; and expressed a fervent wish

wish for an opportunity to re-establish peace. It disclaimed all right of interfering in the settlements of the former government in France. But it promised friendship and protection to all Frenchmen who, by declaring for a monarchical government, should shake off the yoke of anarchy.

The French answer to this declaration, charged it with a manifest avowal of a design to restore despotism in France, and of countenancing it in the rest of Europe, by inviting the French to co-operate in re-establishing the monarchy, and by acknowledging that Great Britain fought for the preservation of that civil state of society already established. But the monarchy to be restored had undeniably been despotic, and the state of society to be preserved was almost everywhere absolute slavery. In order to attain these ends, France was to be reduced by fire and sword, to the slavish condition from which it had been emancipated. The assertion that the return of monarchy was desired by most of the French was groundless. In La Vendée, Lyons, and Toulon, the insurgents were crushed by the superior strength of their opponents, though supported with money, and supplied with arms by the English — These opponents were all Frenchmen, and constituted an indubitable majority of the nation. The protestation of the British ministry, that they ardently desired peace, were mere pretences. Peace was at their option whenever they chose it. They had only to recall their fleets and armies, and leave the French to settle their internal affairs as they thought proper, without assuming that interference

to which they could not help acknowledging they had no right. — But, contrarily to these pretences, they laboured to foment the quarrels between the supporters of the established form of government and its opposers; who were evidently the minority of the people in France. With what face, after this, could the British ministry deny their averseness to the employment of violence, in order to compel the French to submit to their dictates? France was now in the ferment of a revolution, making a continual and violent progress towards liberty. In such a situation laws arose from the necessity and impulse of the moment; and lenity or rigour, recompense or punishment, were applied to the demand and conveniency of existing circumstances only. It was not equitable, therefore, to require the same precision and regularity in the conductors of such a state, as in those who had only to manage the affairs of a country in a state of tranquillity. Great Britain knew from experience the vast difference between these two situations. It had also undergone its revolutions, and was now enjoying a calm after a storm. But it was not yet arrived at that degree of improvement which opportunities had afforded the means of obtaining. It had not profited by the severe lessons that had been so repeatedly held out. The laws of England, notwithstanding the struggles that ought to have ameliorated them, still continue barbarous and tyrannical. They were full of inconsistency and improprieties, and their uncertainty was so notorious, that it was a national complaint: it was not for the rulers of such a state to condemn

condemn the legal proceedings of their neighbours; but such was their arrogance, that they reprobated whatever differed from their own, without considering the difference of times and circumstances. The style of the British ministry was in consequence no less presumptuous and inconsistent. They demanded for themselves and their confederates what they must be conscious would never be granted, indemnity for the past, and security for the future. They required a just and proper government to be settled in France; as if such a government were not already established by the nation, which at once was entitled and competent to decide on so weighty a subject. The period was fast arriving, when France would be requested by Great Britain to listen to terms of peace. But the French republic would in its turn insist on the establishment of an equitable government in the British nation, wherein the rights of the people should be properly considered. The French would then look upon the rulers of England in the same light as they now view the republican governors of France, as an association of usurpers; and the people of France would refuse to treat with any but the people of England.

Such was the substance and purport of the French answer to the declaration of the British ministry. It was received with great applause, not only in France, but also by that numerous party in England which disapproved of the ministerial measures, and reprobated the war with France as pregnant with the most fatal consequences to Great Britain. Whether France remained a re-

public or relapsed into a monarchy, the loss of blood and of treasure would still be immense, and not repairable but by a long course of years. Should France again become a kingdom, it would naturally resume its former system of politics. The gratitude of princes was proverbial, but not to be depended on; and the ambition of the House of Bourbon had long been notorious. But were the popular party to prevail, and the republic to be settled on firm foundations, what would the resentment be which the French would bear to the English for having endeavoured to deprive them of that form of government which they preferred to all other, and to reduce them to their preceding state of slavery and wretchedness! Such a resentment would not probably lie dormant and inactive: it would continually break out in their discourses, and lay the foundation of inextinguishable hatred. Through means of treaties, public hostilities might a while be prevented; but war would only remain in a state of suspension. The spirit of inveteracy would always be looking forward to opportunities of exertion. When these arrived, they would animate the French nation against the English. These would not be actuated by a similitude of motives, and could not therefore be supposed to feel the same antipathy to the French; who would, of course, come into action with a much greater degree of vigour.—Doubtless, the English would behave with their usual courage; but they would have an enemy to encounter much more formidable and dangerous than heretofore, from that desire of vengeance which is

One of the most powerful stimulants in nature, and often inspires the commonest men with the most extraordinary energy.

The answer to the British ministry's declaration was penned under the direction of that celebrated triumvirate which assumed the powers of government shortly after the King's death, and the overthrow of that party known by the name of Gironde: Robespierre, Danton, and Barère, who formed this triumvirate, were men peculiarly calculated for this period of difficulty, and endowed with those qualities that would most effectually remove the terror that had seized a great part of the French nation; when it considered the strength of those mighty powers that formed the coalition against them, and in the spring of 1793 obtained such brilliant and decisive advantages over the armies of France. They certainly were individuals of the greatest political abilities, and perfectly acquainted with the character of their countrymen and with the resources of their country: These they brought forward in a manner that equally astonished and appalled its enemies; who, though well apprized of the strength of France, had never imagined it could have been called forth on so unprecedented and formidable a plan.

The junction and concord between these three famous leaders continued about the space of a twelvemonth: but as it arose from ambition; and the fear of being supplanted by the heads of those various parties that were striving against each other for pre-eminence and power, it lasted no longer than they were influenced by those apprehensions. After the entire des-

truction of the Girondists, the chiefs of whom, all men of eminent talents, perished by the guillotine, the connexion between Robespierre and Danton began to lessen. The envy borne by the former to all men of whose capacity he stood in awe, and whom he suspected of a disinclination to be subservient to his measures, led him to consider Danton as the most dangerous rival, and to harbour a determination to rid himself of so formidable a competitor.

But, previously to the execution of this design, he thought it necessary for the accomplishment of the many ambitious purposes he secretly entertained, to defeat the schemes that were in agitation among the leading members of a society of men, who had risen to almost equal celebrity with the famous Jacobin Club, of which in fact they were a branch, and from whence they had originally sprung: The chief conductor of its operations at this time was Hebert; a character well noted for his enmity to the Christian system, and his zealous endeavours for its abolition in France. He was a man of an intemperate warmth in whatever he undertook, and remarkable for his propensities to uncommon undertakings. He had occasionally proved highly serviceable to Robespierre; and was a principal actor in procuring the downfall of Brissot and his party, when they were arrested through the machinations of that more popular and active party, styled the Mountain, on the famous 31st of May, in the preceding year. Hebert was at that time the promoter of the insurrection at Paris; which enabled him to carry their violent measures into execution.

The success which then attended him inflamed his ambition, and he meditated from this time how he should raise himself to a greater participation of the power he had been so instrumental in procuring to Robespierre, than the pride of this latter would suffer him or any man to possess. The Cordelier Club, over which Hebert now exercised the principal influence, was ready to second him. Robespierre was no favourite there; nor did they enjoy his countenance. But the circumstance which emboldened him to set them at defiance, was, the laxity of their principles in religious matters, and the dangerous maxims they had adopted and laboured to propagate in civil affairs. They now insisted upon equality among men in the most unqualified extreme: they even went so far as to uphold in their public meetings the propriety of an equal distribution of property, by passing an Agrarian law. Robespierre and Danton had both been members of this club; but abandoned it. Its tenets did not suit their inclinations nor designs, and might have prejudiced their characters in the general opinion; which was unfavourable to the notions and maxims inculcated by the club of the Cordeliers. This club was, in fact, a sect of the most disagreeable cynics. They affected a slovenliness in their dress, in order to captivate the attention and partiality of the lower classes, by a conformity of appearance; and a studied familiarity of behaviour and language accompanied their intercourse with the meanest of the populace.

Hebert, who probably relied on the popularity that he and his associates had acquired by these means,

had seen sufficient proofs how ready the people of Paris were to receive impressions to the disadvantage of the ruling power, when insinuated with art and plausibility. Nor was he without apprehension that Robespierre, who spared none that stood in his way, might become jealous of his credit in the Cordelier Society, and among their many adherents; and that, suspecting him of intentions incompatible with the despotic authority he was at all events determined to retain, he might sacrifice him to his ambition. Actuated by these considerations, and not improbably by that thirst of power which appeared inseparable from the views of every head of a party among the French, he resolved to bring about an alteration in public affairs. He began this attempt by endeavouring to asperse the characters of Fabre d'Eglantine and Camille Desmoulins, and other members of the Convention. He represented them in a journal, wherein he assumed the fictitious name of Pere du Chêne, as accomplices in the designs imputed to Brissot and his associates.

Fabre d'Eglantine and Camille Desmoulins had both acted a conspicuous part since the meeting of the Convention. The latter was a man of spirit as well as ability. It was he that excited the people to rise in arms when the Bastile was taken; and he had been highly instrumental in effecting the revolution. The former had made himself known chiefly by his antipathy to the established religion. Robespierre had long lived in habits of intimacy with Camille Desmoulins, and employed his pen on this occasion against Hebert; who, not content with the attacks he had made

made in his journal, had proceeded so far as to procure a black crape to be thrown over the table of the Rights of Man, set up in the hall of the Cordeliers. This was a manifest insinuation that the ruling powers were guilty of infringements on the liberty of the public. He had even the boldness to make a formal speech in the Tribune at a meeting of the club, where he openly and unequivocally declared, that tyranny existed in the republic. This assertion of Hebert was construed into a denunciation of Robespierre and his party; who determined instantly to sacrifice him to their vengeance and security, as a man who, if suffered to proceed in the plan it was clear he had adopted, might ultimately effect their ruin. He had already excited an insurrection in one of the sections into which Paris was divided; and it was not without some pains that others were prevented from joining it. To obviate farther consequences, he was arrested on the 15th of March, with his principal associates, and brought before the revolutionary tribunal. Here he denied the intention of implicating Robespierre in his denunciations of the other members of the Convention, against whom his publications were levelled. But his fall was decreed, and a long catalogue of treasonable actions produced against him and his party. They were accused of conspiring to restore a despotic government, and to massacre the Convention: and in this conspiracy it was alleged, they were the agents of the coalition, by whom they had been promised pecuniary rewards, and the highest promotions. The chiefs of the conspiracy had assigned a part to

each of the conspirators. A material part was, to explore the houses of arrest, and collect the names of those prisoners who appeared the most proper for the execution of their designs. Hebert, in particular, in conjunction with another, was charged with calumniating indiscriminately good and bad citizens; the more readily to prejudice the public against the former, by involving them in the same accusation with the latter, of causing a scarcity of provisions which was in reality occasioned by the conspirators themselves, to the great injury of the service. They had, with a malicious design, procured the table of the Rights of Man to be covered with a black veil. They frequented public places, in order to make defamatory speeches against the Convention and the Committees of Public and General Safety, and to inculcate the necessity of a new representation. In conjunction with such public functionaries as abetted the conspiracy, they prevented Paris from being duly supplied with provisions, in order to accelerate, by scarcity and discontent, the period they were aiming at for the compassing of their designs, which they intended to execute by means of the revolutionary army. This artificial scarcity they found means to increase daily, and to attribute it to the Convention, in order to expose them to the rage of the people. One of the conspirators had formed a plan to vilify the Convention, by dressing out puppets in the conventional habit, and exhibiting them to the populace as perfect resemblances of the national representatives, who, while they recommended simplicity of manners and

apparel, contradicted their words by their own appearance. Some of the conspirators had been so daring as publicly to mention the names of those representatives whom they deemed deserving of death, and to circulate bills in the capital and its vicinity, instigating people to rebellion, and to break open the prisons for the procuring of assistants and accomplices. The guards at the prisons were to be massacred, and the mint and treasury seized: but happily, at the moment which the conspirators had fixed for the execution of their plot, it was discovered, and frustrated by the seizure of the conspirators.

Such were the allegations against Hebert and his party. They have been enumerated, to shew the suspicious temper of the times, and with what facility people could be induced to believe the most inconsistent reports. They prove also the sanguinary dispositions of the parties opposed to each other, and the atrocious means they employed to effect each other's destruction. It appeared on the trial, that none of those charges could be properly supported. All that was proved amounted to no more than rash and violent expressions, uttered in the moment of unguarded passion. But the slightest imputations were admitted as valid proofs before the Revolutionary Tribunal, which was wholly composed of individuals predetermined to find every person guilty that was pointed out as inimical to the ruling party. Out of nineteen persons who accompanied Hebert as his accomplices before this tribunal, several of whom were of a low class, and one of them a woman, only one was acquitted.

Among those who were thus condemned was the noted Anarcharis Clootz, a German by birth, but a Frenchman by choice. He was the only man who had the courage to speak firmly in his defence. The others seemed spiritless, and were wholly silent. This extraordinary man, whose wild notions had led him to assume the title of Ambassador and Orator of the Human Race, solemnly appealed to his fancied constituents from the sentence passed upon him, and met his fate with uncommon fortitude. His fellow-sufferer Hebert did not behave with the same firmness, and betrayed a debility of mind that accompanied him to the last. He died unpitied. His pernicious principles, and the various scenes of mischief in which he had participated, rendered him an object of abhorrence to all but his own party. The Parisians, whom he had considered as friendly to his designs, did not seem afflicted at his destiny: and yet there had been a time when he stood high in their favour; so feeble and feeble is the attachment that is produced thro' the violence of popular commotion.

This execution of persons whose guilt at most was problematical, and whose fall was beheld with so much apathy, now convinced Robespierre that he might proceed without fear of much opposition, in completing the scheme he had in contemplation; which appears to have been no less than that of rendering himself supreme and uncontrouled ruler of the state. There still stood however between him and the accomplishment of such a scheme, some individuals of talents and resolution, of whose subserviency to his views he had no reason to think

him

himself secure, and whom he therefore determined to remove on the first opportunity. To this last expedient he soon judged it necessary to recur, in order to rid himself of a man of whose capacity he had often made use, and had even just availed himself against Hebert. This was Camille Desmoulins, who had often done him the greatest personal services. But these were forgotten the moment he found him inclined to disapprove of the violent measures he was pursuing. It seems that Camille Desmoulins had concurred with Danton, who disapproved them no less, and with whom he was in habits of intimacy, to unite their talents and credit in the Convention, in order to put a stop to the excessive severity of the present administration, by terminating the revolutionary system of government, diminishing the terror it occasioned, and forming a constitution which should reconcile all parties, by admitting them to a common participation of power.

In pursuance of this object, Desmoulins boldly condemned, in a periodical paper of his composition, the frequency of arrests, and other practices encouraged by the revolutionary system, which he compared to the tyranny exercised of old by the Roman Emperors. He ventured next upon a personal attack upon St. Just, the bosom confidant of Robespierre; who, judging from his publications and his intimacy with Danton, that something inimical to him was concerting between them, resolved upon the ruin of both with all convenient speed.

A secret enmity had long subsisted between Danton and Robespierre, the two celebrated chiefs

of the party called the Mountain; though it was more inveterate on the part of Robespierre than of Danton, who had befriended him, on some critical occasions, and greatly forwarded his exaltation to the power which he now possessed. But the gloomy and unfeeling character of Robespierre could neither allow of competition, nor even of contradiction. It has been reported, though without appearance of probability, considering the character of the parties, that Danton, desirous of living upon amicable terms with Robespierre, had, some time previously to his arrest, had a long interview with him, wherein he used many arguments to shew that their mutual interests required an unfeigned reconciliation; but that Robespierre stood aloof, and treated him with great pride and indifference. Danton, it is said, was deeply afflicted by this insulting behaviour, and told him at parting, that he plainly perceived his intentions; but beware, said he, that if you destroy me, you will shortly be destroyed yourself.

These words, upon the supposition only of their having been spoken, proved ultimately prophetic; but they made no impression upon the ferocious mind of Robespierre, already hardened by habitual cruelty, and inexorably bent on the destruction of every man that stood in his way. Previously however to the ruin he was meditating against this dreaded rival, he determined to wreak his resentment on some persons, who either had opposed the passing of decrees moved by himself or his partisans in the Convention, or whom he considered as secret enemies; and whose characters were at the same time in

such little esteem, or so odious to many, that he ran no risk in sacrificing them. Prompted by these considerations, he procured the arrest of Fabre d'Eglantine, and of other deputies to the Convention, on a charge of peculation and bribery in the official situations they had held in the republic; of which there appeared sufficient proof. Their conduct was, by inference, represented as treasonable to the state, by the scandal it threw on the Convention, through the delinquency and infamy of its members. It was even construed into a crime of a revolutionary nature. But Amar, the reporter of the two committees of Public and General Safety, carried his accusation of them much further. He charged them with the receiving of pay from the powers at war with the republic, and of carrying on a criminal correspondence with them. But neither this charge nor several others of a strange and inconsistent kind, were corroborated by any legal proofs.

Among the persons imprisoned, besides Fabre d'Eglantine, were Chabot the ex-capuchin, a member of the Convention; where he had long made a disreputable figure, and incurred general contempt. Bazire was also one of them. He too was a member of the Convention; where he had signalized himself by supporting that decree which denied to the members the privilege of being heard in their own defence. So little favour was shewn to these three by their fellow-members, that they were spoken of in the Convention in the most disparaging terms. The partisans of Robespierre insisted on this occasion, that the committees of Public and General Safety, the first of which was empowered

to arrest whomsoever they thought proper, ought to possess the highest confidence and credit in the performance of their functions, and that the greatest deference ought to be shewn to their opinion and assertions. This tended directly to invest at once the executive department with exclusive and boundless authority, or, in other terms, to constitute Robespierre sole and supreme judge in all matters referred to those committees, the members of which, however indirectly, were of his own appointment. It was observed on this occasion, that whether through inadvertence or a desire to conciliate Robespierre, Danton expressed his approbation of the sentiments uttered by his enemy's partisans. This was the more astonishing, that Danton, by such unreasonable and imprudent condescendence, put himself unresistingly into the hands of a rival whom he knew to be implacable. Ten days only after espousing his cause in this decided manner, he was, together with his friend Camille Desmoulins, arrested in the night of the 30th of March. Two others were also imprisoned at the same time, Julien de Thoulouse and Phelipeaux, become odious to Robespierre, on account of the faithful relation of the barbarities committed in La Vendée, whither he had been sent as a commissioner. Danton was warmly defended in the Convention by his friend Le Gendre, a man of great intrepidity, who moved, in contradiction to Robespierre, that Danton and La-Croix, his fellow-prisoner, should be heard in their defence at the bar of the House. But Robespierre argued with the most unqualified virulence against both. Here represented La Croix as venal, vicious, and corrupt

rupt in the extreme; and spoke of Danton as one that, having conspired against the state, had no farther claim to his regard; and whom he resigned to the justice of his offended country, as he had done Brissot, Petion, and others of whom he ceased to be the friend, the moment they became enemies to the state. Chabot, Fabre d'Eglantine, and Bazire, who had been members of the Convention, had, he said, been refused the privilege of pleading their cause before the Convention; and it would be violating the laws of impartiality to grant to Danton what was refused to others, who had an equal right to make the same demand. This answer silenced at once all solicitations in his favour.

In the conspiracy attributed to Fabre d'Eglantine, among the persons accused as principal accomplices, were Herault Sechelles, who had been president of the Convention on the famous 31st of May, the preceding year, when the Gironde party was overthrown: another was Chaumette, procureur of the commerce of Paris; well known by his brutal behaviour to the King on his trial. Among them was also Gobat, who had been constitutional Bishop of Paris, and had about twelve months before publicly renounced his functions and religion. Of the same number was likewise General Westerman, who commanded the popular insurrection on the celebrated 10th of August, 1792; and who had so lately reported, with such inhuman insolence and derision in the Convention, the barbarities committed by the republicans in La Vendée.

The second of April was appointed for the trial of the prisoners before the Revolutionary Tribunal. The charge preferred

against Danton, was, that he had engaged in a conspiracy to destroy the republican form of government, together with the national representatives, and to effect a counter-revolution in favour of monarchy. Camille Desmoulins, La Croix, Phelipeaux, Herault, Sechelles, and General Westerman, were involved in the same accusation: Fabre d'Eglantine and Chabot, with the two Frays, his brothers-in-law, both of them bankers of opulence, and five persons of less note, were accused of speculation and corrupt practices. In order to blacken the character of Fabre d'Eglantine, but more probably to recommend their own, he was, by the partisans of Robespierre in the Convention, described as a professed Atheist. St. Just, one of his principal intimates, insisted chiefly on this circumstance in the official report concerning d'Eglantine, presented by him to the members on this occasion, and dwelt upon it as a sufficient motive for his condemnation. He made a long speech on the subject of irreligion and immorality, wherein he laboured with affected warmth to impress those who heard him with a persuasion, that persons now at the head of affairs were the sincere friends and supporters of the doctrine inculcating the belief of Providence, the immortality of the soul, and the necessity of a public worship of the Supreme Being. Whether the speaker expressed his real sentiments, as well as those of his party, or whether he courted popularity for himself and for them by displaying a zeal for religion, certain it is, that the baseness and cruelty of which they were guilty at this very period, and in the very instance which occasioned this very remark-

able speech, fully belied those pretensions to piety and reverence for the Deity, of which they had the insolence to make so ostentatious a parade.

The trial of Danton * and of his fellow-prisoners, was attended with circumstances peculiarly memorable. When questioned, according to the usual forms, respecting his name and abode, "My name," he answered, "will live in history for ever; but my abode will soon be nowhere." Herault Sechelles answered to the same questions in a similar strain. Being asked what his station had been previously to the revolution, he replied that he had once filled a place of note in the very spot he now stood; and was at that time held in abhorrence by his colleagues for the principles of liberty he had the courage to avow.—Both he and Camille Desmoulins forcibly exposed the absurdity of the charges against them. Danton, by the keenness of his remarks, and the severity of the reproaches he cast upon the proceedings of the ruling powers and their agents in the present bu-

siness, struck the judges with surprise, and put them to a stand; nor was it with words alone that he perplexed them. He had the boldness to fling paper-bullets at the president, by way of shewing his contempt; and he peremptorily refused to answer interrogatories, unless he was confronted with his accusers. Herein his fellow-prisoners resolutely concurred, alleging, that when the governors of a nation conspire against individuals, these had a right to conspire against their iniquitous conduct, and by detecting it to their faces, to bring them to open shame.

Robespierre and his coadjutor Barrere, who were the persons alluded to, refused to appear against the prisoners, on pretence that a plot had been formed for their assassination. On this refusal, the prisoners persisted in their determination to answer no interrogatories, insisting they were illegal, unless their demand was complied with. The embarrassment of the tribunal at this resolute denial was such, that, averse to proceed without being

* The following is the remarkable outline given of Danton's public character in the report of the committee of public safety, upon his arrest, and that of the other deputies:—"From one end of Europe to the other, the style of patriotism is assumed; let us see, Danton, what the style of patriotism is? You conspired with Mirabeau, Dumourier, Hebert, and Herault. You sought the protection of Mirabeau; and during his life you remained mute. This faction-monger knew the value of your audacity, and displayed against the court a menacing front. He perished; and his death again plunged you into obscurity. You appeared again in the Champ de Mars; and it was then in the Jacobins you supported the motion of Lacroix, and drew up, with Brissot, the celebrated address. You soon after, however, contrived to enjoy tranquillity at Arcis-sur-Aube; but on the night of the 10th of August you returned, and it required all the persuasion of your friends to keep you out of bed. When minister of justice you were surrounded by knaves; and, speaking of Noel, one of your agents, you observed that you knew him to be a good for-nothing fellow, but you had him watched. Upon Fabre D'Eglantine you heaped riches; and it was by your influence that both he and D'Orléans were chosen for the Convention. In this Convention you were the friend of the Brissotines, with whom you concerted attacks to be made on yourself; and while you demanded your accounts, you presented to them the olive-branch of peace."

sanctioned,

sanctioned, they sent notice of the difficulty they were in, to the Convention. St. Just immediately moved that a decree should pass, empowering the tribunal to proceed without hearing them, against those who insulted the national justice. This enabled the tribunal to execute the commission with which they were entrusted. Danton did not fail, however, to continue making an able and spirited defence, not indeed from any expectation of saving his life, but in order to lay before the public the tyranny of the revolutionary tribunal, and the barbarity of those who supported and directed its operations. He spoke on this matter with such boldness and vehemence, that the president, irritated at a liberty to which he was not accustomed, enjoined him to silence, by ringing the bell used for this purpose. But Danton paid no regard to this injunction; and when reminded of it, "President," said he, "the voice of a man defending his life and character, ought to silence your bell." Then, turning to the audience, that seemed to disapprove of the freedom he had assumed, "Citizens," he cried with a loud voice, "judge me not till you have heard what I have to say. Not only you, but all France, ought to know it. Before six months are past, you will tear to pieces those who now sit in judgment on me, as well as the villains by whose orders I am brought to trial." To these prophetic words he added many others; and it was with difficulty he consented to retire out of court to take, as he was told, some refreshment. When, by virtue of the decree against refractory prisoners, sentence was passed upon him, and on the others who had been brought

before the tribunal, the jury having found them guilty of the several charges laid to them, out of sixteen, one only was acquitted. This was Lallier, a person of the least importance among them.

This sentence was pronounced at three in the afternoon; and they were all executed at six in the evening;—so expeditious were the judgments of this bloody tribunal, in depriving of their lives all those whom it condemned to lose them. The prisoners submitted to their fate with great firmness. The intrepidity of Danton was remarkable. He retained the cheerfulness and pleasantry of his disposition to the last moment, and met the stroke of death with an air of dignity that was long remembered.

The various discourses and arguments used by Danton on his trial, were carefully circulated by the many friends who adhered to him in secret, and who lamented their deprivation of a man, by whose courage and talents they had hoped to be powerfully assisted in the project they were already forming for the destruction of Robespierre; in whom they had long discovered a character so sanguinary, and so fraught with suspicion and rancour, that the smallest difference of opinion was sufficient to convert him into an enemy to his most faithful intimates, and to induce him to sacrifice them without the least hesitation.

The character of Danton, though sullied with unpardonable blemishes, was, when compared to that of his rival, deserving of respect. His temper was open and sociable; and he was not inclined to deceive those in whom he found a readiness to trust him. Like those who promoted

moted the revolution, he had his private views; but they were mixed with public considerations. His conduct respecting the King, cannot in any manner be exculpated; but he would not possibly have gone the lengths he did on this occasion, had he not been convinced that his opposition would have been fruitless; and that he must have perished as all those ultimately did, who ventured to oppose the party of the Mountain. As ambition was his predominant passion, he joined that iniquitous faction, through which only his discernment pointed out the attainment of power, and of riches, to the latter of which he frequently paid a criminal attention, and of which he seldom lost sight in any of his projects. In other respects, he was neither of an oppressive disposition, nor wantonly cruel; though it must be acknowledged, to his shame, that to serve his political ends, he occasionally countenanced great cruelties. As soon as he became possessed of power and consequence, he shewed himself adequate to his exaltation, and displayed abilities that equally confirmed the attachment of his partisans, and struck his enemies with dread. Yet even to these he neither acted with inveteracy, nor showed himself irreconcilable. His courage on great occasions, seemed precisely calculated for them; and he excelled in the greatest of political arts,—that of inspiring others with his own sentiments and animation. Difficulties never daunted him, and only drew forth the latent resources of his fertile and intrepid mind. Danger seemed the element wherein he was most himself. He encountered it with so cheerful and unaffected magnanimity, as to lessen its

appearance and terror to all who were concerned with him in repelling it. When the Austrian and Prussian armies had invaded France, and were advancing through Champagne towards Paris, he stood foremost among those who resolved to wait the enemy, and bury themselves in the ruins of the capital sooner than abandon it. This determination, through the powers of his eloquence, became that of all men; and he had the honour of preventing the disgrace that would have fallen upon the French name and character, had Paris, at this critical period, been deserted by those on whom it was chiefly incumbent to behave with unyielding firmness; and to give those examples of patriotism to their countrymen, which were then so much needed. He became, during a considerable time, the moving spring of the Jacobin and Cordelier Clubs, which then directed the motions of all France: and though he frequently excited and made use of their fury for the accomplishment of his ends, he also restrained it occasionally. Though he lived at an æra of dissimulation, he practised it little: the boldness of his disposition set him above it. He had a peculiar talent in discovering the talents and virtues of men; and so quick was his perception, that he looked through them, as it were, at a glance, and seldom was deceived in the instantaneous judgments he so shrewdly formed of their character. Rapid and decisive in all his resolves, when once he had formed them, he was uncontrollably expeditious in their execution. To this may be ascribed the criminal activity with which he co-operated in the king's trial, and the impetuous violence with which he

he assisted in converting the monarchy into a republic. In the many daring transactions wherein his enterprising genius involved him, he never steered a middle course, nor ever stopped at little means to compass great ends. He moved boldly forward towards the object before him, removing without exception every obstacle, and employing exertions equal to the magnitude of his plan. When the European potentates formed that coalition against France, which the world at first thought irresistible, he first conceived that grand idea of raising the French nation, as much as possible, in a mass*; which matured and realized through his sagacity and judicious regulating, enabled France alone to contend victoriously with all Europe. The revolutionary institutions that contributed so effectually to the preservation of the republic, were no less due to his conceptions. Though they became engines of cruelty and despotism in the tyrannical hands that seized the management of them, yet their original plan was of evident utility at the tempestuous season that gave it birth, and certainly required an instant and powerful barrier against the daily attempts to overturn the new order of things; which, without either approving or condemning those who had established it, thought themselves authorised to maintain. Among the many qualifications that contributed to Danton's celebrity, was his eloquence. It was the gift of nature, and not the acquisition of art or study. It supplied him on all occasions with a formidable, and generally a successful weapon.

Though it flowed from him without forethought or preparation, the impression it made was deep and strong, and seldom failed to overcome the arguments of his opponents. His expressions were truly the representatives of his ideas, and, like them, were singular and striking. Often has he been known, with a few words, to have completely foiled the purpose of long and deliberate speeches. But the powers of his oratory were not merely verbal; his look, his voice, his gesture, equally commanded attention and deference. His aspect, especially, carried such authority, that with a cast of his eye he was able to disconcert some of the most artful of his antagonists, and to derange all the ideas they had premeditated. Endowed with all these qualities, it was not surprising that his partizans were numerous and warmly attached to him, as a man upon whose abilities and firmness they could place a sure dependence. The only instance wherein want of penetration was imputable to him, was the unguardedness of his conduct towards Robespierre; whose violent proceedings he disapproved, and against whose resentment, on account of this disapprobation, he ought in prudence to have duly prepared himself. Had he suspected the intentions of Robespierre, it is highly probable that he might have easily counteracted them; the envy, and still more the hatred, borne to his sanguinary rival by those over whom he arrogated such undue power and pre-eminence; the fears they began to entertain of his ambitious and cruel disposition; the inveteracy of

* See reflections on this subject, page 66.

those who had suffered through his tyranny, and the manifest proofs of his daily increase, and of his determination to exercise it without moderation or controul, and to retain it at any cost,—these motives would have furnished Danton with ample means of defence. His personal resolution would have engaged numbers to join him. The remains of those parties, destroyed by the barbarous faction of which Robespierre was the head, and the measures of which Danton had never approved, would have seized the opportunity of revenging their friends and securing themselves, by rallying round so spirited a chief as Danton. The two clubs of the Jacobins and Cordeliers would not have deserted one who had acted so conspicuous a part among them. In the first, his credit stood high; and the latter was full of resentment for the loss of their principal member and director, Hebert, who had been recently sent to the guillotine. Through the support he would have derived from these various quarters, and his own courage and abilities, he might not only have intimidated his rival, and have prevented his own fate, but raised the standard of insurrection

against him and his party; and instead of being destroyed himself, have brought them to destruction.

The probability of such an event was fully countenanced by the readiness testified on the death of Danton, to speak of him with respect, and to commemorate with warmth the many essential services he had rendered the republic. The accusations brought against him were so improbable, and so destitute of truth, that all discerning people readily perceived what must have been the real causes of his condemnation, and united in regretting his hard destiny. But those who, by their situation, stood nearest to the danger of sharing in it, were sensible that, unless they made a common cause, and joined in a firm and speedy union against the oppressive power through which he fell, their own fall would in all likelihood be soon or late effected. Considerations of this nature produced a confederacy of the most resolute and able members of the Convention. Their designs however never transpired. As the profoundest secrecy was necessary to their success, no indication of them appeared that could subject them to the least discovery.

CHAP. VII.

Confederacy formed in the Convention against Robespierre. General Dillot arrested, tried, and condemned, together with the Wife of Desmoulins. They are both executed, with Gohat, Chaumette, and others. The Convention orders every Member, on Pain of Death, to give an Account of his Revenue before and since the Revolution. Robespierre's Conduct in pecuniary Matters. Conventional Decrees against Ex-nobles and Aliens. Decrees relating to Law-Suits. Decrees against Anti-revolutionary Discourses. Decrees against Aged and Nonjuring Clergymen. Decree prohibiting the Marriage of the Wives of Emigrants with Foreigners. Attempt to defame the Memory of Louis XVI. Farmers-General tried by the Revolutionary Tribunal, and several of them condemned and executed.

Trial

Trial and Execution of the Princess Elizabeth, Sister to Louis XVI. Terror occasioned by the cruel Administration of Robespierre. His Endeavours to retain and increase his Popularity. His affected Zeal for Religion. Decrees of the Convention relating to Religious and Moral Subjects. Various Festivals decreed. Festivals in Honour of the Supreme Being. Attempts to assassinate Robespierre and Collot D'Herbois. General Discontent at the Cruelties of Robespierre. He remains inflexible in his Conduct. Robespierre arrives at the Plenitude of his Power. Prepossession of the lower Classes in his Favour. Dreaded by his Adherents. His numerous and severe Decrees. Dangerous State of Society occasioned by them. Encouragement of Informers. Revolutionary Tribunal and Committee of Public Safety entirely under his Orders. His Organization of Juries. His Method of directing their Verdict. Extensive Powers granted through him to the Revolutionary Tribunal. Powers of the Committee of Public Safety enlarged through his Means. in order to serve his Purposes. That Committee made permanent. Through the Subserviency of that Committee, his Power becomes uncontrouled. Submissiveness of the Convention to his Authority. He procures a Revolutionary Army, and encourages a sanguinary Spirit. His Persecution of the Royalists. Through his Instigation, the Jacobins petition and obtain that Terror should be declared the Order of the Day. He procures a Repeal of the Decree by which the Members of the Convention were entitled to be heard in their Defence, before the passing of an Accusation against them. His Severity increases. Situation of Paris at that Period. Exaltation of the lower Classes. Depression of the better Sort. Abjection and Degradation of the French under Robespierre. Wretched Condition of the People. Adulation and Homage paid to Robespierre. His Speech to the Convention on the 27th of May. That of Barrere on the 13th. Decree against giving Quarter to the English, or to the Towns taken from France on refusing to surrender in Twenty-four Hours. Power, Popularity, and Influence of Robespierre in Paris. Means by which he retains it. Reflections on his Conduct at this Time. Execution of Lamignon, Malesherbes. Conspiracies imputed to Persons imprisoned by Robespierre. Execution of Baron Trenck and Colonel Newton. Imprisonment of Thomas Payne. Barbarous Treatment of Prisoners. Numbers of Persons imprisoned at Paris.

ROBESPIERRE, whatever satisfaction he might reap from the destruction of the only rival he dreaded, soon perceived that he had left a party behind him, which would require his utmost vigilance. The defence made by Danton before the revolutionary tribunal; the invectives with which he had loaded his judges and their constituents; his admonitions to the people; the boldness with which he had fore-

told the downfall of the present rulers; the interest which numbers seemed to take in the magnanimity with which he met his fate; the circumstance, so particularly insisted on, of his resemblance to Socrates when going to die,—all these particulars were proofs to Robespierre, that the death of Danton had not rid him of all his enemies, and that his power still remained precarious and unstable. This however he resolved

solved to maintain at all events, and to cement it with the blood of every one that opposed him, or even approved of what they knew must offend him. Conformably to this inhuman determination, which his conduct clearly evinced he must have taken, he proceeded, immediately after the death of Danton, to exercise his rancour upon those who had applauded his behaviour, and that of his fellow prisoners, before the revolutionary tribunal.

Among the many unfortunate individuals confined in the prisons of Paris, were Simon, a member of the Convention; and General Arthur Dillon, who had the command of a division of the French army when the Prussians were repulsed in their attack of it in the forest of Argonne. He was connected with Camille Desmoulins; and upon hearing that the people present at his trial had testified their approbation of the demand he and Danton, with the other prisoners, had made, that they should be confronted with their accusers, he also approved it with warmth; and expressed a wish that the Parisians would insist upon its being complied with, and employ force, if necessary, to compel an acquiescence; this he did in presence of another prisoner, whose name was La Flotte, and who had been agent of the republic at the court of Florence. The General had also, in discoursing with Simon about Danton and the other prisoners on trial, confessed, in presence of La Flotte, his fervent hope of their deliverance. In expectation of obtaining mercy, La Flotte informed the committee of public safety of the words spoken by General Dillon; who was, on this information, brought before the re-

volutionary tribunal, by which he was condemned to death on this charge, and for having sent a letter to the wife of Camille Desmoulins, inclosing an order for 1000 crowns, with which he was accused of intending to hire a mob for the purpose of overawing the revolutionary tribunal. This unhappy woman never received the letter: but she was, nevertheless, condemned as accessory to this intention, and executed, together with General Dillon and the door-keeper of the prison; who suffered with them for having neglected to inform the committee of public safety of this fatal letter. They were accompanied on the scaffold by Chaumette, Gobat, and General Bayssur, charged with treasonable practices while at the head of the forces employed against the insurgents of La Vendée. The two former were implicated in the charges against Fabre D'Eglantine. The wife of Hebert was also a sufferer on this occasion. She and the wife of Desmoulins, a very beautiful woman, were the only persons who excited the commiseration of the public. General Dillon left a doubtful character; he was strongly suspected of intended treachery in the affair of Argonne: and the advantage gained over the Prussians on that occasion, was powerfully claimed by another officer. These executions took place two days after that of Danton.

The peculations and corrupt practices laid to the charge of several members of the Convention at these trials, occasioned a decree to be passed on the 6th of April, that every deputy should be obliged, on pain of death, to give an account of his revenue before and since

since the revolution. The necessity of preventing the discredit accruing to the representative body from the shameful conduct of its members, was the motive assigned by Couthon the mover of this decree, and the intimate friend of Robespierre. It ought, in justice to this latter, to be acknowledged, that if he possessed any quality deserving the name of virtue, it was disinterestedness. He prided himself in the utter contempt of money, and of those who laboured to enrich themselves; and had always an eye to their future punishment whenever he discovered their delinquency in this respect, which he always considered as an unpardonable crime in a public man. So vigorously was he inclined to discourage the accumulation of wealth, that he was used to assert that 3000 livres was a sufficient annual revenue for any man in France. It was upon this incorruptibility of disposition in whatever related to pecuniary matters, that Robespierre chiefly founded his claims to popularity. The fame of his integrity in those respects, which is certainly a merit of the first order in all who are in high stations, had procured him the warmest attachment of the inhabitants of Paris, and indeed of all France. It was, in fact, very natural for them to draw comparisons between their present rulers and past; and when they recollected the avarice and rapacity of former ministers, and contrasted it with the very limited allowance with which a man was satisfied who held the reins of empire in a state that triumphed over all its enemies, and struck the sovereigns of Europe with terror,—well might they view him with the admiration which impartiality must acknowledge to have

been due to him in this particular.

After passing this severe decree, which was levelled at himself in common with his fellow-members, Robespierre now thought himself at liberty to act with his usual severity against the royal party. Conformably to this determination, his agent in the convention, Couthon, procured the passing of another decree on the 16th of April, by which a number of restrictions were laid upon all individuals in any manner connected with the enemies of the republic. Aliens that were subjects to the powers at war with France, and all ex-nobles, were enjoined to leave Paris, under the severest penalties, and forbidden to reside in fortified places and sea-ports, in order to prevent them, either from framing conspiracies, or joining with conspirators. A variety of regulations was made respecting the methods of proceeding against them, on this occasion, by the two committees of public and general safety, and the powers with which they were to be invested for those purposes.

This decree contained also several ordinances for the better and more speedy administration of justice in the civil courts. They were ordered to decide upon all pending suits within three months from the publications of this decree, under the penalty of being deprived of their functions. This order extended to all future law-suits. The passing of this act afforded great satisfaction to the public. The length and tedious formalities attending private litigations had long rendered them a cause of the justest complaint; and though objections might be made to so short a term as three months, the few cases requiring more time, were not an ob-

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ject of sufficient weight to balance the general inconveniences arising from their long duration.

Among the severities of this decree, persons convicted of holding discourses inimical to the revolution were to be denounced by those who heard them; and who, in case of omission, were punishable themselves. The offenders were to be tried by the constituted authorities of their district; and, if under sixty years of age, and enjoying health, they were then to be sentenced to transportation to Guinea; a French colony on the northern coast of South America. This decree was looked upon by the generality of the people as too harsh, as it is tended to convert familiar acquaintances into spies upon each other, by the punishment it threatened to those who, from sentiments of generosity, would wish to conceal the unguarded effusions to which men are liable in the warmth of conversation.

A few days after, an act took place, by which all aged and non-juring ecclesiastics were ordered to reside in the departments to which they belonged, in houses appropriated for their future abode. The punishment of exile was enacted for concealing or entertaining clergy-men condemned to punishment or confinement. The occasion of this act was the dread of that spiritual influence which the ecclesiastical order exerted so diffusely throughout France, especially over the rustic classes, who still remained as entirely devoted to them as ever. The jurisdiction they exercised was the more difficult to be prevented, that it arose from the sole consent of those who submitted to it, and who thought themselves bound in conscience to such a submission in

whatever related to religion. The powers thus possessed by the ecclesiastics, were, through the zeal of their numerous adherents, exerted not only in spiritual cases, but in temporal matters of the highest importance. They were, not without cause, reputed the movers, or the abettors at least, of every insurrection and attempt that had been made in favour of royalty. As they had been deprived of their possessions by the ruling powers, it could not be expected that they should bear them no resentment. Actuated thus by private motives; no less than public principles; they were considered as domestic enemies; the more dangerous that, under the appearance of performing ecclesiastical duties, they governed the minds of multitudes with the most absolute sway; and could at any time impel them to execute whatever was proposed to them, by representing it as a duty, which to neglect would be highly sinful. The more orderly clergy were the most active and zealous. Long habituated to the maxims and doctrines of former times, they viewed and represented the revolution and its consequences in the most odious light. As their age and long standing procured them proportionable attachment and respect, their influence was much greater than that of their juniors; and they were listened to with more attention and deference. Neither was it to be expected that men, grown grey in the belief and profession of the doctrines they had been accustomed to inculcate with so much care, and to maintain with so much zeal from their youth, would be prevailed upon to remain silently passive amidst the daily wrecks they wit-

nessed of religion, and of those politics, of both which they had so long been the avowed and the official propagators; and from which they had, during a long course of years, derived so honourable a maintenance, and so extensive a credit and influence over every class of society. These were motives too powerful, in men strongly persuaded of the rectitude of their principles, and feeling so keenly the injurious treatment they had received, to suffer them, while they had the liberty of acting, to let pass any opportunity of following their inclinations.

The tempestuousness of the times, and the necessity of taking every precaution to prevent insurrection against the established government, were no improper plea for this decree; though it was greatly displeasing even to many who were wellwishers to the republican system. They were of opinion that conciliation would effect more than terror; and that, by treating the clergy with lenity, those over whose consciences they had so much influence, would the more readily be reconciled to the present measures; that their spiritual directors, finding themselves humanely used, would feel the less propensity to excite the discontent of their followers, the dangerous consequences of which would fall on themselves.

The foregoing decree was speedily followed by another of a singular nature, and which strongly indicated the rancour of the republicans towards the royalists. The wives of those that had emigrated, weary of their forlorn and unprotected state, and desirous of being with their husbands, found it how-

ever extremely difficult to escape from the involuntary detainment they were held in, and which was accompanied with so much peril. They were looked upon as pledges for the peaceable behaviour of their husbands, on account of whose hostile attempts against the republican government, the ferocious resentment of its rulers might easily find pretexts to sacrifice their wives.

Urged by these motives they employed every method that female dexterity could devise, in order to forward their evasion; but they were so narrowly watched, that their endeavours were usually fruitless. An expedient was at length suggested, which they readily embraced; and which for a time proved successful. They contracted pretended marriages with foreigners who were in the secret; and by whom they were carried out of the country as their husbands. This contrivance did not long remain concealed; and as soon as it was known, a determination was taken to frustrate it. With this view, a decree was made, prohibiting the marriage of the wives of emigrants with foreigners, under the heaviest penalties.

To this rancour against the partizans of royalty, was farther added the hatred that pursued the memory of its last possessor. On the 27th of April the Convention was informed that François Germain, locksmith to the late King, had declared that he had constructed, by his orders, a secret closet, in a wall of his apartment in the Thuilleries, with an iron door. In this closet were deposited those papers, of which he gave information after the 10th of August 1792, and of which such use had been made against the

King. This man also declared that while he was at work, the King brought him a bottle of wine; after drinking which he was seized in a few hours with violent pains, which terminated in an illness that lasted fourteen months, and rendered him unable, ever since, to follow his business. In consequence of his patriotism, in discovering the papers thus concealed, and of his sufferings and inability to work at his trade, he petitioned for a support from the Convention. The Convention readily admitted this man's application, and decreed that the depositions he had made, after due examination, should be preserved in the archives of the Convention, as lasting proofs of the wickedness of the late King, and should also be made public to the world, in order to shew him in his proper colours.

This decree proved highly offensive to the discerning, as well as humane, part of society. The former reprobated it, as founded solely on the testimony of an individual interested in framing such a declaration. But it accorded so little with the character of that unhappy monarch, that it was even destitute of plausibility; and carried all the marks of a forgery, either proceeding from Germain himself, or suggested to him by others who sought, by his means, to vilify the late King. The compassionate and humane thought, that having expiated all his errors on the scaffold, it was ungenerous and inhuman to call them back to remembrance.

But the ruling powers felt no remorse in pursuing with the utmost virulence, not only monarchy, but every offence committed under that form of government. One of

the chief abuses that had characterized the three last reigns, was the oppression of the people by the farmers-general. The extortions, of which some of them had been guilty, were undeniable, and had been duly proved by a strict examination of their proceedings. Still however it appeared inequitable to the moderate to call them to account for misdemeanours committed under a system of government that was no more; and of which the delinquencies ought, in good policy, to be forgotten, as the too merciless prosecution of them might probably tend to make enemies of many, who but for the severities they dreaded, were their past conduct too strictly scrutinized, would warmly support revolutionary measures. But the enmity of the people to the very name of Farmers-General, pointed out a road to popularity, which was too inviting for the ruling party not to follow, when they felt so deeply the need of the multitude. In compliance with those clamours against the farmers-general, which had been so loud and so universal in France for a number of years, and were become in a manner traditional, the Convention, on the 5th of May, passed a decree by which they were consigned to the revolutionary tribunal, where many of them were condemned to die, and executed accordingly.

But these were only ordinary victims of that strict and necessary justice, as it was now called, which visited with unbiassed impartiality the iniquities of the past as well as of the present day. In order to exhibit the most striking specimen of that equality in the inflicting of punishments, to which it was determined to reduce all individuals without

without distinction, Fouquier Tinville, the public accuser, a man well fitted for the bloody office with which he was invested, formally demanded that the Princess Elizabeth, sister to the late King, should be cited to appear before the revolutionary tribunal, on a suspicion of being concerned in counter-revolutionary practices. The utter impossibility that a woman under the strict confinement in which she was held, should be accessory to any proceedings of such a tendency, was so obvious, that all Paris was struck with amazement when told that she was to undergo a trial. Her character was in every sense unimpeachable. Her piety and resignation to the hard and undeserved treatment she had so long endured, had rendered her an object even of popular commiseration. When brought before the revolutionary tribunal, she replied to the questions put to her with such unaffectedness, calmness, and precision, that every one present was convinced that she spoke the strictest truth. To the various charges urged against her, she made the most apposite and satisfactory answers, and completely cleared herself of every accusation. To that of having encouraged her nephew to hope that he would be one day King of France, she frankly and innocently replied, that in the familiar intercourse between them, she had employed every motive to comfort him in his melancholy situation. This ingenuous answer was immediately interpreted as an acknowledgment that she had really encouraged him in that expectation; and sentence of death was passed upon her. She suffered, in company with twenty-six others; and was executed the last. She behaved in her

last moments with great dignity and decency.

These numerous and merciless executions filled all France with terror. This was the very end in view. But this terror was accompanied with equal horror; and prepared all men to look with impatience and anxiety for an alteration of affairs. The sentiments of the public were not kept in such secrecy as not in some measure to transpire. In order to preserve, in the meantime, the attachment of the multitude by that ostentatious display of religion which is so captivating to the unreflecting and the unwary, Robespierre now adopted an idea which he doubted not would be of the highest utility to his designs: this was to set apart the tenth day for religious and moral observance, in imitation of the seventh in the Christian system. He resolved therefore, without delay, to increase the popularity he had already acquired, by introducing the subject of religion into the Convention, as a point of the greatest importance, and making such additional regulations in the matters relating to it, as might impress the people with a conviction that he was sincere in his professions.

Full of this project, on the 7th of May he ascended the tribune, and made a long and elaborate speech, replete with the most turgid and fulsome description of the fame and grandeur which the French nation had attained. The victories of the republic, he said, were celebrated in every quarter of the universe. An entire revolution had taken place in the physical order of things, which would indubitably produce another in the moral and political. One half of the globe had already

felt this change, and the other would soon feel it. The French nation had anticipated the rest of the world by 2000 years, and might be considered as consisting of a new species of men*. He was warm and enthusiastic in the praise of republican morality and a democratical government, describing every other form of government and species of morality as deserving of detestation. He justified the sanguinary measures which had produced the present system, and that now supported it. After this prefatory discourse, he brought forward the religious and moral plan he had prepared; which, being laid before the Convention, was digested in the following heads, and formed into a solemn decree.

The French nation thereby acknowledged the existence of a Supreme Being, and the immortality of the soul. It acknowledged that the worship of the Supreme Being consisted in the practice of the duties of man to man. It ranked among those duties the detestation

of treachery and tyranny, the punishment of tyrants and traitors, relieving the unfortunate, assisting the weak, the defence of the oppressed, the doing to others all possible good, and the avoiding of injustice towards all men. Festivals were to be instituted; in order to recall men to a recollection of the Divinity, and the dignity of his own existence. These festivals were to be named either after the most signal events of the French revolution, those of the virtues the most dear to mankind, or the most conspicuous benefits of nature. The following days were annually to be celebrated as festivals; the 14th of July, the 10th of August, the 21st of January, and the 31st of May. Every tenth day of the month was also to be celebrated as a festival. The objects of these festivals were to be the Supreme Being, nature, the human race, the French nation, benefactors of mankind, martyrs of liberty, liberty and equality, the French republic, the freedom of the world, patriotism, the punish-

* The distinguished excellence and glory of the French, was a very favourite and popular topic of declamation. On the 6th of September, 1794, the deputy Geraud, in a long harangue in the Convention, insisted on the glory of educating a whole nation, so as to render them worthy of liberty. France, he observed, was elevated to the very pinnacle of earthly splendor: the eyes of mankind were fixed upon her doctrines, and fourteen centuries of ignorance, degradation, and slavery, were now effaced. The slaves of despotism had been struck with a mortal terror; a protecting Divinity had elevated her empire on the smoking ruins of a throne, and on the bloody remnants of expiring factions. "Mandatories of a great nation," said he, "let us consecrate a durable monument to the rising generation; the Arcopagus of Europe ought now to consolidate the majestic edifice of our immortal revolution on the immovable basis of public instruction. Before we abandon the helm of public affairs, let us announce to our constituents with a true republican boldness, to France, and to all Europe, that we contemplate with enthusiasm one inviolable maxim,—without public education, the empire of morals must be destroyed. And if the fury of new Vandals shall aim at the destruction of the republic; if the dread of this horrible calamity diffuses consternation among the passionate friends of liberty—but I here pause, and consign my reflections to virtue, to the principles of the French senate, to the cogitations of the learned, and to the meditations of philosophy."

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ment of tyrants and traitors, truth, justice, modesty, glory and immortality, friendship, frugality, courage, sincerity, heroism, disinterestedness, stoicism, love, conjugal affection, paternal affection, maternal tenderness, filial piety, infancy, youth, manhood, old age, misfortune, agriculture, industry, ancestors, posterity, and happiness.

By this decree the freedom of religious worship was confirmed; but every aristocratical or other assembly, subversive of public order, was prohibited. In case of disturbances, the motive or occasion of which might be any particular mode of worship, those who should excite them by fanatical discourses and counter-revolutionary insinuations, and those who caused them by unprovoked outrages, were both to be punished with equal severity. The last article of this decree, that wherein Robespierre was personally interested and had most at heart, was the solemn celebration of a festival in honour of the Supreme Being, which was appointed for the 8th of next June. This famous decree was received with great applause, and unanimously passed by the Convention, which ordered it to be translated into all languages, and dispersed throughout all nations.

The grand festival appointed in honour of the Supreme Being, was intended by Robespierre to be a day of triumph to himself and his party. Every preparation was made use of that could render it magnificent. The relations that have been given of the manner in which it was conducted, represent it as equally solemn and brilliant, and perfectly calculated to please the people of Paris, and indeed most Frenchmen, who are particularly

delighted with scenes of this description.

What most particularly claimed the attention of the public on this memorable day, was, the attendance of the Convention in the most imposing formalities, and decorated with all the symbols of the duties annexed to their station. In front of the Thuilleries, and facing that superb garden, a spacious amphitheatre was erected, in the midst of which was placed a tribune; wherein Robespierre, as president of the Convention, and as the head in fact of the French nation, held forth, with great solemnity, on the business of the day. A variety of ceremonies and singular transactions took place in the course of this remarkable festival, which closed with hymns and musical compositions in praise of the Deity. In the midst of this ceremony Robespierre seemed particularly intent on the enjoyment of his own consequence, and in displaying it to the eyes of the multitude. Forgetful of that republican equality which he always so vehemently insisted on, and of the jealousies that naturally attended the vast pre-eminence he had attained, he gave a loose to the native vanity of his disposition, and affected a personal superiority over his fellow-members, by some circumstances in his behaviour that gave them great offence. All things considered, this proved to him a most inauspicious day.

The new religious creed and institutions of Robespierre, naturally became a subject of much speculation. Among the most active and formidable enemies of the dictator, he reckoned those men who were most conspicuous for their philosophical and literary talents, and who were also most notorious for Athe-

ism, or Materialism. Cordorcet had written an epigram upon him full of sarcastic truth, which was published in the news-papers, and much admired, before the power of the tyrant had risen to such a pitch as to restrain the French from expressing their sentiments. At the time when he instituted his new calendar, for the purpose of effacing, if possible, the very remembrance of Christianity, what he dreaded most was, an attachment to monarchy and the ancient ecclesiastical establishments. He began now to dread the influence of a spirit of philosophy, which, when genuine, naturally tends to moderation and justice to all men, and orders of men, and to reflect that it was possible to recede too far from the principles and sentiments of religion, which the murmurs of so great a part of the people at the abolition of Sundays and other religious festivals, convinced him were the sentiments of nature. He therefore resolved to pay some homage to religion, by way of humouring the mass of the people at the expence of the philosophers. In the same spirit we shall by and by find him endeavouring to raise the lowest classes into consideration, by degrading talents and accomplishments, as well as other former marks of distinction. It will not fail to attract the attention of moral observers, that Robespierre took care in his religious creed to interweave all the passions that were uppermost in his own mind. In the middle of the fourteenth century, Italy, having no steady government, was wasted by bands of robbers. It was particularly wasted by a military leader,

of the name of Warren, an adventurer from England, who, as we are informed by more than one Italian writer, wore on a tunic, embroidered with silver, words defying the Deity as well as his servant the Pope, and inspiring horror*.—Robespierre, though still the enemy of mankind and of mercy, deemed it good policy no longer to set Heaven at defiance, but to affect some small degree of reverence for God and religion.

Not long before the festival of the 8th of June, an event happened, which ought to have warned him of the precariousness and danger of his situation, and prevented his assumption of unseasonable pride. A resolution had been taken to assassinate him and one of his intimates, Collot d'Herbois, a member of the committee of public safety, by a man of the name of Ameral; who, weary of life, and labouring possibly under misfortunes, had determined to put an end to his own existence; but previously to the execution of this design, had resolved to signalize his death by accompanying it with some meritorious deed.

The destruction of two such men as Robespierre and Collot d'Herbois, would, he thought, be rendering a service to his country; and he attempted it accordingly: but not meeting with the former, and finding an opportunity of executing his design upon the latter, he fired a pistol at him in open day as he was crossing a street. Being immediately pursued and seized, he confessed the above particulars, and gloried in his intentions, regretting only that the attempt had failed.

* Duca Guarnieri, Signor della Campagna, Nemico di Dio, di Pietà, e di misericordia.

On the very day this transaction happened, which was the 25th of May, an attempt of a similar nature was made on Robespierre himself, by a young woman of twenty years of age, of the name of Cecilia Regnaud. She went to his dwelling and asked for admittance. Being told he was absent, she expressed much disappointment, saying that, as a public functionary, he ought always to be in the way of seeing those who had business with him. Her air and deportment occasioning suspicion, she was stopped and carried before the committee of general safety. But she had betrayed herself on the way, by exclaiming, that while the King was living, he denied himself to none of his subjects; and that she would lose her life to have another King. She was consigned to the revolutionary tribunal, where, on being questioned respecting her business with Robespierre, her only answer was that she was desirous to see what sort of being a tyrant was. No weapons were found upon her that could be deemed offensive; and she appeared rather disordered in her mind. However, she was, together with her family, against whom nothing could be alleged, sent to the guillotine with Ameral, and above sixty other persons.

These two attempts against his life, were alarming proofs that the popularity of Robespierre was accompanied with more exceptions than he might be willing to admit, in the sanguine persuasion he cherished of the attachment of the people to a cause which he so earnestly laboured to convince them was their own. But they could not fail to observe that his severity increased

every day, and that the number of victims, continually sacrificed to his suspicions, were indiscriminately taken from the lowest as well as the highest and middling classes, and that the revolutionary tribunal seldom acquitted any one brought before it, though nothing could be more notorious than the insufficiency of those proofs of guilt upon which they took away so many lives. But whether he still confided in the extent of his popularity, and looked on those attempts as accidental instances of private rancour, no ways derogatory to his general credit, or whether, like many others in possession of great power, he was resolved to retain and exercise it at his own discretion, and at all hazards,—Robespierre did not seem inclined to relax from the severity he had so steadily adopted ever since his first entrance into power. He possibly thought this, at a period when all parties appeared so implacable to each other, the safest policy. Were his own party to be oppressed, he made no doubt that, like those whom he had exterminated, he would in his turn meet with no mercy. Judging of others by himself, and being unhappily without commiseration, he indulged his propensity to shed blood as the surest means to prevent the shedding of his own.

He was now arrived at the plenitude of his power. What, through prepossession in his favour, from the ignorance, the prejudices, the violence of the lower classes in the capital, and what through the terror which his power and security everywhere diffused, he acted without controul; and even his most intimate adherents stood in continual

awe of his unrelenting and sanguinary temper. The dreadful decrees continually following each other, with hardly a day's intermission, reached, in the boundless extent of their application, not only to the public and open conduct of individuals, but even to their most private and domestic recesses. No man was safe from the malice or capriciousness of an inmate, or of an acquaintance. Society was in a manner at a stand; none dared to trust another, unless indeed long experience of his fidelity, or an evident similitude of sentiments, removed all suspicions of intended treachery. The practice of this was become the less infamous, that informers were secured from detection, by the manner of receiving and of proceeding upon their information. No person denouncing another was called upon to allege his motives, or to discover his name, profession, or dwelling. Thus, the person accused had no opportunity of confronting, or of knowing his accuser; whose denunciation, however, was allowed to carry the greatest weight, and was attended to as absolute and undeniable proof.

The revolutionary tribunal, of which the judgments were final and without appeal, decided at once on the reputation and life of every one that had the misfortune to be brought before it. An accusation, an arrest, and a sentence of death, were now reputed the same thing; and by those who could not refrain from indulging their fancy or levity in the midst of these horrors, were called the Revolutionary Trinity. The tribunal that went by this name, was the ready instrument of the committee of public safety; and this was devotedly subservient to the suggestions of Robespierre

and his agents. The forms of justice were, in the unpenetrating eye of the multitude, properly observed; but the jury, that fountain of all real justice, was constructed on a basis far removed from the foundations of equity. Their situation was official and permanent; and they were not to be challenged by the accused; nor could they be said, with any propriety, to be authorized to deliberate on the charges laid before them. The victims to be sacrificed were pointed out to them: one of the assassins of the revolutionary tribunal waited every morning upon Robespierre with a list of the prisoners in a state of accusation and trial; and it was his custom to mark with a cross the names of those that were to be condemned.

The jurisdiction with which he had taken care to invest this tribunal, completely answered every purpose he had in view. The vast multiplicity of cases in which they were competent to decide, involved almost every occurrence in society; and their powers of interpretation, as well as of decision, were so extensive, that they were able to find almost any person criminal. To oppose the principles on which the revolution was founded; to calumniate its friends and supporters; to countenance and abet aristocrats liable to punishment; to labour at perverting the ideas of the people; to asperse the character of the revolutionary tribunal,—these were offences, a general imputation of which subjected the accused to the most rigorous prosecution; while the proofs required were of so lax and unprecise a nature, that it was hardly possible to escape condemnation.

The committee of public safety,
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which was authorized to order the arrest and trial of individuals, was at first so limited in its authority and duration, that Robespierre soon discovered its insufficiency for the execution of his designs, unless both were extended. The members of this committee at its institution, were to be renewed every month : but on his being appointed a member, and perceiving of what use he could make it, he immediately availed himself of the influence he possessed over the Convention, and procured a decree by which it was rendered permanent. Those who composed it, being thus through his interest elevated to the highest rank and dignity, became wholly subservient to his views ; and, through them, he ruled with an authority more despotic than ever had been exercised by any King of France, or indeed of any kingdom in Europe. In the mean time, his party, being uncontrollably predominant in the Convention, every decree which they proposed was carried with every latitude he could require. In a short time the authority of the Convention was totally absorbed in that of Robespierre. Through the suffrages of that body, now implicitly acquiescent, he gradually obtained every species of power in favour of the committee of public safety, which, in fact, became superior to the Convention itself. In virtue of the power with which this committee was invested, he disposed of all places of any consequence ; he appointed national agents in every part of the country ; their commissions were unlimited by any instructions but his own ; and no other accounts were given to the Convention of the committee's secret reasons for

their proceedings, or rather his own, than he judged convenient. The servility of that assembly became at length so notorious, that it was publicly spoken of in terms of contempt and derision. The ministerial reports laid before it, which were in fact those of the committee, were listened to with scandalous complacency. They tamely registered the decrees moved for by the ruling party ; and they passed much oftener by acclamation than after any real deliberation, as it daily became more dangerous to thwart them. On these occasions, the firmness of the parliaments in opposing and refusing to register the royal edicts was well remembered ; and recalled to the attention of the public, in a style no ways favourable to the Convention. The inconsiderable numbers to which this body was now reduced, was also noticed with much disapprobation. The House, when complete, amounted to seven hundred and fifty members ; but very rarely more than two hundred were present. Various were the causes of this paucity. Some had fled, some were employed in committees, others in provincial commissions : but the fewer they were, the greater was the influence exercised by Robespierre, who always found means to procure the absence of those in whom he did not place the most entire confidence.

Armed with such power, it was not surprising that he made himself, if not the nominal, still the real sovereign of France. He was not only the executive but the legislative power of the state. He obtained the passing of any decree that he thought proper, and executed it discretionally. In order to perpetuate

perpetuate his authority, a decree was made, declaring France under a revolutionary government until peace should be restored. The distance at which this plainly appeared, was a sufficient earnest that he should long continue in the supreme power. Under pretext of consulting the general security, he studiously encouraged a spirit of ferocity, and blood-thirstiness of disposition. He collected a number of ruffians, who were decreed to be a revolutionary army, and whom, by procuring them a large pay, he secured in his personal interest. They acted, as it were, as his bodyguards, and terrified all people into submission. Such a propensity arose at last to shed blood, that an address was presented to the Convention by one of the sections of Paris, petitioning the sacrifice of nine hundred thousand individuals, as necessary to complete the establishment of the revolution!

Intoxicated by his power, and infuriated by his hatred to monarchy and its friends, he let loose such a persecution of them, as proved no less disgraceful to the French for abetting it than to himself for promoting it*. They were sentenced to imprisonment and deprivation of property, banishment

or death, as it seemed most suitable to their supposed guilt. But that which best proved the conformity of the times to his own disposition, and the devotion or rather imbecility of the Convention in coinciding implicitly with all his demands, was, the requisition of the Jacobin club, formally preferred by that body, that terror should be declared the standing order of the day. Numbers of the members were well known to disapprove of the terrific measures used to keep the public in subjection: and such a requisition was manifestly intended as an insult to their feelings. But that furious club was ready to enforce with all its weight the mandates of Robespierre: and he was highly desirous to let the Convention see that he had another assembly at his command, little less formidable than their own, and that might, in case of need, counterpoise their opposition to him, were their sentiments to alter in his disfavour.

But a trial of their complaisance much more humiliating, and attended with much more serious consequences, was, that decree extorted by the clamours of this outrageous club, by which they divested themselves of one of the most valuable privileges that was

* Though it be impossible to vindicate a very great portion at least of the French nation, who were as willing to execute and even prompt, as Robespierre, with his revolutionary tribunal, to enact bloody decrees, from the charge of a ferocious and blood-thirsty disposition, yet this disposition did not by any means appear in the French armies; which cherished, even in the bloody reign of Robespierre, ideas of military pride, honour and gallantry. While a whole section of Paris petitioned for the inhuman sacrifice of near a million of their fellow-citizens, the armies refused to carry the decree for granting no quarter to the English and Hanoverians into execution. Why did not the French soldiers turn their arms against the tyranny of Robespierre? Probably they would have done more if they had not been actuated by a dread, and occupied in efforts to repeal external aggression, and the dominion of foreign masters.

annexed to their station. Robespierre, whose aim extended to the entire enslavement of the Convention, had long borne with impatience that law by which the members were entitled to be heard in their own defence, before the passing an accusation against them: projecting to remove by degrees every member obnoxious to him, he clearly saw the difficulty of accomplishing such a design while that law existed. The capacity and eloquence of those whom he was chiefly bent to destroy, formed an impediment which might easily frustrate his attempts against them, and experience had shewn, that this privilege had been of essential utility to members in the most critical positions. He employed therefore his interest with the Jacobins to suppress this privilege, knowing their inveteracy to those members whom he proposed to attack after its suppression. The Convention could not certainly be unaware of his motives for making so bold an attempt; but either the number of his partizans in the metropolis was so great, and the influence of the Jacobins so extensive, that they apprehended an insurrection in favour of a measure that appeared equitable to the people, as it placed them upon an equal footing with other citizens; or they dreaded to render themselves suspected by a man whose talents for intrigue and artifice were such, that even under the protection of this law, those who feared his machinations might not think themselves secure, and durst not therefore openly oppose its repeal, lest, if he should carry his point, which they much apprehended he would, not-

withstanding their opposition, he might immediately convert against them the success he had obtained, in despite of their endeavours to prevent it.

Whatever motives may have swayed the Convention at this time, the motion to repeal this privilege was warmly approved and recorded; and a decree was made to this purpose, to the great surprise of the public, which might well express its amazement at the readiness with which their representatives gave up one of the strongest safeguards of their freedom, and delivered themselves, as it were, into the hands of a man who was justly suspected of plotting the destruction of many of them, and, in order to accomplish it, had framed the very measure wherein they so passively acquiesced.

This compliance did them great prejudice in the public mind. Not only their personal freedom, but their official dignity was lost in the eyes of the multitude, as well as of him who had thus succeeded in degrading them, and who, emboldened by their want even of sagacity or of firmness, determined to stop at no measures in carrying into immediate execution the many others he now projected in consequence of his success in this one. He now unfolded the sentiments he had in some degree wrapped up before in the dark recesses of his mind: he explained himself with less ambiguity on those subjects that lay nearest to his unfeeling heart: he unequivocally asserted, that the republic could not be preserved without the destruction of all its opposers; and that to pity those who were condemned to suffer for their inimical

cal attempts to subvert it, was to participate in their treason. Death without mercy ought, he explicitly insisted, to be the portion of all those who contributed in any shape to thwart the present system. Whoever afforded refuge or concealment to persons accused of conspiracy; those who corresponded by words or by writing with persons imprisoned on his account; jailors who aided or connived at this correspondence, were involved by him in the like punishment: and those who expressed dissatisfaction at revolutionary measures, he threatened with transportation.

The atrocities, of which the enumeration has filled so many pages in the various publications of those tempestuous times, became gradually so familiar to the sight, as to be almost lost to feeling. The deprivation of relations and friends was submitted to, with a patience and resignation that arose neither from reason nor religion, but from an unmanly apathy that debased the soul and the understanding. Indifference to the public, and selfishness, seemed to have extinguished both magnanimity and commiseration. The hourly evidence of the danger to which every one was exposed from capriciousness or cruelty, was not sufficient to open the eyes of men to the necessity of running all risks, in order to put an instant stop to horrors that threatened to involve, with little discrimination, individuals of all parties in one common scene of destruction.

To judge from the conduct of Robespierre, after he had obtained unlimited power, he was of no party. The enjoyment and the exercise of this power without fear or controul, was evidently the

sole object of his restless endeavours to attain it. Ambition alone, deeply tinctured with political fanaticism, actuated him: it was not only the predominant, but almost the sole passion that characterized him; if he had any others, they were so subservient to this one, and so intimately blended with all its operations, as not to be distinguished from it.

Paris, that celebrated seat of gaiety, refinement, and elegance, was now become the residence of wretchedness and woe. Scenes of distress were continually passing before the eyes of its inhabitants, without dividing the day from the night. Executions took up the one, and arrestations the other: yet, strange to relate, no man lifted his voice against the author of these calamities: only the calamity itself was deplored, and no one had the courage openly to vent his indignation at these barbarities. So thoroughly were people frozen with terror, that they beheld those processions of death move along the streets, in silent dread, that they themselves might shortly make part of them. Every individual trembled for himself, and hardly dared to bestow a tear on the fate of his neighbour. This cautiousness and timidity was the natural result of the dangers that hovered incessantly over every member of any genteel class of society; only the lowest, or rather the vilest of human beings, were exempt from them. The commonalty was now exclusively exalted into all that was respectable and worthy of respect: they alone were asserted to be not only the strength, but the honour of a nation. The meanest occupations were placed above the most polite and liberal; and superiority

riority of intellectual talents counted more dangerous than useful. The populace, in short, shielded under the honourable name of People, restricted all merit, esteem, and consideration, to those branches of the community whose labours and ingenuity supplied it with the necessities and conveniences of life; all others were held useless or frivolous, and only tending to raise the artful and designing over the plain and well-meaning. These notions were daily spreading with extensive rapidity; and it was among the vilest of men that the most violent and outrageous partizans of Robespierre were found. The more decent conditions lived, of course, in continual apprehension of the others, whose envy and enmity went hand in hand to effect their humiliation. But it was not among the lower sort only that the basest of his instruments were selected: the more decent ranks supplied him with the less furious but still more despicable tribes of spies and informers that infested every social circle, and extinguished the enjoyments of friendship and intimacy, by rendering men suspicious of each other, and putting them on their guard against every face with which they were not perfectly well acquainted.

It was at this horrible period that the French rulers and their numerous abettors sunk to the lowest degradation that ever disgraced the character of any nation. The ties of domestic confidence and of family affection were so completely loosened, that servants thought they acted a meritorious part in betraying their masters; and, horrid to tell! the nearest and most dear relations became the victims of that trust which arose equally from na-

ture and necessity. Brothers were denounced by their brothers, parents by their sons, and sons by their parents. Such were the effects of that patriotism which taught mankind to trample on filial and paternal duties, and to stifle every sentiment of natural tenderness, whenever it stood in competition with the ordinances of the law. The abominable deeds of this kind, said to have been perpetrated in France, are so shocking as to remain almost incredible; and none but ocular witnesses have a right to relate them. On the other hand, in the midst of this horrible gloom were seen the brightest examples of courage, generosity in friendship, and constancy even to death, in various modification of affection and love. Children exposed themselves to death for their parents, and parents for their children; husbands for wives, and wives for husbands; friends afforded an asylum to persecuted friends; and families of the emigrants, at the peril of their lives, made remittances for the support of their proscribed relations. The aspect of France at this calamitous period, very forcibly recalled to mind the description that is given of the Roman Emperor in the reign of Nero; when acts of despotism in constant succession, continual accusations, the treachery of friends, the ruin of innocence, and trial after trial, ending always in the same tragic catastrophe, are gloriously contrasted with the virtue of relatives and friends, bold and daring in a generous sympathy; mothers accompanying their emigrant sons; wives following their husbands into exile; and the fidelity even of slaves defying and spurning at the severest torture*.

* Vide Tacit. Histor. cap. 2, 3.

An apology for the enormities of the French at this time, commonly made by their friends and abettors, for such they had in our own as well as in other countries, is so singular, and truly characteristic of the insanity of party-rage, that it is worthy of being recorded. It was said that the excesses were no more than proportionable to their former oppressions; and the vicious habits and dispositions they manifested, were only the natural traits of an education under despotism; but that they or their descendants would be better members of society, when they should be ameliorated by a republican government: so that the very atrocities committed by the Jacobins, were brought to bear against the fabric of the ancient monarchy.

The world at the same time ought to be reminded, that all these evils were produced by tyranny; which, whether in the hands of one or of many, never fails completely to subdue the noblest feelings and propensities of nature. Nations great and illustrious, when crushed by tyranny, have lost all those lofty sentiments and splendid qualities that dignify mankind, and induce the most mortal enemies to regard each other with a degree of esteem and respect. Long before the French, the Romans had given the most terrible examples of a murderous disposition, contracted by men exalted to despotic power through civil commotions; and of the servility and abjectness to which they had reduced mankind by their oppressions and cruelties. Were it not that history had recorded them in too circumstantial and authentic a manner to be denied, they might be justly reputed the fabrications

of calumny and of rancour against the victorious party.

In the mean time, the situation of the people, if credit may be given to persons of veracity, and to accounts not suspected of inclining to falsehood, was wretched and miserable in the extreme. Notwithstanding the general poverty and hard course of living to which the French had been long habituated, the vulgar now complained that their condition was become intolerable. They laboured under the want of the commonest necessities. Of bread, their chief and almost only support, there was almost a continual scarcity: meat was at an exorbitant price; and every other article of sustenance and necessity, fuel especially, of constant difficulty to procure. When, urged by hunger and the extremes of domestic distress, they laid their piteous case before their hard-hearted rulers, they were bid to think of the victories and glory of the republic; and manfully to endure their sufferings, while they conduced to such noble ends.— True patriots, they were told, ought cheerfully to submit to temporary inconveniences for the honour and welfare of their country.

If such was the language held to their acknowledged adherents, well might those who pleaded for compassion to the suspected, meet with the sharpest reception. A great number of women whose husbands, brothers, or sons had been arrested or thrown into jail, applied with the utmost humility to the Convention for their pity to those unhappy individuals; but their entreaties and tears made no impression on the callous breast of Robespierre.

Robespierre. He loaded them with abuse and scurrility; charged them with counter-revolutionary projects, and flying in the face of the Convention; and ordered them to depart in silence and submission to its decrees. Notwithstanding the repeated instances of his barbarous and brutal disposition, the adulation of his numerous partizans and admirers extolled him as a prodigy of patriotic virtue. The epithet of Incorruptible was always annexed to his name; he was styled the shield of the republic. He was described as possessing the firmness of a Roman, the self-denial of a Spartan, and the eloquence of an Athenian. He was compared to the Messiah, sent by Heaven to reform the world, and manifesting his mission by miracles. These, and a variety of other specimens of the basest adulation that could possibly be thought upon by the most servile and worthless miscreants of the human race, were continually offered up as an homage due to his supereminent merit!

It is not surprizing that the mind of Robespierre should have been inebriated by the incense of so much flattery; and that his vanity should have induced him to accept it as a tribute to which he was justly entitled. It was difficult, indeed, for him to deny himself the gratification arising from self-complacency on such incessant invitations to indulge it. Exclusively of the numerous addresses pouring upon him, as it were, from all quarters, he seldom appeared abroad without a crowd of dependants surrounding him on every side, and vying with each other both in verbal and personal demonstrations of attachment. His looks were watch-

ed, and his smiles courted like those of a monarch; and when he spoke, the profoundest silence and attention ensued. He wanted nothing, in short, of royalty but the formalities of a court; and those were amply supplied by the submission and deference which he commanded, both in private and public. In this career of intoxication he could not refrain from displaying the high opinion which he entertained of his deserts, and of how much importance he thought himself to the public. To this intent he repaired to the Convention on the 27th of May, two days after a supposed attempt against his person, and in a set speech of some length, dwelt with great fervour on the services rendered to the common cause by himself and his friends. He thanked God that these services had pointed him out to tyrants as an object of their vengeance. Unable to reach him by their own prowess, they had employed the dagger of domestic traitors and assassins. The French republic had now risen, he said, to the summit of its glory. Standing on the brink of conspiracies ready for successive explosion, the intrepid representatives of the nation claimed the united attention of heaven and earth; with one hand they offered up to the Almighty the homage of a great people; with the other they launched their thunderbolts with the greatest vengeance against the tyrants that were so basely, and without provocation, coalesced against them.

This speech was perfectly suited to the temper and taste of a French audience, ever prepared to listen with applause to ideas that place them at the head of all mankind;
and

and represent their strength and valour as fit to contend with the combined power of the universe. It was by representations of this kind that Robespierre had so frequently confirmed his popularity, and gained the applause of the Parisians, who were peculiarly delighted with those affected and bombastic strains of oratory, that filled them with lofty notions, and soothed their national vanity.

But the speech made by Barrere on the 20th, tended much more directly to inflame the French against the British government. He explicitly attributed to it every sinister attempt against the Convention; and concluded by moving an address to the French armies, conceived in the most rancorous terms. England, he said, was capable of every outrage against humanity, and of every crime towards the republic: it attacked the rights of nations, and threatened to annihilate liberty. He exhaled his enmity to the British monarch in the most unqualified language. He laid a variety of charges to him, which amounted to no more than acts of hostility, committed since France and Great Britain were at war. But the inference he drew was truly savage and inhuman.—Addressing himself to the French soldiers: “When the event of battle,” he said, “shall have put in your power either English or Hanoverians, bring to your remembrance the vast tracks of country that English slaves have laid waste; carry your views to La Vendée, Toulon, Lyons, Landrecy, Martinique, and St. Domingo, places still reeking with the blood which the atrocious policy of the English has shed. Do not trust to their artful language,

which is an additional crime, truly worthy of their perfidious character, and their Machiavelian government. You ought, therefore, republican soldiers, when victory shall put into your power either English or Hanoverians, to strike:—not one of them ought to return to the traitorous territory of England, or to be brought into France. Let the English slaves perish, and let Europe be free.”

Such were the preposterous and contemptible effusions of Barrere's wrath against the English! they afford a genuine specimen of that species of eloquence, and of that veracity of representation, which filled the mouths of the many declaimers against the English who occasionally started up in the Convention. The avidity with which those speeches were received by the generality of the French, and even by the Convention itself, does no honour either to the discrimination or probity of that people. It betrays an unpardonable readiness to admit as truth whatever may tend to disparage an enemy, and to render him odious. It is much to be lamented, that men are so prone to adopt such measures to vilify their foes, as are founded upon falsehood and misrepresentation. Natural enmity is strong enough between nations, without studying to increase it by means equally base and unwarrantable; and which men of generous sentiments in all countries have always condemned, and held in abhorrence.

In default of that propriety of behaviour and sentiment, so notoriously wanting in the Convention, that very class of men whom they sought to pervert by the scandalous

scandalous directions addressed to them; evinced by their conduct that they had a better sense of their own duty, and entertained more proper notions of the treatment reciprocally due to each other by nations at war, than their barbarous rulers; or rather indeed than those sanguinary men by whom they basely suffered themselves to be ruled. The bloody decree that was made, in consequence of this inhuman speech; prohibiting quarter to be given to the English, was never carried into execution by the republican armies. The very contrary happened to what had been proposed by Barrere. When, thro' the events of war, the English fell into the hands of the French, they treated them with the wonted humanity long practised by both nations.

But, notwithstanding the disinclination so positively manifested by the French military to obey injunctions repugnant no less to the laws of war than to their own feelings, a decree of a similar nature was shortly after passed in the Convention, by which no quarter was to be given to the garrisons placed by the allies in the towns they had taken from France, if they refused to surrender within twenty-four hours after they had been summoned. This decree also met with the same disobedience as the other.

The power of Robespierre was now arrived at such a height, that it was generally considered as fixed upon unshakable foundations. His popularity increased proportionably with the intelligence daily arriving of the victorious progress of the French armies, which was in a great measure attributed to his sagacity in the appointment of proper com-

manders. The municipality of Paris was implicitly at his devotion,—the places at his disposal,—and to which he nominated them preferably to others, were effectual means to secure their attachment. The revolutionary tribunal contained a large portion of them. That immense body, the Parisian national guards, were wholly at his orders, as he had the naming of all the principal officers in the forty-eight sections into which the metropolis was divided. This and that other military body, styled the Revolutionary Army, formed such a support, as seemed to place him out of the reach of all attack, founded on violence. The tide of popular opinion ran strongly in his favour; and his influence in the revolutionary societies was irresistible. That called the Jacobin Club, was totally under his management; and its numerous affiliations zealously propagated its principles throughout all France. The Cordelier club, which had ventured to displease him, he had suppressed; and no private or public assembly seemed inclined either to oppose or to differ from him.

The opinion of numbers of the most discerning individuals at this period was, that Robespierre had now a fair opportunity of perpetuating his power, by relaxing from his severity. He had destroyed a sufficient proportion of the enemies to the predominant system, to secure it from the attempts of those that remained. Had he laid aside that plan of proscription and terror by which not only the foes to the revolution, but even its friends, were kept in a continual state of intimidation, the various parties into which the revolutionists had been split, were become so weary

of the confusion and uncertainty of the schemes wherein they had been bewildered, that they would gladly have united under such a one as would have embraced their general interests, and allowed every man, professing himself a republican, to claim and to exercise an undisturbed freedom of opinion and speech on that form of a republican government he might think most conducive to the public welfare; without being constrained to adhere to the ideas and measures of the present, or of any ruling party. This was the reputed scheme of Danton; and looked upon by judicious people as the most eligible in the actual circumstances of the nation: but as it did not seem to favour that perpetuity of power which Robespierre sought to fix in his own party, and held up maxims that might have weakened his personal interest and defeated his private views, his unbounded ambition, and settled determination to retain the sole power in his own hands, induced him to crush at once that scheme, by the destruction of its author, and to persecute, unrelentingly, all that appeared desirous to adopt it. Thus he continued the system of terror and tyranny without the least relaxation, or rather indeed with additional violence.

Among the many unfortunate individuals who were yet destined to be the victims of his barbarity, was that truly great and respectable man Lamoignon Malesherbes. The justice due to his transcendent merit, had been shewn him at a time when France was governed solely by corruption and intrigue, and when the court consisted almost entirely of men without principle,

and whose views were directed in the most shameless and scandalous manner, to oppose the influence and exaltation of any man whom they suspected to be capable and inclined to set his face against their practices. The unhappy Louis XVI. who, if not a prince of very eminent abilities, was certainly the most virtuous man in his court, had however discernment enough to perceive, and equity to single out Malesherbes as a person deserving the royal favour, and promoted him to a ministerial post of the highest dignity and importance. No choice ever did that monarch more, if so much honour. Malesherbes justified it not only by the talents he displayed, but by an uprightness and integrity of conduct that won him the admiration and applause of a court sunk in all manner of vices; and his contempt and reprobation of which, he was above concealing. But that part of his character which will transmit him to the veneration of posterity, is the gratitude and intrepidity with which he undertook the defence of that unhappy monarch, when it was accompanied with the highest danger to himself, and when he must have been conscious that the party he thus had the spirit to oppose would watch him ever after with an eye of rancour, and that he would probably pay with his life for the magnanimity he had shewn. He was accordingly dragged from the retirement, wherein he had proposed to spend his latter days; and, upon some of those frivolous charges which were always at hand for the sanguinary purposes of the day, this venerable man, verging towards fourscore, was condemned to die by the guillotine.

One of the many pretexts on which those merciless condemnations were founded, was the carrying on a correspondence with emigrants. This was an unpardonable offence, even in the nearest relations. Another, no less effectual, was the charge of conspiracy; of which persons imprisoned together were frequently accused, when no other charge could be fabricated. It was even sufficient, in cases of conspiracy, to be suspected of a readiness to join the conspirators. A lady of high rank, whose husband, Viscount Noailles, had warmly espoused the cause of the revolution, was, notwithstanding a circumstance so much in her favour, doomed to die, on a mere presumption that she would certainly have taken part in a conspiracy, of which some individuals in confinement were accused of having assisted each other there in forming, though she made it appear on her trial that she was not in that prison when the supposed conspiracy was formed.

Among the multitudes that suffered under the tyranny of Robespierre, were four foreigners of note; two of them were Germans, and two English. Besides Anacharsis Clootz, already mentioned, we find his countryman, the celebrated Baron Trenck, who had fled to France in hope of escaping the despotic power of which he had, during a long portion of his life, experienced the woeful effects in absolute monarchies;—he too fell by the axe of the guillotine, on a charge of counter-revolutionary practices. The two Englishmen were, the one Colonel Newton, who had risen to this rank in the French army by his valour and services; he perished on the scaffold

for vindicating the conduct of the Brissotine party, and reprobating the other as oppressors and murderers. The other, the famous Thomas Payne, a man whose writings have made as much noise, and produced more conspicuous effects than those of any writer on similar subjects. As he was well known to be averse to the tyranny of Robespierre, he did not fail to incur his hatred; and was imprisoned on pretence of enmity to the state. He probably would have been sacrificed as well as many others, had that tyrant lived long enough to accomplish his and their destruction.

Were we to relate the barbarities of Robespierre, we would of necessity make them the subject of a separate volume. The following, which we have from unquestionable authority, is an indication of such complete callousness to all the feelings of humanity, that we cannot forbear giving it a place in this summary of the History of Europe:—A lady of the name of St. Amarante, thinking to secure the safety of her family by polite attentions to Robespierre, invited him to dine with her and her family and friends. Robespierre accepted her invitation, and was accompanied by one of his greatest intimates. Next day his friend told him, that he (Robespierre) having drunk more freely than ordinary at dinner, had let fall some things which it had been better to conceal. Having paused a little, he required a list of the names of all who were of the company, and also of the servants who waited at the table. A list of all these was immediately sent to him: In four-and-twenty hours Madame St. Amarante, her family, friends, and domestics, all perished

by the guillotine. The only wonder is, that his friend, through whom this fact afterwards transpired, was not included in the number. In the mind of Robespierre, all the sentiments of nature were so overborne and superseded by political fanaticism and phrenzy, that he regarded human beings merely as geometrical figures on which he could form systematic reasonings by abstraction, without the smallest emotion of humanity.

The conspiracies continually imputed to the unfortunate individuals shut up in the numerous prisons in Paris, afforded a fresh opportunity and pretence to treat them with the utmost rigour and barbarity that malice and inhumanity could jointly invent. They were deprived of every comfort of life. The more exalted and elegant their style of living had been, the more ready were their oppressors to make them feel the reverse of their condition. They were, without discrimination of rank or sex, thrust into the most horrid dungeons,—fed with the coarsest and most loathsome food,—exposed to the vilest taunts, raileries and reproaches of their insolent and pitiless keepers. There was not, in short, a species of misery and horror left uncontrived and unexercised over the victims condemned by the cruelty of the ruling powers to those lamentable abodes. Every affliction that can

befal human nature, and render death preferable to life, was here daily and hourly experienced; and the reality of that vulgar but significant expression, *a hell upon earth*, was here exhibited in the most horrible extent.

While these tragic scenes were acted within the prisons of the metropolis, the reign of terror was spreading its baleful influence without, and filling all classes of the community with consternation. As party and principle were daily ceasing to be safeguards to the warmest partizans of liberty, people hardly knew what maxims to avow, and what political persuasion to embrace. They were all equally dangerous, unless they were accompanied with an unreserved submission to the governing power, and an implicit acquiescence in the rectitude of all its measures. The terror infused by those atrocities began however to be attended with commiseration. The prodigious increase of the number of prisoners was a sufficient motive for general alarm,—no one knowing how soon his name might be added to the list. It was at this time enormous, amounting to near 8000 persons, inclosed within the jails of Paris only. Hence may be conjectured what the number must have been of those confined in all the prisons of France!

C H A P. VIII.

Motives of Submission to Robespierre. These motives begin to cease, and Discontents to arise. Party formed against him. Robespierre increases the Power of the Committee of Public Safety, and of General Security. The Decree to this Intent opposed by Bourbon de L'Oise, and others. Opposition to Robespierre gathers Strength. His Conduct, in order to counteract

teract it, and preserve his Credit with the People. He procures the Passing of three Popular Decrees; one for the speedy Payment of Prize Money to Seamen,—the Second, to prevent the Importation of forged Assignats,—the Third, to encourage Military Merit,—and the Fourth, for the Relief of the Poor, and People in Distress. Progress of the Party forming against Robespierre. His Conduct at this Crisis. Speech of the Jacobin Club. Designs of which he is suspected. Proscriptions intended by him. Conduct of the Party formed against him. Obligated to temporize. Denunciation presented by the Jacobins to the Convention, at the Instigation of Robespierre. He makes a Speech in the Convention against his Enemies and Opposers. He is resolutely opposed by the Majority of the Convention. His Cause violently espoused by the Jacobins. Presumptuous Address of St. Just to the Convention. Speeches and Behaviour of Tallien, of Billaud Varennes, and of Barrere.

DURING the campaign of 1793, and the first months of that of 1794, the uncertainty of the good or bad fortune ultimately awaiting the arms of France, suspended all sensations and fears but those which related to the subjugation or independence of the French. Resolved not to impede those plans that had been formed, and were now in a stage of execution for the common defence, Frenchmen felt only for the safety of the country; convinced that any domestic, however severe, was preferable to a foreign tyranny. To this motive, aided by the ensuing prosperity of their armies, may be attributed the patience with which they submitted to the load of hardships and inconveniences of all kinds oppressing them at home, and particularly to the extreme severity of their government. But when the dangers they apprehended from a foreign enemy began to vanish, and they were totally delivered from the dread of becoming a conquered nation, they began also to turn their attention to their domestic situation; and though they continued their obedience to the ruling powers that had steered them through the storm, they likewise viewed

their conduct at home with a more observant and criticising eye. Though this change in the disposition of the public did not immediately manifest itself in a glaring manner, yet it was very perceptible to attentive observers, and accelerated those measures that had been some time in preparation among that party which, though checked and intimidated by the fall of several on whose co-operation they had depended, still continued in the determination to put a stop to the progress of the present system, as soon as an opportunity offered of attempting it without evident hazard of ruin.

This party consisted of the most able and resolute men in the Convention; they read their own destiny in that of Danton, Camille Desmoulins, and Fabre d'Eglantine. No members of that body had served him with more efficacy. To the first he owed his primary elevation to power; and had long been supported by his great courage and capacity. The wit and address of the second, and the unwearied activity of the third, were well known, and had occasionally enabled him to overcome great opposition, and to overthrow very dangerous ene-

mies. Nevertheless, he destroyed them on suspicion of their seeking to relax the system of terror; by which only, it seems, he thought himself secure. The destruction of three such men, convinced their friends that no safety remained but in the removal of Robespierre; and that if they were not expeditions, he would anticipate them. Full of this conviction, they determined, at all events, to carry their point, and, if necessary, to put him to death in the Convention, and trust to their country for an approbation of the deed.

This however seems to have been the last remedy they proposed to have recourse to, for a cure of the evils resulting from his tyranny. They resolved in the mean time, before coming to this extremity, to undermine his influence gradually, and to place him in such a situation as to render him amenable to the formal justice of his country. They had vigilantly waited for an occasion of doing this with propriety, and without seeming to intend a rupture with him. One at length presented itself, precisely of such a nature. Whether Robespierre had any particular measure in contemplation, to the execution of which he might not think the powers of the two committees of public and general safety fully adequate; or whether he only intended to supply them with additional powers for any occasion that might occur, he thought it necessary they should be enlarged. With this view he procured a decree, by which they were empowered to consign to the revolutionary tribunal whomsoever they might think fit objects of national severity. This decree was made on the 9th

of June, the day after the grand festival, wherein he had made so pompous a figure; and it passed, as many other decrees of his proposing had done, without contradiction, and with very little deliberation.

But the following day opened a new scene. This decree was so clearly intended to rivet the chains of the Convention, that the party in opposition to Robespierre, felt the necessity of repelling it immediately: they saw no less an opportunity of exposing the unwarrantable designs he was pursuing against the authority of the Convention. A man of great intrepidity undertook, on this occasion, to stand forward in asserting the rights and the dignity of the Convention. This was Bourdon de L'Oise, whose firmness had already been displayed in some very critical instances. He demanded of the president whether, by the power vested in the committees, they were authorized to bring the national deputies before the revolutionary tribunal?

This question roused at once the whole Convention. Surprise and indignation at the treatment preparing for them was expressed by numbers, who had not possibly attended at first to the consequences involved in that decree. Bourdon de L'Oise did not neglect to encourage the spirit that he had revived in the Convention. He congratulated the members on the proof they had given of the sense which they entertained of their privileges and of their liberty. Presuming, therefore, that they could never have intended to invest the committees with the right of bringing the national deputies before the revolutionary tribunal, he

he proposed, that the Convention should formally decree, that the committees, while they preserve the right of arresting the members of the Convention, should not however consign them to the revolutionary tribunal until a decree of accusation had been passed against them by their fellow deputies. It was additionally moved by another member, of great conspicuity and importance, Merlin of Douai, that the right of passing acts of accusation against its own members, and of directing the tribunals to try them, was exclusively lodged in the Convention.

The passing of these motions was the first check to the power of Robespierre that he had never experienced in the Convention. It was a mortification which, from the recent display of his consequence two days before, he had little expected. He seemed, from this day, to have lost much of his confidence. He neither shewed himself in the committees, nor in the Convention. Here a large and spirited party was decidedly formed against him. The committee of general security was no less hostile; and in that of public safety, the most considerable part of the members were no less his enemies.

This was a mortifying reverse of his former situation. He bore it, however, with great coolness of temper, and employed himself in devising means to counteract the schemes of his adversaries; of which through the numerous tribes of spies and informers at his command, he had sufficient intelligence. Tho' personally absent from the Convention, he was highly solicitous, through the medium of his two most intimate and trusty agents,

St. Just and Couthon, to labour for the preservation of his popularity, by procuring a number of salutary laws to be passed. Those which principally deserve mention, were the regulations in favour of seamen entitled to prize-money; the equitable distribution of which was very judiciously provided for. Another national service of importance, was the prevention of the pernicious effects to the public finances, so much dreaded and expected from the deluge of counterfeit assignats now poured into France from foreign parts. Thro' the arrangements made to obviate their circulation, they proved of little detriment where it was intended they should have done most. Not more than 6000*l.* sterling of these forged notes found their way to the treasury: the remainder fell upon the people at large.

A decree was passed for the regulation of military promotions. One third of the posts, from a sub-lieutenant to a chief of battalion, were, by this decree, appropriated to those who had signalized themselves by their bravery; one third were to be conferred according to seniority; and another third by election. By this arrangement the first vacancy in every corps was given to seniority, the second by election, and the third was disposed of by the Convention. A list of those preferred for their valour and services was ordered to be published every decade, and distributed throughout the army. The effect of this regulation was prodigious: it instantly excited a spirit of emulation, that pervaded all the armies of the republic. To the enthusiasm that already animated them, the prospect of remuneration was

now added. Those whom the former motive did not so much influence as the latter, found the recompense they desired; and no man henceforth would have to complain of neglect, or of unequitable usage.

A law was also passed for the relief of mendicants, and the prevention of mendicity. The multitudes who subsisted by the begging of alms, were prohibited from appearing in the public roads, and bound to reside in houses appointed for them, and where they would be provided with employment suitable to every one's age and capacity for labour. Blindness and other calamities that claimed the humanity of the public, were also taken into consideration. The decrees for the above purposes took place in the course of June and July.

During these two months, the victories obtained by the French over the powers combined against them, in every country wherein the war was waged, seemed to cast a lustre on the administration under which they were so triumphant, that would induce the public to look with indulgence on its errors and deficiencies in other respects. But the cruelties of Robespierre were of a nature not to admit of exculpation. They came home to every man's feeling so acutely and with so tremendous an aspect, that the whole mass of society was evidently interested in providing speedily against their continuance. In the persuasion that such was the disposition of all reputable people, the party that had been some time busied in concerting measures against the ruling powers, proceeded with additional vigour and celerity in

bringing them to maturity. At the head of this party were Collot D'Herbois, Tallien, Freron, Vadier, Bourdon de L'Oise, and Le Gendre. They were all men of noted abilities and intrepidity. The latter had been the intimate friend of Danton, and lamented his death so bitterly, that many were astonished at the forbearance of Robespierre, in suffering a man to exist whom he knew to be his inveterate enemy, and to live in the strictest union with those in opposition to him. Nor was it less surprising that, knowing, as he did, the intentions harboured against him, he should have remained inactive himself, and trusted to the exertions of his partizans. Even they condemned his absence from the scenes of contention, wherein they were involved on his account; and thought it would have been more becoming the chief of so formidable a party to have headed it in person, than to have devolved upon them alone the task of confronting his enemies, the number of whom was hourly increasing. The more decent classes had long beheld his conduct with a silent and secret detestation; that waited only for an occasion to shew itself. With whatever zeal the lower ranks espoused his cause, the great numbers among them who had suffered through tyranny, had lost friends and relations, whose resentment he could not stifle, and who were not wanting in the means, as well as the inclination, to represent him in an odious light. Thus he had to guard against the low as well as the better sort; and he must have seen how imprudently he had acted, by indulging that proneness to cruelty which had created him enemies in so many different quarters.

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The inactivity with which he was taxed at this time was, however, more apparent than real. He absented himself indeed from the Convention and the committees during six weeks; but this interval was taken up in devising every possible method for counteracting the designs formed against him, and in forming plans to unite all his partizans for his and their defence, in the critical hour that was approaching; and which, he strongly represented to them, would decide their fate no less than his own. But while he estranged himself from the committees and the Convention, he did not neglect the Jacobin club. In the former he possibly thought that his presence might involve him in altercations, which he chose to avoid till the measures he was taking for himself were completed; but in the latter, he knew himself to be possessed of so decided a majority, that he apprehended no contradiction or censure upon any proposal he might think proper to make. Here it was therefore that he chose for the present to use his principal exertions. He appeared in the Jacobin club on the 1st of July, where he made a long speech relating to his conduct. He observed that he was equally persecuted by domestic and foreign enemies. The misrepresentations and calumnies retailed against him, in the Parisian papers, were seen at the same hour in the London publications in the pay of the British ministry. He insisted that a conspiracy existed in the bowels of the republic for its subversion, and pointed out the party, known by the name of Indulgents, as accessory to the treasonable designs in agitation.

Certain it is, that a variety of reports, highly detrimental to his interest, had been industriously circulated. Some of them were improbable and inconsistent; but others appeared so much in conformity with his character, that they gained general credit. He was accused of intending to procure himself a nomination to supreme and absolute power, under the title of Dictator; and to appoint St. Just and Couthon his coadjutors. Whether such a triumvirate was really or not in his contemplation, is hard to decide. Though his ambition was boundless, and his vanity excessive, he was not, probably, so deluded by it as to imagine that the French were so enfeebled by terror as passively to admit of an explicit and formal establishment of tyranny. While they beheld the forms of a republic, they might, as had often happened in other countries, submit to real despotism; but to assume the name, as well as the authority of an absolute master, would be an insult which the nation would not bear. It is not likely therefore that he should entertain such ideas. He was already possessed of sovereign power; and the mere addition of a title could only have endangered his authority, together with his life. But another report was abroad and firmly believed. In the committee of public safety a powerful combination had been formed against him. Having discovered the parties, and resolved to destroy them, he had, according to custom, inserted their names in a list of persons whom he intended to proscribe. Unhappily for him this list was found upon a member of the revolutionary jury, who had been arrested. The pro-
scription

scription included thirty national deputies. A report of this nature alarmed the whole of that party which was leagued for his destruction; and they immediately determined, on its quickest acceleration.

Robespierre, though checked in the Convention, still relied on his associates in the clubs and popular societies, but especially in the municipality of Paris. He hoped at the worst, that were he to lose his influence over the Convention, he would be able to overawe it in the same manner as had happened in the preceding year, when the citizens of Paris rose upon the Convention, and compelled it by force to yield to their demands. He had been so fortunate in all his contests for power, that he entertained little doubt of success in the present struggle; nor was it doubted at the time that, had he prevailed over his opponents, they would have been sacrificed in the same manner as Brissot and his party.

The nearer the day of decision drew, the more unsettled and uncertain appeared the determinations of his adversaries. Their inimical resolutions were the same; but how to execute them was now the question. They knew not how far they would be supported without doors; and even in the Convention they knew not precisely their own strength. What they chiefly depended on was that the moment a considerable number of members of the first respectability had declared themselves they would instantly be joined by a great number, probably a majority, if not the whole Convention, with the sole exception of Robespierre's chief intimates and immediate agents.

This expectation they looked upon as so justly founded, that they built upon it as a certainty. Had they not indeed deemed themselves in such a situation, it would have argued unpardonable temerity to encounter such an enemy on mere presumption: unless indeed one should suppose that, conscious he had devoted them to destruction, they saw no other way to escape it than by risking their lives, which otherwise they must lose at all events.

It appeared however on the 23d day of July, that they were not finally prepared how to act. Barrere, who headed the party in the committees, found himself obliged on that day to assume the mask of dissimulation, and to speak a language very different from what he would have held, had he thought himself at liberty to express his sentiments. He warned the Convention to be on their guard against conspiracies, and to adhere faithfully to government.

The enemies to France, he said, were labouring to plunge it into trouble and confusion; but the Convention, he hoped, would not slumber on its danger, though in the midst of victories. The government established in France was odious to all crowned heads from its energy: they saw with equal rage and impotence, that the French armies were irresistible, and had humbled everywhere the enemies of the republic; while at home, conspiracy and rebellion were constantly frustrated. Two days after, he made another speech much to the same effect; wherein he mentioned the existence of a counter-revolutionary plot, and the delusion of some misguided or perverted citizens, who were seeking

to renew the disorders of the 31st of May in the preceding year. He compared the triumphant state of France, under the present administration, to the situation it was in when convulsed with factions.

Whether these speeches answered the end for which they were calculated, which was, it may be presumed, to deceive Robespierre and his party into security; or whether, being apprized of the machinations against them, it only served to increase their vigilance. It appeared by their proceedings, that they placed no farther confidence in the Convention: the Jacobins were now their main support. Here it was that an address to the Convention was procured, of a more inflammatory nature than had ever been penned by this audacious society. Herein the Jacobin club formally denounced a domestic faction, framed and conducted by the intrigues of foreigners, and aiming at the ruin of the Convention and the committees. This denunciation, however vague and inaccurate, was clearly levelled at the parties opposed to Robespierre; and shewed in what manner he proposed to act against them. It was time they should come to a decision how to proceed for their own safety; and yet it does not seem that, to the very moment when he began his attack upon them, they had concerted any fixed mode of attacking him. Probably they imagined that his assurance and vanity would afford them more advantages than they could derive from any preconcerted scheme. It may be presumed therefore that they waited vigilantly for such an opportunity, which soon offered itself.

Emboldened by their apparent backwardness, and thinking perhaps they were beginning to shrink from the contest, Robespierre first entered the lists, and dared them, as it were, to the encounter. On the 21st of July 1794, the day that followed the denunciation by the Jacobin club, he resolutely mounted the tribune of the Convention, after an absence of six weeks from that assembly, and delivered a long and affected speech on the state of affairs, not forgetting to take notice of the accusation that he aspired to the place of dictator. He violently disclaimed such an idea, and studiously reviled the imputation; which he attributed to the malicious enmity of the British ministry. He bitterly complained of the calumnies cast upon him, both by his foreign and domestic foes. The former he said were the avowed enemies of the republic, and well known; but the latter he would not name. They might however be recognized by the virulence with which they combated his endeavours to establish religion and morality. He severely blamed the neglect of those on whom it was incumbent to carry into execution the decree against giving quarter to the English; which had not in a single instance been complied with. He concluded by an accusation of the members of the committees of public safety and general security, the majority of whom concealed their traitorous views by a base pretence to patriotism.

The severity of these insinuations, contained in this speech, called up several members; who retorted upon Robespierre in terms equally severe. When it was moved,

moved, as usual, that his speech should be printed, his first and most resolute opponent, Bourdon de L'Oise, opposed the motion, and insisted on its being previously referred to the examination of the committees. This occasioned a violent altercation between him and Couthon, who required the publication of it without a preliminary inspection. He complained at the same time, that a system of calumny had been introduced into the Convention by some perfidious members. But he was answered with great spirit, that the season of intimidation was now over. Robespierre himself, as well as his partizans, met with undaunted replies. The violence of the debate increasing, and hints being thrown out on the boldness of some expressions, Freron exclaimed, that without freedom of opinion, there could be no liberty, and demanded that no member should be arrested for that freedom; without which no man could speak his mind with safety. After a warm discussion of the several points that were spoken to, the motion for printing Robespierre's speech was finally carried.

Elate with an advantage, which he had not obtained without the most mortifying opposition, he hastened to the Jacobin club, where he read his speech; which was received with the highest applause. Heated with the business of the day, and urged by the insolence of the club, Couthon had the audacity to denounce the two committees as guilty of treason. Coffinball, a man of an overbearing disposition, called, in the harshest terms, for a purification of the Convention itself; the meaning of which was, to destroy every

member in the opposition to Robespierre and his party.

From the tyrannical temper of Robespierre, it was imagined that he would, on this juncture, have taken violent measures against his opponents; but he perceived the danger of openly violating personal liberty without some ostensible sanction for such a step; and as no law could authorize him, he forbore, and thought it more advisable to employ his remaining credit in the Convention, and his influence out of doors, for the preservation of his power, or at least for the security of his person and party from the inimical designs that were evidently meditated by his opponents.

His trusty colleagues, St. Just and Couthon, resolved on this occasion firmly to exert their utmost abilities in his and their cause. The former was not deficient in courage and capacity; but his impetuosity and presumption were still greater. He exhibited a fatal instance of this in the very first words he uttered in the Convention on this day, which was the 27th of July. After informing the assembly that he was directed by the committees to make a report on the state of the republic, he subjoined, that the remedies which they had proposed were ineffectual for the cure of public grievances, and he would therefore speak to the Convention from himself. So presumptuous an exordium excited the indignation of his audience to such a degree, that he was immediately struck silent. Tallien vigorously seized this opportunity for striking a decisive blow. He resolutely compelled St. Just to quit the tribune; of which having taken possession, he exposed in strong terms

terms the insolence of both St. Just and Robespierre: the former had this day, as the latter had the day before, assumed the unconstitutional and unwarrantable freedom of presenting reports to the Convention in their own name: instead of those they ought, as directed, to have presented in the name of the committee. Abject indeed was the situation of the republic, when private citizens dared thus, upon their own authority, to dictate to its representatives.

Tallien was powerfully seconded by Billaud Varennes. He laid before the assembly the outrageous behaviour of the Jacobins on the preceding day; their menaces of death to several members of the Convention, and their accusations of some whose characters were irreproachable. Saying this, he pointed at one present, who had been guilty of those enormities, and who was instantly arrested by order of the assembly. He then proceeded to tell them that feeble measures in the present case would be their ruin, as they were fallen into the hands of men determined to murder them. The military of Paris was entrusted to the command of two men, the devoted creatures of Robespierre; and whom he continued in that post in violation and defiance of the law. Billaud, in addition to these, enumerated other instances of Robespierre's illegal conduct in matters of great importance, especially his criminal infringements of personal liberty: and lastly, adverted to the design he had clearly manifested of expelling from the Convention all the members who were not of his party; and of rendering himself absolute by corrupting the military force of the metropolis. After this bold ex-

planation, Billaud demanded, in a loud and firm tone of voice, whether the representatives of the French nation had reconciled themselves to the idea, and were content to live under a tyrant. No, no, was the exclamation from all parts of the hall. Emboldened by this reply, he detailed farther particulars of Robespierre's flagitious conduct, and concluded by asserting that either he or the Convention must perish.

Robespierre, in the mean time, was struck with silent amazement at the unexpected and dreadful attack made upon him, and supported by so decided a majority. Collecting his spirits, he would have moved towards the tribune, intending to speak; but was deterred by Tallien's drawing a dagger, and vowing that he himself would plunge it into his heart unless the Convention delivered him over to the sword of justice. Tallien followed up this menace with a violent speech, wherein he compared Robespierre to Sylla; and particularized the despotic attempts of his principal adherents. He then moved that the sittings of the Convention should be declared permanent, until the law had been executed upon the guilty, and that Robespierre should be arrested, together with his accomplices. The decree to this end was passed immediately and unanimously. The arrest included all the staff of the national guard of Paris, together with Dumas, president of the revolutionary tribunal, who had in the Jacobin club abetted and promoted its rebellious proceedings.

Barrere now laid the report of the committee of public safety before the Convention. In consequence of the representations it contained,

contained, of the necessity of placing the Parisian military on a footing of subordination to the Convention, and of preventing its becoming the instrument of a faction, it was decreed that all ranks superior to that of chief of a legion, should be suppressed; and that, conformably to the original organization of the national guards of the metropolis, every chief of a legion should take his turn in the

command of the whole body. The mayor of Paris, and the commander in chief of the military, were strictly enjoined to watch over the safety of the Convention; and were to answer with their lives for neglect in preventing or suppressing commotions. Barrere then seconded the speeches made against Robespierre, by adducing a variety of circumstances in proof of his criminality.

CHAP. IX.

Robespierre's Party rises in his Support. He is outlawed by the Convention. Further Measures taken against his Party. The Majority of the People, especially the better Sort, declare against him. Robespierre and his Party are overcome. He is seized, condemned to die, and is executed with his principal Accomplices. His Character. Satisfaction expressed by the Populace at his Fall. New Arrangements made by the Convention. Satisfaction of all Ranks of People at his Death. System of Moderation adopted. Measures proposed in the Nation at large, and resolved upon in the Convention, to prevent the Return of Tyranny. Provisional System of Government framed by Barrere, and adopted by the Convention. Sentiments of Europe on the Power of Robespierre. Affairs relating to France and America. Dissentions in the Convention, and Accusation of several of its Members. They are honourably acquitted. Attempts to assassinate Tallien. Imputed to the Jacobin Club. Reasons assigned for this Measure. Punishment of Carrier and his Accomplices for their Cruelties in La Vendée and Nantes. Terms offered to the Insurgents. Members of the Convention, imprisoned during Robespierre's Administration, liberated and restored to their Seats. Repeal of the Edict for giving no Quarter to the English.

ROBESPIERRE, deeply sensible of his danger, endeavoured to obtain a hearing, and had mounted the tribune for that purpose; but as soon as he was perceived there, he was universally assailed with the cry of Down with him! You shall not speak, said a member to him:—the blood of Danton is upon your head; it flows into your throat; it chokes you. Is it Danton then? exclaimed Robespierre, bewildered with rage. Over-

whelmed at last by the denunciations of his manifold iniquities poured upon him without mercy from every quarter,—Lead me then, he cried, in the voice of despair, to immediate death. Execrable monster! a member exclaimed, thou hast deserved it an hundred times. In this horrible state he had the consolation, if he was capable of any, of seeing his two intimates, Lebas and Couthon, preserve their attachment to him, and courageously demand

mand that, as they had been partakers of his better fortune, they might now share in his adversity. They were accordingly included in the arrest, together with St. Just and Robespierre's brother, who seems to have provoked his fate by his audacious behaviour to the Convention.

Such was the habitual terror in which individuals had been held by Robespierre, that the officer charged to take him into custody, was at a stand whether to obey; till he himself signified his readiness to comply. He was led with his fellow-prisoners to the prison of the Luxembourg; but the police-officer on duty there, one of his adherents, refused to take charge of the prisoners: upon which they were conducted to the town-house, rather in a sort of triumph than as persons under an arrest.

These extraordinary proceedings were soon reported over all Paris. Robespierre's party assembled immediately under their leaders; and the Jacobin club endeavoured to excite the people to insurrection. The alarm-bells rung; numbers armed themselves; and guns were brought against the hall of the Convention. Henriot, commander in chief of the national guards, had been arrested, pursuant to the Convention's decree; but had found means to escape, and to collect a body of men, which he divided into three parts. One was stationed at the town-house, as a guard to the municipality; another was dispatched against the committee of public safety; and the other against the Convention itself. This arrangement of their force inspired the party of Robespierre, which had formed a regular assem-

bly at the town-house, with so much confidence, that they declared the Convention enemies and traitors to the state, and themselves the true representatives of the people.

The Convention, alarmed at this bold and desperate measure, and conscious that their lives were at stake, lost no time in preparing the most vigorous measures against their adversaries. They began by proclaiming a sentence of outlawry against all those who formed the meeting at the town-house. Le Gendre and Barras, two men of known intrepidity, were placed at the head of the military, and of others who had repaired to their assistance. Seven other members were deputed to the principal parts of the metropolis, to issue in each a proclamation explaining the real state of the case between the Convention and its opposers. These deputies exerted themselves with so much expedition as well as prudence, that long before night the different sections of Paris were secured to the Convention, and solemnly renewed their oaths of fidelity to that body, as sole representatives of the nation.

The principle that now operated most essentially in favour of the Convention, was, that very terror by which Robespierre had kept the public in subjection. Released from their fears, people now gave the reins to their inclinations and real sentiments. As those only who subsisted through his tyranny were interested in its support, an immense majority appeared instantly against it. The reputable classes, who embraced the opportunity of throwing off so cruel a yoke, seized the auspicious hour when the

the alarm-bells were ringing; they rose unanimously, as it were, by instinct the moment they were apprized of the cause; and, running through the streets, loudly exhorted every one to fly to the aid of the Convention.

In the mean time, Henriot, at the head of his division, made an attempt on the Thuilleries, where the Convention held its sittings: but on their proclaiming him outlawed, his officers and soldiers forsook him directly; and he withdrew with this distressing intelligence to his associates at the town-house*.

Their affairs were now in a desperate situation. In addition to this check, Le Gendre had dispersed the Jacobin club and all their partizans, and was now at the head of a numerous body of soldiers

and citizens, determined and prepared to defend the Convention. The only remaining enemy to be subdued was the force collected for the support of Robespierre and the chiefs of his party, assembled at the town-house. That force however was so considerable, that had it retained its attachment to that party, and acted with vigour in its defence, the issue of the contest would have been very doubtful. But relying on the effect which the scheme of outlawry had produced, the Convention resolved to attack their enemies with that weapon, in conjunction with the soldiers and citizens appointed for that service, at three o'clock in the morning. On the 28th Bourdon de L'Oise put himself at their head, and marched directly to the town-house. He halted at the front of it, and

* The heads of the Robespierrian party had withdrawn from the hall of the Convention to the town-house of Paris. Robespierre himself was in the midst of them, in the full possession of his influence over the sections of Paris and the national guard. The Convention were under a kind of blockade in their hall, against which was pointed a number of cannon. Henriot, the right hand of Robespierre, was at the head of the armed force, which invested it on every side. The first who moved the outlawry of Henriot was Barras. Several members of the Convention made an effort to get out of their hall, and to promulgate this sentence to all Paris; but they were opposed and driven back. But a thought struck one of the members, that the sentence of outlawry might be signified to Henriot by one of their ushers or door-keepers; and this expedient completely answered the purpose for which it was intended. The usher made his way through the national guards, and delivered the decree of outlawry into the hands of Henriot; who threw it into the messenger's face without looking at it, saying, "Go back to those who sent thee to me, and tell them that I laugh at both them and their decrees." But when the man had gone, on a little reflection, he said, "Let us see, however, what those rascals would be at." On reading the contents of the paper, he was in great agitation, and coming again to his troops, said, in a faltering voice, "Would you believe it? They have outlawed me." Having said this, he hastened to the town-house. The first of Robespierre's adherents that met him, pushed him under the stair-case with great disdain. "Go," said he, "you are a coward." The instant Henriot deserted his post, the cannons, pointed against the Thuilleries, were turned against the town house, Barras was appointed commandant of the military force of Paris, and Robespierre was overthrown:—a very striking proof, that the greatest revolutions and fate of nations, may sometimes depend upon the sudden and unaccountable emotions of one mind!

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read the declaration of outlawry; on which the national guards refused all further obedience and adherence to the party they had been brought together to defend. Nothing was left to do, but to seize the heads of that party. Bourdon de L'Oise, accompanied with a sufficient force, rushed into the town-house, where the dismay they were under, made their discomfiture a task of no difficulty. Most of them were seized, and most of those who escaped for the present were speedily taken.

Robespierre was found alone in one of the rooms of the town-house. He had discharged a pistol in his mouth, which had broke his under-jaw. He held a knife in his hand, apparently with the intention of dispatching himself; but a soldier who discovered him, thinking he meant to employ it in his defence, fired a pistol, which wounded him in the side. His brother threw himself out of a window, and broke his leg and an arm; Couthon stabbed himself, but not mortally; only Lebas shot himself dead on the spot. Henriot, in the mean time, was endeavouring, from one of the windows of the town-house, to prevail by his entreaties on the soldiers who had been under his command, not to desert the cause they had promised faithfully to defend; but he was seized while he was speaking, and hurled headlong upon the stones, where he was bruised to death.

The circumstances attending the latter hours of Robespierre were horrible. He was first conveyed to the house of the committee of general security, where he was held on a table, weltering in the blood that flowed from his wounds. A

message being sent to the Convention to know whether he should be brought before them, the answer was, "that such a monster should no more disgrace them by his presence." The agony of his mind corresponded with that of his body. The one seemed torn with the most violent remorse and agitation, and the other convulsed with the most excruciating pain and anguish. In this condition he was carried to the Hotel Dieu, a hospital for the reception of the sick and hurt of the lowest and most wretched classes. Here his wounds were drest, merely to enable him to go through the forms of justice. He was then removed to that prison, the Conciergerie, whither he had sent so many others, and brought from thence before the revolutionary tribunal, with his accomplices; where Fouquier Tinville, the public accuser his intimate and his creature, was officially compelled to demand sentence of death against him and them. He was conducted in their company to the place of execution, where he had caused such numbers to die, loaded all the way with the execrations of a multitude that exceeded any numbers ever assembled before on such an occasion:—so desirous were all people to glut their eyes with a sight of a being so celebrated for his iniquities, and so deservedly punished for them.

The principal of those who suffered with him, were his brother, Couthon, St. Just, Henriot, Dumas, Fleuriot, mayor of Paris, Vivres, president of the Jacobin club, and fourteen others of inferior notice. In the morning of this memorable day the 28th of July, they were deeply busied in the most daring and dangerous conspiracy that ever threat-

ened the Convention. The resolution of those who formed it, their abilities, their numbers, strength, and influence, were every way equal to the object they proposed; and it was rather uncertain for a while, whether they would not succeed: but at five in the afternoon their vast projects had been overthrown, and they were all no more.

The character of Robespierre has exercised the ingenuity of various writers:—they all agree in reprobating his conduct; but they frequently differ in their opinion of his capacity. But in speaking of a man so well known by his actions, these alone are sufficient to convey an adequate idea of his abilities, as well as to shew the frame of his mind, and by what motive he was actuated. The features most predominant in his character, were, the lust of power, dissimulation, and cruelty. He had none of those magnanimous sentiments that occasionally counterpoise the very worst of vices, and command some respect for individuals for whom no real attachment can be felt. His vicious inclinations were always predominant; they were at the bottom of all the deep and latent views that perpetually occupied his thoughts. The only two qualities he had, which might be styled commendable, were contempt of money and impenetrable secrecy. By the first of these, he obtained the fame of

disinterestedness and integrity: by the second, he was enabled to win the confidence of those with whom he was connected: considering him as an individual of great prudence and discretion, they trusted him the more readily with their own secrets. It was chiefly by these means, aided by an easy and impressive eloquence, not unfrequently adorned with the energetic brevity of a profound and bold sentiment* and a steady courage, that he rose into reputation, and gained the knowledge of those men whom he was desirous to cultivate, and of those measures which he sought to guide. He had arrived at the age of thirty before he attracted particular notice. His parts did not seem calculated for any exalted situation, nor even for much exertion in the ordinary occurrences of life. His person was the reverse of prepossessing; his aspect was sickly; and the cheerfulness that usually marks his countrymen, was not visible in any of his features: yet, with all these disadvantages, the necessity of rendering himself acceptable to those who employed him in the line of his profession, which was the law, had taught him obsequiousness and complaisance. He thereby procured himself the goodwill of his acquaintances, and, through their means, together with his parts, made an advantageous figure at the bar in his native city of Arras, the capital of the province of Artois. The credit and

* At a meeting of his political friends, during the trial of the King, when some of them seemed doubtful and wavering in their resolution how to act, Robespierre, with a very serious and significant look, said, "If Lewis XVI. be not guilty, what are you?" This produced an immediate effect—many voted for the death of the King, through the fear of death to themselves.

esteem he was in at the time when the court thought it necessary to convoke the States General, procured his election as deputy to the Tiers Etat. Here his behaviour at first was cautious and moderate; and he seems to have enjoyed the favourable opinion of his fellow-members. His principles however were completely popular, and the declamations in union with the opposition to court. He did not at this period shine much as an orator, being rather bold than argumentative. It was not till towards the close of the constituent assembly that he was held in any consideration as a speaker: by this time his faculties had expanded; and through assiduity of practice, and study of those models continually before him, especially of Mirabeau and Barnave, he attained at length to a degree of oratorial merit that strongly recommended him to the notice of his party. His ambitious disposition began now to operate. Favoured by the commonalty, with many of whom the intrigues of the time had made him acquainted, he readily perceived to what use they could be converted, and of course of what importance he might render himself by the influence he could exert over them. But the connexion which laid the foundation of his subsequent power, and raised him to the summit of his ambition, was, that which he formed with the Jacobin club, now become the moving spring of all the political transactions of that day. His initiation into that society, and his vehement speeches on the manifold subjects brought forward by the restless spirit of that tempestuous æra, increased his popularity to the highest

pitch. He became the decided favourite of this assembly, and of the people of Paris; and he had the address to retain them equally in his interest to the very last moment of his existence; a proof, it may be added, of his talents for intrigue, and no less of his uncommon dexterity in securing the attachment of those whom he wanted.

The animosity which actuated the opposite parties, had sharpened their industry in devising all possible means to thwart each other's measures in the Convention. People were hired by both parties, who filled the galleries, and applauded and disapproved, by murmurs and vociferations, whatever was proposed by the party which they were engaged to abet or to discountenance. Robespierre was particularly active in organizing the instruments of his party; and to his ingenuity were due various of the methods and devices practised on those occasions.

He no less distinguished himself by his exertions to depress the royal authority, and to criminate the conduct of its ministers and adherents, to exculpate the people in the excesses of which they were guilty, and which he maintained ought to be attributed solely to the misery and wretchedness to which they were reduced: they were naturally well-intentioned, and seldom apt to complain without sufficient reason. It was by speeches of this tendency that he laboured with indefatigable assiduity to recommend himself to the multitude, and he succeeded to the utmost of his wishes. He took up, with the same ardour, the defence of the clubs. There was, in short, not a motion made to extend the rights and immunities of the people, and

to abridge the powers of government in general, of which he did not appear a strenuous advocate. So fervently did he strive to express the warmest feelings for the public, that he deceived many into a persuasion of his sincerity; who were not apt to be misled by specious protestations. He had brought himself, at the same time, into the good graces of every patriotic circle, by the studied modesty of his deportment. He disclaimed all personal importance, and listened with marked deference to the discourse and opinions of others, but contrived in the same moment, with exquisite art, to bring forward unobserved every subject of discussion, and to treasure up in his memory whatever could be serviceable to him at a proper occasion, and which he never failed to deliver as his own. At the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, Robespierre stood in high credit with that party which condemned the King's restoration after his flight from Paris. Many of them wished at that time to have abolished monarchy, and established republicanism. It has been asserted, that Robespierre entertained some ideas, in conjunction with the Duke of Orleans's party, of placing that prince on the throne in the hope of holding higher posts under him than he could have expected from the reigning monarch; and that even when he sent him to the scaffold, he hesitated whether to consign him to the guillotine or raise him to the throne. The noted effeminacy of the Duke, it is said, determined Robespierre not to run any hazards to place the crown on the head of such a man, against the sense of that formidable party which had decidedly resolved on

the abolition of monarchy; but to consult his own interest by adhering to the republican system, which was triumphant in the Jacobin club; the great arbiter of public opinion.

But we have not been able, after not a little inquiry, to find any satisfactory proof that there ever subsisted any degree of intimacy or correspondence between the Duke of Orleans and Robespierre. Had Robespierre aimed at nothing higher than some post of eminence under government, he might have obtained this from the court, which, it is well enough known, endeavoured by all means to gain him over to its interests. But he appears to have been as indifferent to the common objects of ambition as he was to money. His constant aim was, to raise himself individually above all controul, while he tyrannized not only over the bodies, but as far as possible over the very minds of others. In this respect, he bore a near resemblance to our royal tyrant King Henry VIII. As there were striking variations in the religious creeds of the King, which, whatever they were, he imposed on his subjects, so we have found variations in the religious and irreligious professions of the dictator, which he also imposed on the nation, not less evident. How far he participated in the events of the 10th of August, 1792, has not been clearly ascertained; but his nomination to a seat of authority by those who effected them, and his exultation at their success, sufficiently shew that, however indirectly, he was certainly of that party. The dark veil that still covers many of the transactions of those sanguinary times, renders it difficult to fix the degree of his guilt in the massacres
of

of September; but, from various circumstances, united with his inhuman despotism, there is little doubt of his having been accessory to them.

From this dreadful period may be dated those ambitious prospects that filled the mind of Robespierre. Had he been cautious enough to let no indication of his design escape him till the destruction of the unhappy Lewis had been perfectly completed, the violent part he acted against him might have appeared to proceed from other motives: but his precipitation and vanity got the better of all discretion. The Convention was hardly met, when he was not only suspected but accused of designs inimical to liberty. They were in the course of a few sittings brought so strongly home to him, that had not the party that favoured his designs found means to elude, not to disprove the accusation, which was evidently well founded, not only his popularity but his very life must have been forfeited. The danger he incurred on this occasion did not render him quite so cautious as his unexpected and triumphant escape made him presumptuous and confident. He urged the King's death with every argument that his ferocious and sanguinary disposition could suggest. His motives were constantly held up as patriotic, and founded on his conviction of the King's guilt; and the propriety of his being brought to public justice. But the detection of the criminal projects he had antecedently formed, was not forgotten; and the real motives that actuated him were visible to the world. He had however other impediments to remove; still more heavy and difficult to be overcome than

even the monarchy and the monarch. A party, consisting of men of much superior endowments to his own, had paved the way for the establishment of that form of government of which he projected, to avail himself for the execution of his plan. As their character was much more respectable than that of his party, he used every calumny and falsehood to blacken it. Plots and conspiracies were imputed to them, which had not the least shadow of probability, or even of consistency; he lavished, as it were, every means of villany to bring them to destruction. After accomplishing this, he proceeded to lay schemes of ruin for every man whose talents or spirit might prove an obstacle to that iniquitous exaltation he secretly meditated over all law and justice, and over all the constituted authorities of his country. In the prosecution of this attempt nothing was omitted that could forward it. Imprisonment, confiscation, banishment, death, were indiscriminately used, as they seemed most conveniently to suit his purposes. The friendships and attachments he had feigned, for he was incapable of forming them sincerely, dissolved the moment he thought he no longer needed them, and might by destroying the individuals he had thus deceived, either rid himself of rivals, or obviate his fears of future rivalry; conscious that he must be hated by all that knew him, he felt no affection for them; and he looked upon his nearest intimates as his most dangerous enemies, unless he had secured their attachment by a participation of his crimes. On this principle he sacrificed successively to his suspicions some who had been the principal instruments and

promoters of his greatness. Shame and remorse were strangers to his soul: it rioted, as it were, in the perpetration of atrocities as in its real element. This horrid propensity could not always originate in the dread of those who were its victims: it must therefore have arisen from a native thirst of blood and vengeance, and a readiness to indulge it on every one that excited offensive sensations in his mind. Such a disposition opened a boundless career of barbarity to the fatal power he had of exercising it, and to the inhuman gratification it afforded him.

After completely viewing the deformities of Robespierre's moral character, it is but doing him justice to say, that his intellectual endowments were far above the common level: his education was classical; and he was well conversant in the ancient writers, particularly the historical. His talents for oratory and politics lay in a great measure concealed, until fortune called him from the provincial situation where, in the figure he made, though by no means contemptible, could never have entitled him to any degree of celebrity. Roused by that ambitious temper, which under due restraint is the parent of all that is great, he exerted those intriguing arts wherein no man ever excelled him, in persuading his fellow citizens to elect him their representative. To this promotion he owed the opportunity of perfecting himself in political knowledge, and of improving his style and manner of speaking.

The National Assembly was certainly a school wherein no man of parts and of industry could fail to learn a number of profitable lessons.

What he most excelled in was personal apology and declamations on public affairs: the former suited exactly his wary and guarded temper; and the latter gave him those opportunities, in which he so much delighted, of pouring forth invectives on those individuals that were obnoxious to him, and on those measures that did not coincide with his views; or, what he had ever chiefly at heart, of rendering himself popular, by espousing with the most studious ostentation every idea, maxim, and prejudice that characterize the multitude; and by assuming the defence and protection of the vulgar with as much animation and zeal as if his own immediate welfare depended on the success of his representations. Herein he may indeed be truly said to have felt for himself, as on them he relied for essential support in his projected undertakings: but though it cannot on the whole be denied that he spoke well, it must be allowed that he wrote better. His speeches, when he was not personally concerned, were often, if not generally, marked with impetuosity, violence, and inconsideration. These, in truth, were the characteristics of the times; but in his writings he was polished and refined; his diction was clear and correct; and he knew well how to display wit, fancy, and humour, whenever occasion required.

As his speeches were inferior to his written compositions, so his speculative reasonings were unequal to the practical energies of his mind. His argumentations were apt to be loose and inconclusive; but in the formation of his plans he was shrewd and penetrating. Few or none of these were strictly his own; but

but he made them his own by additional contrivance and arrangement; but principally by taking possession, as it were, of the capacity of others, and converting them to his own purposes. This, a most useful talent in a politician, he possessed in an eminent degree. Through this he reaped the fruits of that plentiful harvest of talents which produced the French revolution, and which, in a nation more simple and virtuous, and less fiery and presumptuous, might possibly have rendered it a source of national benefits.

But, notwithstanding this almost instinctive perception he possessed of the utility derivable from others, and his dexterity in appropriating it to himself, his torpidity on some occasions formed an inexplicable contrast. His defect of observation, and his want of presence of mind, were singular in some instances where his interest was alarmingly at stake. In one of these he was saved from destruction by the fortunate interposition of his party; but the last proved fatal. The first of these instances occurred shortly after the meeting of the Convention, when, through inadvertence and vanity, he provoked that accusation of aspiring to the dictatorship, which thunder-struck him, from its truth, and from the inability he felt to repel the charge: it was urged against him so forcibly, as to deprive him of the power of speaking. The artifice of his accomplices, and the inconsiderate lenity of his accusers, preserved him from the sword of justice, suspended over his guilty head. But in the last of these instances he seemed to have wholly relinquished himself, and to have

laid totally aside that spirit of foresight and precaution which peculiarly characterized him on all occurrences. Had he been a lawful sovereign, reigning through his virtues and beneficence in the hearts of all his people, he could not on that day, which decided his fate, have acted with less caution and more confidence. He repaired to the Convention, unprepared to meet those enemies who, he knew, were awaiting him. Though duly informed of the designs in agitation against him, he neglected to station in the tribunes those multitudes whose noise and clamour were wont to silence his adversaries, and to render ineffectual all the exertions and powers of their eloquence. He had forgotten to call forth those legions of ruffians that had so often struck terror, by their sudden presence and menaces, into those members who were coming to the Convention hostile to him. On the very day that closed his last scene, his partizans were not in readiness without doors; and their speeches within were the height of imprudence. Disorder and confusion attended the whole of their conduct; in imitation, as it were, of their chief, who never appeared so deficient of capacity and courage, the latter especially, as on this decisive day. His manifest want of personal spirit, which on various occasions appeared conspicuous, entirely deranged his faculties, and gave the finishing blow to all hope and exertion in his favour.

Having contemplated Robespierre under so many points of view, we come lastly to observe that he was egregiously deficient in what is most essential in a politician, sound judgment and common sense.

sense. His design, after he came to form a design *, to controul the National Assembly, by means of the committee of public safety, the revolutionary tribunal, the municipality of Paris, the Jacobin club, ramified into every part of France, and by changing the democratical constitution of the civil authorities and armed forces into a chain of dependencies, at the head of which he was to place himself, was in the highest degree complicated and extravagant. If he had duly reflected on the inveterate passion for liberty that had pervaded all France, and discomfited so many attempts to preserve or restore monarchical government, he could not have supposed that the French nation could brook tyranny in the person of an upstart dictator: a dictator unadorned with the splendor of military achievements, and sullied in the public opinion, at least (however his vices might be veiled by self-conceit from his own view) by that littleness and chicane which are ascribed, unfortunately with too much justice, to the profession of the law, in every nation in Europe: so that the abilities and formidable (for we cannot say respectable) qualities of Robespierre were all of them contaminated and perverted by the most blind and determined fanaticism:—a fanaticism inspired not merely by personal ambition, but a conviction that the end which he ultimately pursued, the complete overthrow of monar-

chy in France, was just and noble, and that this end would sanctify all possible means by which it might be accomplished.

The fall of Robespierre was attended by circumstances that strongly proved his popularity to have declined much more than was generally believed. The lower, or rather indeed the lowest orders of society, were considered his partizans almost to a man; but instead of affording any testimonials of respect to his memory, the populace expressed universal satisfaction at the triumph of the Convention, Groupes of them were seen through every quarter of the metropolis, congratulating each other on their deliverance from the monster (the term now appropriated to him), and testifying reciprocally their hopes of never seeing his like again. But indeed so unaccountable and despicable is the levity of the mob, that they have a temporary satisfaction in every change, right or wrong, good or bad †.

Two days after his execution, about seventy accomplices of the insurrection in his favour, were put to death. They were mostly members of the municipality, and officers of the national guards. In the room of those of the committee of public safety who had been executed with Robespierre, others were appointed, whose attachment to the republican system and the party that had overthrown the late

* At first it is probable he was actuated solely by a restless and intriguing disposition, in order to appear a man of consequence, in some shape or other.—It was said by Cromwell, that a man never mounted higher than when he knew not whither he was going.

† The following epitaph was written on Robespierre, and appeared in the Parisian papers about this time:

Passant, qui que tu sois, ne pleurez pas mon sort;
Si je vivais, tu serais mort.

tyranny were known, and who had manifested it by their zeal and activity, in aiding, at the risk of their lives, in its destruction. In order to obviate at the same time the ill consequences resulting from a long retention of power, the Convention decreed that one fourth of their number should go out every month by rotation, and that their places should be regularly supplied by a new appointment.

In the mean time, the great revolution that had taken place at Paris was notified to all the departments in France, and received everywhere with the loudest acclamations. As the submission to the late government was in every respect compelled, and the persons in power equally feared and detested, the new acts and measures of the Convention met with a ready and unfeigned acquiescence. The different armies of the republic concurred unanimously in following the example of their fellow-citizens. The decree by which they were enjoined to give no quarter to the English, had universally indisposed all military men against its authors: besides its atrocity and violation of the laws of war, established among civilized nations, it exposed the French troops to retaliation whenever the events of war should be adverse to them. In this view they considered the decree as emanating from men who sported with the lives of their fellow-citizens, in order to gratify a base thirst of revenge. So pleased, in short, was every class of society with the changes that had happened, that congratulations upon them were presented to the Convention from every part of France, and every branch of the service by land and sea. Moderation, to use the phrase

of the times, became the order of the day, to the great joy of the people at large; but particularly the more respectable classes, who now began to breathe from the fatiguing anxiety with which they had been continually agitated. In compliance with the public opinion and wishes, the revolutionary tribunal, that engine of blood and barbarity, was pursuant to a decree of the legislature, though not altogether abolished, new modelled, and placed on a footing of equity and justice that quieted the fears of all the friends to the revolution, at the same time that it held out no further terrors to those who peaceably submitted to the existing government.

The prisons too, conformably to the spirit of lenity that now prevailed, were no longer suffered to retain indiscriminately the innocent and the guilty. Strict enquiries were made into every prisoner's case; and where no legal motive for detention appeared, they were immediately discharged. The remnants of the terrorists, as they were justly denominated, from the cruel and impolitic maxim of keeping the people in implicit subjection by a merciless severity, did not behold this great alteration in the system of government without heavy complaints and representations of the pernicious consequences of indulgence to men who were incorrigibly attached to principles inimical to liberty, and obstinately determined to destroy the republic, should events put it in their power. They were answered by reasonings, founded on the impropriety of punishing criminal intentions until they had been openly manifested by deeds; and that it was much more consistent with good policy

to reclaim people by a mild and humane treatment, than by restraints and severities; which, as experience had shewn, instead of producing real submission, hardened them in their enmity to government. To conciliate, therefore, was a readier and surer method of governing, than to compel. This might so far operate as to extort a feigned acquiescence; but the sentiments of men would still remain unchanged, and would break out into acts of open resistance whenever opportunity invited. The majority of the nation were clearly on this side of the question. The heads and principal of the royalists expressed more apprehensions of losing their partizans by these lenient than by compulsory measures; and the wisest in the Convention resolved that a fair trial should be given to the system of indulgence and moderation, before any farther recourse should be permitted to the former system of severity and terror. The tyranny exercised by Robespierre, and so severely felt by the whole nation, had rendered people extremely anxious to obviate the return of such a calamity, by preventing its cause.

This was manifestly the too long retention of official power in the hands of those who were invested with the principal posts of government. It was for this reason the universal wish, that some plan should be adopted, by which a more frequent rotation or election should be established. By making the supreme power often shift, men would be less wedded to it; they would be upon a stricter equality, less fearful of each other, and more disposed to examine critically every person's conduct in office. This

was no less the opinion of the Convention than of the nation at large. The members of that body had lived in perpetual terror during the whole time of Robespierre's administration. Diffident of each other, and conscious that the least indication of discontent at his measures would expose them to instant destruction, they carefully concealed their real sentiments, and expressed so much approbation of his conduct, that his partizans in that assembly had no room to suspect its general attachment to him, and were struck with astonishment, as well as himself, when they found their mistake: but the discovery was made too late; the antipathy to Robespierre burst out like a sudden explosion; it came upon him so unexpectedly, that though he was apprized that an opposition was formed against him, he never conceived it to be so extensive as to include the whole Convention. After their deliverance from his oppression, and, what was no less grievous, from their fears and suspicions of each other, they began immediately after his fall to improve the auspicious opportunity that arose from the knowledge of each other's political opinions and inclinations. Being all determined republicans, they resolved to frame such a plan of government as might efficaciously prevent the accumulation of the whole power of the state into the hands of one. But as the formation of such a plan would employ a considerable space of time and deliberation, they thought it advisable to frame a provisional body of regulations for the security of internal peace, and to serve at the same time as a guide in the construction of the new plan of

of government in contemplation. The person selected for this purpose was Barrere. No man had made a more conspicuous figure in France since the erection of the republic. In the interior arrangements, and in the management of foreign affairs, his abilities and diligence had rendered him eminently useful. The precipitation of so many from the seat of power had checked his endeavours to rise above that degree of consideration which he might possess, without exciting envy, and exposing himself to the malice of competitors. He had steadily adhered to the republican system, and would not abandon even Robespierre, till he became convinced that the private safety of every man concurred with that of the republic to remove him with all speed from a station wherein he had made himself obnoxious to every man and to every party, by the excessive and the incessant abuse of his authority.

The indefatigable industry of Barrere enabled him to lay before the Convention, on the 5th day of August, the scheme of a temporary government, entirely conformable to what had been proposed:—it consisted of twenty-three articles, and embraced every object of a public nature with so much precision and foresight, providing at the same time so effectually against the concentrating power, either in one or few hands, that little or no danger of tyranny in a single man, or of oligarchy in a small number, could be apprehended. It appeared altogether so judicious, and met with so general an approbation, that many have, since the substitution of that plan which followed it a twelvemonth after, sin-

cerely regretted that it was ever abrogated. It was accepted by the Convention with much applause, and decreed to continue in force until the intended plan of a new constitution should have been duly prepared and revised by that Assembly, and have received its formal sanction.

In the mean time, the downfall of Robespierre was become the great object of attention and discourse throughout Europe. It excited much more surprize in foreign parts than in France: they thought him firmly settled in the possession of power, both by the authority he had acquired and exercised with such unlimited sway, and by the unparalleled success attending the arms of France under his administration. They seemed of opinion, that the French, enjoying an uninterrupted gratification of their vanity, would passively submit to him while he was able to provide for the continuance of that gratification. Hence they were uncommonly astonished when they heard of his overthrow; and even began to expect that it would be followed by disorders and confusion that might be advantageous to themselves: so strong had his party appeared to them, that they were not able to account for the facility with which it had been overcome, having always imagined that he never could be deposed without a long and violent struggle. But the French themselves were better acquainted with the foundation of his power: as it rose entirely from the prepossessions of the vulgar, they plainly saw that the decrease of his popularity would be attended with that of his power; and from the spirit of discontent and indignation at his

endless

endless barbarities, which was hourly gaining ground through the lowest as well as the better classes, they rightly conjectured that the end of his tyranny was approaching. During the plenitude of his power, he had occasionally assumed a great appearance of superior dignity and importance, even towards those states that stood on a friendly footing with France. His intercourse with the Americans had not been exempt from his vanity in this particular, though he must have been conscious of the offence it gave, and the mischief it might produce. Since the commencement of the revolution, the French had uniformly expressed an earnest desire to form the strictest amity with the United States of America. As these were in some measure indebted to the assistance of France for the establishment of the independence, the French expected, in return, their cordial approbation of those changes in the government of France which the kingdom at large looked upon as more conducive to its happiness, than the former unlimited power of the crown. But, after the destruction of the monarchy, and the apprehensions entertained that the crowned heads of Europe would unite for the overthrow of the republic, erected on its ruins, the French considered the United States no longer as mere wellwishers, but as deeply interested in the support of principles similar to their own, and bound by every consideration to make one common cause with their republican brethren of France against every sovereign and state that should take up arms against them. These ideas had been favourably received by a numerous party in the Ame-

rican States. They all indeed sincerely concurred in their good-will towards the French republic; but a division of sentiments took place on the propriety of making the cause of France that also of America. To a league of the strictest amity there could be no objection; but to arm in her quarrel with so many potentates, appeared an impolitic violation of that neutrality on which her commercial interests were so materially and so manifestly founded. The backwardness of the ruling powers in America to engage in hostilities conjointly with France, produced at last a coolness between both countries, that was attended with many inconveniences to the Americans. In the mean time the American government, desirous of giving a public testimony of its unfeigned attachment and respect for the French republic, sent an ambassador to the Convention, commissioned to express those sentiments in the warmest manner. Mr. James Monro was the gentleman appointed for this purpose. He was introduced to the Convention on the 15th of August, and received with the greatest demonstrations of respect. The flag of the United States was hung up with the national colours in the hall, with the highest applause of the Assembly and the numerous company in the galleries; and sanguine expectations were formed that this would lead to a more intimate connexion with America.

During these transactions, which were of a nature to administer much satisfaction to the public, its hopes were directed to the more essential object of a total extinction of those feuds between the heads of the nation, that had hitherto involved

involved it in so many disputes. The death of Robespierre, it was expected, would restore concord among them, from the evident necessity of putting a period to a spirit of disunion that had been productive of so many fatal consequences, and had contributed, more than any other cause, to the exaltation of the tyrant to supreme power. But that genius of discord which had wrought such mischief, seemed inseparably annexed to the conductors of the revolution.—When no longer oppressed with fears they became distracted with jealousies, as if they had not a sufficient field for their abilities without exercising them to the detriment of each other. Scarce a month had elapsed since the death of Robespierre, when a quarrel of a most serious nature broke out among those who had been the principal agents in his destruction.

The party in the Convention that led the way in effecting this, thought themselves entitled to a higher degree of confidence and applause than the members of the committees,—who had not dared to declare themselves and openly join them, till success evidently inclined to their side. It was not therefore equitable, as they had not participated equally in the danger, that they should have an equal share in the honour accruing from the service that had been performed, and claim the same proportion of power and popular favour. The public were no strangers to the circumstances alluded to; but it was no less convinced that the committees had acted as meritorious a part in that business as they had been able; and was not pleased at a dissention arising from motives merely personal.

The party inimical to the committees resolved, however, to proceed against them, and, on the 29th of August, laid before the Convention an accusation against Barrere, Billaud Varennes, Collot D'Herbois, Vadier, Amar, and David; the last had been a firm adherent to Robespierre at that meeting of the Jacobins where he made his last appearance, and excited such invectives and denunciations against the Convention. David had espoused his cause in the most explicit manner, and went so far as to embrace Robespierre, and to assure him, that if he was condemned to drink hemlock, like Socrates, he would drink it with him. This attachment did not however diminish the esteem he was held in for his eminence in several of the liberal arts: in that of painting, he was the first man in France. Nor was his attachment to the tyrant imputed to base motives: he was the dupe of Robespierre's hypocrisy, rather than the interested follower of his fortune.

The denunciation against those members of the committee produced a most violent debate; but they defended themselves with so much judgment and firmness, and adduced such proper and strong proof of the invalidity of the charges brought against them, that they were honourably acquitted, and the accusation pronounced false and defamatory. The truth was, that those members of the two committees had acted in conjunction with Robespierre on many occasions, wherein they were rather officially than intentionally concerned; they had long been desirous to extricate themselves from this state of perplexity; but inauspicious circumstances had obviated their intentions.

tions. They had not been able to throw off the yoke of submission to his directions, till that fortunate day which delivered France from his tyranny.

Tallien, a man of great resolution and talents, had borne a principal share in this attack upon the members of the committees: on the 10th of September an attempt was made on his life; and he was wounded with a pistol-shot. From the personal enmity subsisting between him and Billaud Varennes, one of the accused members of the committees, and the influence of this latter in the Jacobin club, which had been allowed to resume its meetings, after its dispersion by Le Gendie, during the conflict with Robespierre's party, it was strongly suspected by the public that the violent declamations of the many incendiaries who frequented this club, and their invectives against the prosecutors of Billaud and his associates, had roused the fury of some enthusiast amongst them, and incited him to the perpetration of this atrocious deed.

This assassination, together with the inflammatory discourses and maxims advanced in the meetings of this society, induced at length the committee of general safety formally to prohibit them. That portion of the community which reflected on the general conduct of the Jacobin club, without partiality in their favour or prepossessions to their disadvantage, had long testified its surprize at the patience and forbearance of the legislature in conniving at the unwarrantable liberties they took with every public person and transaction that displeased them. But the fact was, that they had successively been the

support of every violent party that obtained the possession of power, or was aiming to obtain it. The party that overthrew Robespierre having openly embraced the system of moderation, and explicitly discarded that of terror, had given that society such offence, that it kept no measures in the obloquy and defamation with which it loaded every friend to this new plan of lenity, and on the outrageous manner in which it insisted on the restoration of severity. This insulting behaviour drew upon them the indignation of government; which thought itself fully authorized, by the propriety of suppressing such audacious violation of the respect due to the legislature, and the licentious principles subversive of both private and public tranquillity, to issue an order for the suspension of this dangerous assembly. This was done about the middle of October.

The committee of public safety did not, however, take this step without publicly assigning its reasons: they acknowledged that society to have done much good; but pleaded the propriety of silencing it, in order to preserve that subordination in society, without which he could not exist. They allowed of popular societies, under due restrictions, as being the right of a republican community: but the Jacobin club was not merely a society; they vied in power and influence with the legal authority of the state itself: they had attempted to vilify the Convention. Though it was not improper to remind the governors of a nation of their duties, yet a rival power to theirs ought not to exist in a state. It ought not to be forgotten, that on the 28th of last July, when tyranny was subverted,

verted, the Jacobins were in open rebellion to support it. Presuming on impunity, and that the Convention had not spirit to assert its dignity, they still continued to bid it defiance. It was therefore indispensably requisite, for the preservation of national tranquillity, to suppress a body of men who aimed at dictating to the nation's representatives. The preservation of liberty required the extinction of a faction that filled France with continual troubles, and explicitly recommended sedition and bloodshed. The only legal and reputable societies were those of the sections; and these would remain unmolested. Such was the substance and purport of the committee's address to the public on this occasion. It was received with great approbation, and the measure itself was applauded by a decided majority of the nation; which looked upon it as the readiest and most effectual method to prevent the discordancy and conflict of opinions that filled every place in France with disturbances, and broke up everywhere the peace and enjoyments of society.

A proceeding no less acceptable to the people at large was the punishment inflicted on the authors of the barbarities committed in La Vendée, and other districts concerned in the insurrection that it had been so difficult to quell. The principal and most guilty was Carriere, a member of the Convention. He was neither deficient in vigour nor activity, and had certainly contributed by his unremitting exertions, to the suppression of the insurgents; but he disgraced his character by the commission of so many inhumanities, that the Convention

thought itself bound in honour to make a public example of him.—He was tried and convicted of the crimes imputed to him, and executed, in company with two members of the revolutionary tribunal, at Nantes, who had been the companions of his iniquities. This act of justice was followed by a proclamation, offering liberal terms to those insurgents who submitted within a month. A full and unqualified pardon was granted to them, with an oblivion of all the past, on condition of delivering up their arms, and promising obedience to the Convention and the constituted authorities. The lenity shewn in the Convention in the decree that passed to this purpose, did equal credit to its humanity and policy. The insurgents whom the barbarities exercised upon them after their reduction, had alienated from the very ideas of a republic, were by the humane treatment they experienced, and by the punctual performance of the promises contained in the decrees relating to them, brought over to a conviction, that the cruelties they had experienced were owing to the cruel and sanguinary temper of those who were employed against them, and of those under whose directions they acted, and not to be imputed to the government which they had opposed with so much obstinacy, not improbably from an opinion they had conceived of its inexorable disposition.

While the Convention was thus employed in endeavours to reconcile, through lenity, the numerous enemies whom the late government had created at home through severity and terror, the utmost efforts were made in that assembly to re-
tore

store union between the parties that still continued to divide the nation. In pursuance of this spirit of reconciliation and moderation, the petitions that were presented by those members that had been outlawed or imprisoned by the party that became predominant in the preceding year, were favourably received; and though for a while opposed by some who suspected the political principles of the petitioners, these were at length restored to their liberty, and shortly after to their seats in the Convention. Their number amounted to seventy. This equitable termination of a business that had occasioned many disquisitions, took place in the beginning of December. This month concluded with a decree that afforded general satisfaction to

the people of France. Robespierre's murderous edict, prohibiting quarter to be given to the English, had always been held in detestation by the public; but the dread of his despotic sway kept every tongue silent on this as on other subjects. As it did not however produce the bloody effects he intended, and was totally disregarded by the military, it passed without notice, till some members of the Convention, indignant that such a decree should remain on their registers, procured its formal repeal. As it had been considered by all men of humanity as a monument of national disgrace, the decree repealing it was looked upon as a reparation of the public honour, and received in that light with the greatest approbation and applause.

CHAP. X.

Difficult and alarming Situation of the Confederates at the Close of 1793. Sentiments entertained of the French Principles of Polity in the different States and Kingdom of Europe; and more particularly in Great Britain. Aristocratical and Democratical Parties in this Country. State of the Public Mind at the Meeting of the British Parliament, January 1794. Speech from the Throne. Debates thereon in both Houses of Parliament.

THE close of the year 1793 had proved so propitious to the French on that theatre of the war where the most decisive events had taken place, that the coalesced powers were seriously alarmed at the prospect of those difficulties which they must surmount, in order to recover the ground they had lost, before they could resume their efforts to make that impression upon France which was the main object of the coalition.

In the commencement of the pre-

ceding campaign, they had entered the field, big with the most sanguine expectations of crushing, in a very short time, the republican fabric that had been erected in France on the ruins of the monarchy, and of restoring the latter to its owners. Instead of succeeding in this great design, they had, after suffering some mortifying defeats, been compelled to have recourse to retrograde motions, and at last to act chiefly on the defensive. This was a strange and very unexpected re-

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verse of the fortune they had experienced at the beginning of the campaign.

These events had equally astonished and perplexed all the members of the confederacy. The great mass of the people throughout several of the dominions of those potentates in alliance against France, was deeply tinctured with some of those principles that characterized the French; and the latter were extremely diligent to propagate them in all parts of Europe, by means of those emissaries who were either in their pay, or who officiously undertook the task from personal zeal in their cause.

The two countries wherein their principles were more ostensibly espoused than in any other, were at this time Great Britain and the Seven United Provinces of the Netherlands. Their neighbours in the Belgic provinces, lately reduced to the obedience of Austria, after a vain and ill-conducted attempt to cast off its yoke, were nearly of the same sentiments; but restrained from manifesting them, through fear of the numerous military stationed among them. In Germany the partizans of the new system of politics were very considerable in point of numbers; but the watchful eyes of the many sovereigns among whom this extensive and populous region is divided, kept them in too much awe to venture on explicitly declaring themselves. In Italy a long settled abjectness of spirit held the inhabitants in the profoundest subjection both of body and mind. The only attachment they felt was to their religion:—their rulers had, in general, little of their veneration. The governments they lived under being des-

potic, commanded of course their external respect; but their real indifference for the persons and interests of their rulers, was notorious. The vicissitudes attending the reigning families, had long prevented that affectionate connexion between prince and people, which is chiefly founded on the long duration of sovereignty in the individuals of the same families. The new principles adopted in France had, indeed found their way into Italy; but they had made few proselytes among the commonalty:—those who seemed to pay them attention were chiefly the literati; and, even among these, they were considered merely as objects of speculation. Little did they imagine that the day was fast approaching when they would be reduced to practice; and that, next to France, Italy was destined to become the principal theatre of their exertions.

In Spain and Portugal the maxims embraced by the people of France, and the conduct resulting from them, had been universally reprobated. Firmly attached to the religious and political tenets of their fathers, the Spaniards and Portuguese had hitherto scrupulously abstained even from bestowing the least reflection on French principles, looking upon them as undeniably false and iniquitous, and equally pernicious to mankind and offensive to Heaven. It was not till towards the end of 1793, or rather the opening of the ensuing year, that through dint of indefatigable perseverance, the concealed agents of France had found means, through those insinuating arts wherein the French so remarkably excel, to introduce their re-

publican notions to the favour of those individuals in whom they discovered discontent at their government. The number of these in the Spanish provinces bordering on France was considerable. They recollected that, in former days, the French had assisted their forefathers when they took up arms against the oppressions of the Spanish government. Nor indeed were the Spaniards at large averse to the idea of limiting the power of the court, and restoring the ancient cortes, or states. This idea had lately been favourably received by a large majority of the Spanish nation; which, though by no means inclined to republicanism, seemed thoroughly persuaded of the superiority of a limited monarchy over despotism. It was principally in Biscay, Catalonia, and the contiguous provinces, that the French were studious to disseminate their principles; and there they were not a little successful. The distance of Portugal from the great scenes of action, was its best security against the introduction of French tenets. Immersed in the profoundest bigotry, the people of that country were the most submissive of any to the absurdest doctrines and the basest slavery.

The northern parts of Europe stood aloof: rather fearful than unwilling to share in this great contest between France and its numerous enemies. Sweden, though lately governed by a King who openly avowed his hatred of the French, had boldly maintained a resistance to unqualified monarchy; and this prince had fallen a martyr to his principles by the hands of one of his subjects. Those to whom he bequeathed the reins of admini-

nistration, were too wise to tread in his unfortunate steps, in defiance of the best part of the Swedish nation; which therefore continued in a situation of neutrality. Denmark happily followed this precedent, and though considered by some politicians as an implicit dependant of Russia, it shewed upon this occasion, that, under the guidance of a sagacious ministry, it was able to consult its own interest and to avoid a servile acquiescence in the dictates of an imperious ally.

Russia, the scourge and terror of all her neighbours, could not, consistently with the maxims of her government, be the friend of any nation that countenanced those of France. Risen victorious from her contest with the Ottoman empire, and flushed with her acquisitions in Poland, she would willingly have seen every power in Europe involved in the quarrel with France, in the hope of being able to profit by the loss and expence in which this would have involved them. In this hope she abstained from all active interference, and reserved herself for the critical moment, when those powers, on whom chiefly she kept a vigilant eye, should retire from the quarrel, weary and exhausted. But her views had hitherto been frustrated. The dread of these administered prudence to some, who from complicated motives might otherwise have thought themselves sufficiently aggrieved by the measures enforced against them by a leading member of the coalition, to have sided with France in a decisive and ostensible manner. Thus it happened, that whatever insidious designs Russia might harbour respecting

ing her neighbours, the suspicions of her ambitious disposition fully counteracted them, and at the same time rendered her enmity to France of no utility to the general combination against that power.

But of all countries, that wherein the revolution in France had been most applauded was Great Britain. Notwithstanding the disapprobation that followed the abolition of monarchy, and the abhorrence of those enormities perpetrated by the republican party, a large portion of the British nation remained partial to a cause which they looked upon as that of liberty. While they condemned the excesses and horrors to which the maintenance of this liberty had given occasion, they still thought that, of the two evils, a temporary confusion and anarchy was preferable to the re-establishment of despotism. But this portion, however considerable, was yet inferior to that which considered the restoration of monarchy in France as indispensably necessary to the safety of the British constitution; and held at the same time a republican system of government in that country, as incompatible with the interests of every kingdom in Europe.

That portion of the British community which opposed those ideas,

was represented by the other as harbouring secret designs against the constitution, and intending to seize the first opportunity of imitating the example set them by the French republicans. So grievous an accusation lay the heavier on these, from the marked exultation they displayed at the victories obtained by the French, and their continual complaints and reprobation of all ministerial measures. But what chiefly contributed to render this party suspected of the very worst designs, was their positive and explicit demand of such alterations in the constitution, as would tend to throw the whole power of the state into the hands of the people. This, together with a strict imitation, in their numerous meetings, of the phrases and personal modes of addressing each other, adopted by the French republicans, appeared indisputable proofs of a determination to overthrow the present government, and to substitute in its place an absolute democracy.

Hence arose the two odious appellations of Aristocrat and Democrat*. The former, bestowed on those who opposed all changes in the constitution; the latter, on those who demanded these, together with an immediate peace with

* The word Aristocracy properly signifies, the sovereign power in the hands of the best men: Democracy, the sovereign power in the hands of the people. As there is no one who would not wish to pass for a friend at once to the people and to moral wisdom, there is no one who should be offended at being called either an aristocrat or democrat. It is a pity that these two terms, which, according to their original signification, should recall sentiments of union and philanthropy to the minds of all men, should have become the watch-words of general discord! The question is, Whether wisdom and virtue are most likely to be found among the higher ranks, denominated aristocrats, or in the mass of the people? The general welfare is the pretence of both parties. The real object of the leaders, and most zealous partizans of both, has been found almost uniformly to be their own private interest and ambition.

France, and an acknowledgment of the French republic. The question between the two parties was now become of the most serious magnitude. It involved universally all the inhabitants of Great Britain. The animosities it excited were far greater and more dangerous than those which had been produced by the American war. These, when at their height, were chiefly caused by difference of opinion concerning the duration of parliament, and the manner of representation. But the present question embraced objects of much greater importance. It was not a part, but the whole of the British constitution, a reform of which was required. This was well understood to be the ultimate view of the democratic party; nor was this party averse to acknowledge the reality of this imputation. The violence which agitated those who approved, as well as those who opposed the measures of government, foreboded the most unfortunate consequences. As they both appeared equally resolute to maintain at all events the system they had respectively espoused, men of prudence and moderation, who sought no more than a redress of real and visible grievances, soon discovered that the number of individuals of their own way of thinking, was too inconsiderable to prove of any weight against the multitudes on either side that were determined to listen to no terms of accommodation, and to carry their point, or perish in the attempt. A conviction of this nature compelled them at once to make their option between these irreconcilable opponents, and to range themselves on that side for which they felt a preponderance of

inclination. The consequence was, that, guided by the maxim to choose the least of the two evils, they thought it their interest to submit to inconveniences, of which the constitution could not in the present fermentation be forcibly divested without hazarding its existence. Such a determination exposed them to the most virulent taunts and invectives of those who were resolved to persist to the last in requiring those extensive reforms, without which, they alleged, there could be no real freedom.

Such was the state of the public mind when the parliament met on the 21st of January 1794. The royal speech, as it had been expected, recommended a vigorous prosecution of the war, on the prosperous issue of which depended the preservation of the constitution, laws, and religious establishment of the kingdom, and the security of all civil society. The efforts of France to resist her numerous enemies, were, it was said, founded solely on a violent usurpation of every branch of the nation into the hands of its present rulers, which rendered them absolute masters of people's lives, of which they disposed in the most arbitrary manner. But as the system they had adopted openly violated every restraint of justice, humanity, and religion, it had necessarily produced internal discontent and confusion; and the vast efforts proceeding from that system tended rapidly to exhaust the natural and real strength of the country. The concluding part of the speech stated the ground and origin of the war to have been an attack on Great Britain and its allies; founded on principles tending to destroy all property, to subvert

vert the laws and religion of every civilized nation, and to introduce universally that wild and destructive system of rapine, anarchy, and impiety, the effects of which, as already manifested in France, furnished a dreadful but useful lesson to the present age, and to posterity. Such were the most remarkable particulars in the King's speech.

It was warmly applauded and seconded by the ministerial party; which adduced a number of arguments in support of the propriety of the war, and the necessity of continuing it with the utmost firmness and spirit; as on its prosecution depended the preservation of the national independence.

Lord Mansfield was particularly strenuous in recommending a spirited continuance of the war. It had been provoked by the conduct of the French: and the motives for carrying it on were, the restoration of an orderly government to France, and the overthrow of those desperate men who had openly avowed their determination to revolutionize all Europe. Such men were evidently the pests of human society. A peace with such men was impracticable. The vicissitudes which continually attended the government of that country, precluded all possibility and expectation of concluding any durable treaty with it, as the rulers of one day might on the following be ousted by others, who would pay little regard to engagements entered into by those whom they had displaced. The world was mistaken in calling the present contest only a war between kings and nations: It was, in the strictest truth, the cause of mankind much more than of monarchs, for which

Europe was contending with the French. Were that people to succeed in the wild plans they had formed, the European world would be plunged into the most deplorable confusion. It was therefore the duty, and still more the interest, of all men to oppose attempts so manifestly inimical to the tranquillity and well-being of society.

Lord Mansfield was seconded by Lord Grenville, who reminded the House that Great Britain could not, consistently with its honour, admit those ideas of peace so clamorously insisted on by the unthinking and ill-informed part of the nation. Treaties had been entered into with foreign powers, and could not be violated without the loss of national reputation. But who were those that ruled France, and with whom some people so zealously recommended, it to the British ministry to treat? They were notoriously men who had signalized themselves by the ferocity of their disposition, and their readiness to shed blood, and who, by such means, had acquired the confidence of the populace whose sanguinary principles and proceedings required such leaders. Were the British ministry inclined to treat, they must previously restore whatever had been taken from France, the Convention having decreed that no peace could be granted to any power that retained an inch of French ground. Would the lofty spirit of Britain submit to so arbitrary and insulting a requisition?

Similar to these were the principal arguments in support of the address urged by those other peers in the House of Lords, who spoke on the ministerial side of the question.

Lord Guildford was the first who spoke on the side of opposition. He argued, that ministry avowedly changed the object of the war. The defence of Great Britain; and the assistance due, by treaty, to our allies, had been primarily assigned as the motives of hostility to France. The restoration of the French monarchy was now held up in their room. But whatever might be the real object, Great Britain ought not to have been precipitated into a war, while anywise avoidable; nor, after so fatal a step had been taken, should any opportunity have been omitted to put a timely stop to hostilities. Such an opportunity had offered in the course of the preceding campaign, when the French, humbled by defeats and losses, would have listened to any reasonable terms that might have been proffered to them by the allied powers: and it was highly imprudent in ministers to have slighted so favourable an occasion of terminating the war with honour and advantage. The successes of the British arms in the foregoing year did not sufficiently compensate for the loss of the men and treasure, and the damage done to the commercial and manufacturing interests of the kingdom. It was a dangerous error to imagine that France could not undergo a repetition of the efforts it had made during the last year. The pride of the French, and their indignation at the attempts to dictate to them in their own country, had roused their spirit to a much higher degree than was generally known to their enemies. There was hardly a species of burden they were not willing to bear, in order to enable their government to oppose the terrible

combination assailing them from every quarter.

The favourers of ministry, it was said, were loud in asserting, that, to oppose the progress of French principles, it was necessary to stem the torrent of their success in the field. But arms were not arguments; and to these alone principles, when erroneous, would be compelled to yield. Great Britain ought, in the mean time, seriously to calculate the measure of assistance to be expected from her allies. But her expence and disbursement, in their support, were the chief objects in her contemplation. The cause for which the coalition was contending, was common to all the powers engaged in it; but, Britain excepted, they were all nearly exhausted; and, but for the pecuniary succours they relied on from this country, would readily give up the contest. Thus Great Britain must alone bear the immense charges of this dangerous quarrel; the issue of which became uncertain proportionably to its duration. It would therefore be acting with no more than the commonest prudence to shorten it; and by no means to place much confidence in the readiness, or even the ability of our allies to furnish men, while Britain could furnish money. Neither of these resources were inexhaustible: numbers of the best soldiers in the combined armies had already perished; and though men might not be wanting, yet, without a considerable share of discipline and experience, they could not deserve the appellation of soldiers. Much stress had been laid by the adherents to ministers, on the impropriety of treating with a government of which the conductors

ductors were so frequently changing: but this was the case in all popular governments; and yet it did not appear that treaties with these were either worse observed, or less durable than those contracted with such as had been lately dignified with the title of legal and regular governments.

The Marquis of Lansdown, in addition to the arguments adduced by lord Guildford, observed, that the similitude of some transactions during the American war, to some during the present, was striking. Britain had, in an evil hour, spurned the humble remonstrances of her colonists: but the calamities that followed had punished her arrogance without curing it. She had lately been guilty of a still greater act of temerity, in rejecting the solicitations of a much more formidable power than America. The proffers of that power might have proved the basis of a pacification advantageous to all the parties, but especially to Britain: but those solicitations were treated with scorn, and the consequence was a war; the dreadful nature of which was increased by the motives alleged for its continuation on the one side; and by the rage and indignation those motives excited on the other. To say that no fixed government subsisted in France, was daily contradicted by facts. Ordinances were enacted, which no man dared to disobey; taxes were imposed, which were paid as far as the people were able; and armies were raised, that resisted all the armies of Europe. If this were not a government, in what country was it to be found? Would General Wurmser, the Duke of Brunswick, or the King of Prussia, deny that

France had a government? Could Spain deny it, or the unhappy insurgents of La Vendée, and of Lyons? The commanders of the allied armies in the Netherlands would hardly doubt the existence of such a government. But the fact was, that the resistance to that government, and the massacres of those unfortunate Frenchmen who ventured to oppose it, originated only in their fatal expectations of assistance from the British government.

Such were the chief allegations of these, and of other members of opposition in the House of Lords. On moving the address, it had been proposed, as an amendment, that his Majesty should be requested to seize the earliest opportunity to conclude an honourable peace; and in case the prosecution of the war should be thought necessary, to commit the management of it to more skilful ministers. Ninety-seven voted against the amendment, and only twelve for it.

The arguments in the Lower House, on moving the address to the King, resembled, in many particulars, those that had been brought forward in the Upper. It was alleged by Sir Peter Burrell, in support of the measures of government, that Great Britain had been forced into the war by the most cogent motive that could have impelled her to such a step,—the evident necessity of repelling the designs that were forming to subvert the constitutional establishment in church and state. Having formed engagements with other powers for the counteracting of one that was become the common enemy of all, it was equally the duty and interest of Britain to persevere in those connexions. Nor

was it in her option to abandon them without degrading herself in the eyes of Europe.

Lord Mornington, in a long and elaborate speech, exerted himself to prove that the principles adopted by the French, rendered it indispensably necessary to continue the war till they had relinquished them. They had, at the æra of the Constituent Assembly, declared to the world, that they would never engage in a war of ambition and conquest: but in contempt of this declaration, which had been made in the most formal and solemn manner, they had acted precisely as if they had declared the very reverse. They had seized and annexed to France the King of Sardinia's ancient patrimony of Savoy; they had torn the Austrian provinces, in the Low Countries, from their lawful possessor; they had arrogantly assumed the rights of opening the navigation of the Scheldt, in defiance of all the preceding treaties that assigned it exclusively to Holland. Their system of politics tended manifestly to embroil the whole world in disputes. Their intrigues had thrown into confusion the United States of America, and had filled the Turkish Divan with suspicions and discord: they had, in the rage of their revolutionizing spirit, subverted the fundamentals of European colonization in the West Indies; by instigating the negroes to insurrection against the planters. A faction in Great Britain, unaccountably wedded to the French, delighted in representing them as invincible; but the preceding campaign had proved the contrary; the towns and territory wrested from them in the Netherlands, were equally important in

their value, and the credit resulting from their acquisition, to the arms of the confederacy. France itself was become the scene of every species of tyranny and atrocity; the people were reduced to such poverty and distress, that they were utterly unable to pay the taxes requisite for the support of the state; the consequence was, the emission of paper-money to an amount that had totally ruined the finances of that country. But, not content with loading the French with every sort of burthen and oppression, their infatuated rulers had deprived them of the chief consolation to which mankind had been used to have recourse in the extremes of human misery; they had robbed them of their religion, hoping to enrich their exhausted treasure with its spoils: but this had proved a very inadequate resource. Could the inhabitants of Britain compare the situation of the French with their own, and not feel a determination to preserve their country from the causes that had produced so much misery, whatever might be the cost, and how great soever the hazards they might encounter? It was, therefore, manifestly the interest of Great Britain to continue a war which alone could keep those miseries at a distance; and it was no less the interest of all Europe to join in a common opposition to the French. Ruined themselves, they sought to involve all other nations in the same ruin. Actuated by this detestable motive, they were become a nation of plunderers, and were now fighting for the booty by which they expected to supply themselves with the means of compelling their neighbours to acquiesce

quiesce in their doctrines, and to follow their example. With a government and people acting with such principles, no peace was practicable. The enthusiastic fury of the French was such in the propagation of their principles, and in the determination to yield nothing they had gained, and to recover all they had lost in their efforts to propagate them, that Great Britain must, in order to obtain that peace so strongly recommended by the unthinking, and by her secret enemies, consent to restore at once whatever had been won by her prowess from this common disturber of the peace of Europe, without indemnification for expence or loss. She must also tamely submit to the cession of all the countries France had seized from her neighbours. Were those terms to be endured? Did the History of Europe afford the precedent of any war since her civilization, wherein the victor was allowed to retain all he had taken, and to recover all he had lost? Such a treaty was yet to be discovered; and such demands could proceed only from a spirit of vanity, insolence, and rapacity that ought to be manfully resisted. But were Great Britain, in conjunction with her allies, to condescend to such meanness, would it secure them from farther insult? A prostrate enemy was proverbially an object of contempt, and would always be trod upon sooner than a resolute foe that stood his ground to the last. Such, however, was the presumption of the French, that the Convention had made it a capital offence in any man to propose the acceptance of any other terms. But, on a supposition that the party ruling for

the moment should relax from this arrogance, would the supplanting party ratify such a measure; would it not rather avail itself of such a circumstance, as a pretence for suspecting its predecessors as violators of the national honour, and of the laws enacted for its support? A treaty thus framed in contradiction to these, would of course be deemed a nullity. Better, therefore, to make use of the arms we have taken up, than to lay them down with so little security against the necessity of resuming them, when less prepared for action than we are at present. But the fact was, that no peace could be expected while France continued in its revolutionary state. Those who governed the French were inflamed by maxims subversive of every system of government that had prevailed hitherto, not only in Europe, but in every part of the globe. They were, at the same time, under a conviction, that France, by her arms and by her intrigues, was adequate to the task of subverting them all. Urged by this persuasion, they were entirely averse to peace, and wholly intent on carrying forwards what they styled the great work of the regeneration of mankind. What was still worse, they had succeeded in converting the French themselves into the rankest enthusiasts. The people at large were not the tame and obedient, but the zealous and violent instruments of their governors, and seconded their measures with the most active promptitude and fidelity. Till such a fatal delusion was rooted out of the land, France ought to be considered as a country infected with a pestilence; of which it behoved all its neighbours

to stop the contagion, and never to cease their utmost endeavours to accomplish this object, till it was completely effected.

To the foregoing remarks, it was added by Mr. Pitt, at the close of a speech, wherein he went over much the same ground with Lord Mornington, that whatever might be the future constitution of France, whether monarchical or republican, provided it were divested of the principles on which the present government was founded, Great Britain might accede to a pacification. A monarchy was doubtless the most eligible of the two, as being the most acceptable to the judicious and moderate in that country, and less tending to involve it in quarrels with its neighbours: but while France remained in its present state, war was preferable to peace.

A long speech was made on this occasion by Mr. Sheridan, in answer to that of Lord Mornington. Undue advantage, he said, was taken of the passions attached to human nature, in order to excite the indignation of the British public against the French, on account of the enormities they had committed in the course of the revolution. The guilt and infamy of their conduct no person could deny; but it only affected them, and no people had any other right than to lament the misfortunes of that country, without assuming, however, the least interference in its domestic affairs, unless by amicable mediation between the parties. But had Europe acted this friendly part? Had it not, on the contrary, since the commencement of the revolution, expressed a decided aversion to one of the par-

ties, and a manifest partiality to the other? Had it not proceeded from words to deeds, and espoused the cause of the court in such a manner, as could not fail to exasperate the people of France? Doubtless, the popular fury and its consequences were deserving of execration; still, however, it did not follow that the whole nation ought to be punished for the crimes committed by the multitude during the rage of tumult and insurrection. The French were bursting, as it were, out of the prison of a long slavery: they had recovered their liberty, but knew not how to use it: they were hurried by resentment to retaliate on their oppressors the ill usage they had suffered, and had carried this retaliation to the most unjustifiable and criminal excess. But was it either equitable or wise in the European powers to coalesce for their punishment? They had an unalienable right to freedom, in common with all the human race; and allowing the vengeance they had wreaked on their former masters to have been ungenerous, base, and cruel in the extreme, it had been confined to France: and foreign potentates ought to have reflected, that by leaving the French to act towards each other without interposing between them, though that country would probably have been deluged with blood, it would have been the blood of Frenchmen alone, and humanity would not have to regret the additional destruction of the many thousands, whose lives had been thrown away in this fatal quarrel. But it was not from sentiments of compassion to the French, or to mankind, that this interference had arisen; it

originated in ambition. France appeared in so similar a situation to Poland; the parties that distracted it seemed, so irreconcilably intent on their mutual destruction, that the grasping disposition, found experimentally to be inherent in arbitrary monarchs, had led them to form the most sanguine hopes of profiting by those scenes of discord: they could not resist the temptation, seemingly held out, to partition France among them, as they had done the other unhappy kingdom: this motive alone put arms into their hands. But after failing in their iniquitous attempt, and instead of reducing the French to subjection, being themselves nearly compelled to act on the defensive, with what face could they complain of retaliation on the part of the French nation? These had been driven by despair to exertion of which they were thought incapable. Infuriated by the aggression of unprovoked enemies on every frontier of France, and unanimously resolved to perish sooner than receive the law from nations which they had always held in a light of inferiority, they had summoned all the courage, all the abilities, all the resources of which they were masters. Armed with these, they had entered the field of contest, and had taught the coalesced powers the difference between a state long broken asunder by an ill-constructed government, and constitutionally, as it were, involved in perpetual jars,—and a nation firmly united by a sense of its indignity, and of which an incomparable majority, after casting off the yoke of domestic tyranny, had determined to persevere to the last in maintaining the system they had

established. Whether it was a good or bad one, it belonged to the French only to decide. But whatever it might be, the French were too great a people, both in their disposition and power, to become the prey of the conquerors. They were not only a great and populous nation, but their natural strength alone was almost equal to that of the whole confederacy against them. Though disunited among themselves, they still had displayed sufficient union to resist their foreign foes; and it was well known that a plurality of those who were dissatisfied were the present state of things among them, still were much more adverse to a foreign yoke, and readier to bear with internal oppression, than to see their country in the possession of strangers. Was it surprising that, after the resolution taken by the European powers to treat the French as their common enemy, they should feel a resentment adequate to such treatment, and threaten, in their turn, the severest revenge? The junction of Great Britain with the coalition, was the heaviest blow, in the opinion of the French, that they could have received. The English were the only people, since the revolution, for whom the French had avowed any esteem. It was of notoriety that they held all others in contempt. It was, therefore, much against their will that they found themselves involved in a quarrel with this country. True it was, that, after compelling the Prussians to retire from France, and defeating the Austrians in Flanders, their rancour at the unprovoked invasion of their country by both those powers, and at the menaces con-
tained

tained in their manifestoes, had impelled the French to threaten, on their side, to espouse the cause of those nations that rose against their oppressors: but at whom was this declaration levelled? Was it not manifestly against the Emperor and the King of Prussia? On the first signification that Great Britain disapproved of this declaration, was it not explained in such a manner as to remove all cause of offence? Was nothing to be allowed to the momentary rage of a people loaded from all parts with the most unqualified obloquy, and held out to the world as the outcasts of mankind? It was nugatory to assert that this was no more than truth:—it was not a language to be borne by individuals, much less by nations. We ought to have reflected, that public insults could not fail to provoke public indignation, and create national quarrels. Were the French ever so guilty, who constituted us their judges? Private opinions, doubtless, were free, and individuals had a right to deliver their sentiments in conversation upon all public occurrences, both in their own and in foreign countries; but no nation was entitled to sit publicly in judgment on the concerns of another, unless manifestly affected by them. But in what manner did the alteration of government in France affect Great Britain, unless by meeting with its disapprobation? This, however, was no just ground for dispute. England had, in the last century, set the precedent of many a deed highly disapproved of by its neighbours, without being called to account by any of them. It was a law held sacred by nations, that the disavowal of any act or pre-

tentions injurious to another, was a sufficient atonement. The French having disavowed all right to interpose in the affairs of other nations had therefore just reason to expect that Great Britain would abstain from interposition in theirs. It ill became us, however, to reprobate the French for their conduct in this respect. We had carried our interference as far as we durst. If the French had acted with innocence in the Netherlands, by introducing forcibly their principles and forms of governments, had not Britain used compulsive measures towards the Swiss Cantons, and those Italian states she thought herself able to intimidate? Did she not, as soon as she had thrown off the mask of neutrality, insist, in the most arrogant manner, that others should cease to be neuter? Was not this acting precisely upon the principle she so bitterly reprobated? The French had been justly reproached for their perfidy towards those whom, under the pretence of emancipation from slavery, they had reduced to the meanest subjection. But had England acted otherwise, in threatening the severest treatment to those who had expressed an unwillingness to adopt her views and measures, and to join the coalition, whatever danger they might incur by their compliance? The hostile intentions of France to this country had been repeatedly urged, as fully sufficient motives to treat the French as avowed enemies. But had not the British ministry, from the very commencement of the revolution, expressed the most decided enmity to all revolutionary proceedings? What occasioned the recall of the British minister from Paris, the expulsion

expulsion of Frenchmen from Britain, the confiscation of their merchandize in neutral bottoms, the violation of the commercial treaty between Great Britain and France, —and, to complete these inimical measures, the contemptuous dismissal of its minister at our court? Were not these deeds of open and undeniable enmity? As to the verbal declaration of war on the part of France, would any man of candour say, that the various steps taken by the British government against France, antecedently to that declaration, were not, without declaring them such, manifest acts of hostility? Did not the French, notwithstanding these infringements of peace, abstain from all violence, and earnestly solicit for amity and a good understanding between them and this country? But long had our ministry determined to cast them off as unworthy of their friendship. We now were entering on a second campaign; but what was the object proposed? Had we not obtained the main point in contest, the security of our allies? It could not be supposed that the French, were they, conformably to their demands, to remain unmolested in their domestic arrangements, would refuse to agree to reasonable terms. Were they to be guilty of so rash a refusal, then indeed the British ministry would stand acquitted in prosecuting the war against them with the utmost vigour, and holding them out as perversely inclined to be our enemies. But if circumstances were duly consulted, this fatal war was meditated by ministry. The French attack upon the Dutch was no other than a pretence, and, as it were, a signal

for commencing hostilities. The motive ostensibly held out to the British nation, was the preservation of laws, religion, property, of all, in short, that is dear to civilized society. This was a cause in which our ministers insisted that it was incumbent on all Europe to participate in common. Such being the case, and allowing ministers to be earnest in this declaration, why should they palliate the resolution they had most certainly taken, to engage in a war which, on such grounds, was neither unjust nor unnecessary; and for which, instead of blame, they were entitled to praise? But these were the real motives that led them to undertake this war? Until this were fairly proved, it still remained incontrovertible, that they were the primary aggressors in a ruinous and unjustifiable war, since no other motives could defend it. The aggression was clearly imputed to them, even by their allies, who demanded, in consequence of it this immense pecuniary supply; which they could not have claimed with any colour of equity, had Great Britain been first attacked. But whatever were the real or pretended motives of ministry, or of their allies, the French still remained unsubdued. That peace and safety for which the confederacy was fighting, did not seem obtainable by their arms. The French had resisted them so successfully, that peace, when it came, would probably be concluded on their own terms. What a prospect did this afford to the movers of the war! Whatever ministers could say upon this subject, facts spoke decisively against them. They had not made that impression upon France which

which they had at first expected. The royal party, after the most spirited efforts, was entirely crushed. The violent republican party, after overcoming all its opponents, had seized all the power of the state, and exercised it with such conduct and energy, as to have rendered the French arms victorious almost everywhere. From their vast successes, they had acquired universal confidence in their abilities; their authority was uncontrouled both in civil and military affairs; soldiers, officers and generals paid them implicit obedience; and the nation at large was not only submissive, but zealous in its compliance with their decrees.

Hopes had been entertained by our ministry, that the finances of France must prove inadequate to the support of the stupendous mass that had risen in its defence: but those hopes had been totally frustrated. Means had been found to provide amply for all the necessary demands of those immense multitudes that had been brought into the field; and instead of diminishing, the strength of the French, since the beginning of the war, had increased. Could the same be asserted of the coalition? Were their arms not surprisingly decreased, and, what was much worse, their spirit fallen by the numerous defeats they had suffered from an enemy whom they had been taught to despise, on account of his inexperience and ignorance in tactics? The Austrians and Prussians, long reputed the best disciplined troops in Europe, had however been repeatedly foiled by the raw French levies, collected on the spur of the occasion, wholly unpractised in the usages of war, and led to battle

merely by the necessity of defending their country, but inspired at the same time with an enthusiastic resolution to be victorious, or to lose their lives.

After mentioning the Austrians and Prussians, the other branches of the confederacy were beneath notice. What had Spain effected worthy of consideration? What had been done by Sardinia? To what, in short, had amounted the efforts of a confederacy formed, with few exceptions, of all the powers in Europe? The answer was fatally too mortifying to reflect upon it with patience, when we appreciated the treasure expended and the blood that had been shed, against the paltry successes they had purchased, and which were far outweighed by the disgraces that so quickly followed them. But the efforts of a mighty combination against France amounted to something still more alarming: they had proved that France alone, under the influence of those maxims it had embraced, was able to encounter the united force of all Europe. This surely was a most important though mortifying discovery; yet not surprising to those who considered with a cool and philosophic eye the consequences naturally flowing from a spirit of enthusiasm in a cause, of the rectitude of which men were intimately convinced, and who examined at the same time the organization of that great force which France had raised for its protection.

Contrarily to the long standing practice in the European armies, of confining rewards and promotion to men of family and interest, soldiers were raised from the ranks for their valour: they were preferred

ferred according to the abilities they displayed; and when they deserved it, were called to the supreme command. Was it marvellous that armies thus regulated should be victorious? The coalesced powers should weigh, without the pride and presumption that had hitherto swayed them, the prodigious difference between their own people and the French in those various particulars, and not attribute to superiority of numbers what was owing no less to the fortitude and elevation of mind arising from the principles and ideas now uppermost among the French, and that had transformed them into quite another people. It was owing to the energy infused by those lofty sentiments that they bore with a stoical indifference the deprivation of all the luxuries and comforts of life, and thought themselves happy with the bare necessities for existence. This temper was become general among them; and to betray impatience under want and difficulties, was held unmanly, and degrading to the character of true republicans. While the French continued in this disposition, ready to sacrifice every consideration in life to the preservation of their present system, it would be impossible to destroy it, without first destroying the nation itself. History did not afford more striking examples of cheerful acquiescence in the heaviest burdens, than were daily exhibited in France. The Convention proposed nothing, however painful and distressing to the circumstances of individuals, to which they did not readily consent. Those who stood at the helm of the state were the foremost in settling those examples: the consequence was,

that all the wealth of the nation was at the disposal of its rulers, and that with few exceptions, the people in France had laid aside all interests but those of the public. Could as much be said for the subjects of those powers that had conspired their ruin? Were the Austrians, and Prussians, or the inhabitants of Spain, equally forward in contributing to the exigencies of the war? Were they indeed truly convinced of its necessity, or of its justice? The murmurs and discontents in those countries sufficiently proclaimed how much more they were inclined to peace, and how little disposed to give any molestation to the French. But without stepping out of Great Britain, did it appear that individuals could be prevailed upon to advance money to government for the prosecution of this war, without ample interest and ample security? Would any minister dare to propose such measures as were daily adopted by the French administration? The prospect of gain was the only allurements to the monied men of this country, to induce them to come forward to the assistance of ministry. This interested disposition pervaded all ranks of the community, from the very highest to the very lowest: all without exception were eager to seize every opportunity of enriching themselves, at the expence of the public, and of rioting in the spoils of their country, even in the midst of its severest wants. The only classes that could be called the loaded and oppressed, were the needy and laborious. Hardly able to support themselves, they had no money to spare for those immense loans that were such a source of profit to the lenders, and

and of oppression to the bulk of the community. It was therefore no subject of wonder that the opulent so warmly patronized the war; any more than that the indigent and the industrious reprobated it, and were continually expressing their wishes for its termination. But then the question, so often repeated, and so often answered, still recurred, Who are the men in France with whom we are to treat? Could any other reply be made more apposite than that which plain sense dictated? With those who govern that country. Pride and affectation alone could prevent a negociation with those who had shewn themselves our equals in war; and with whom to refuse treating, was to declare an everlasting war.

Mr. Sheridan was vigorously seconded by Mr. Fox. To assert that, while the Jacobin system existed, no peace could take place with France, was, he affirmed, to pledge the nation for the performance of what dear-bought experience had fully proved we could not accomplish. Never would the efforts of the coalition eradicate the opinions now so tenaciously rooted in France: they were sown before the revolution; they had produced it; the French gloried in them. But it was not in these opinions that the causes of the enormities perpetrated by the French were to be found: the menaces and insults contained in the manifestos and proclamations issued against them by their enemies, were the real causes of the rage and indignation that impelled the French to those excesses that had disgraced the cause of freedom, and done it the highest injury, by enabling its enemies to involve it in one common accusation against

its perverters, and to deceive the undiscerning into a suspicion of its real excellence. But whatever guilt and disgrace the French had incurred by their atrocious conduct, it was no valid reason for declining a negociation with them. The rulers of that country, whether monarchical or republican, ought to be considered in the same light respecting this country. France had in the last century pursued the same ambitious system as in the present; yet our ancestors, however justly exasperated at her endeavours to deprive them of their civil and religious rights, and assisting in that attempt the deluded monarch when on the British throne, did not, after they had expelled him and abjured his family, carry their resentment so far as to refuse negociating with the perfidious court that had abetted him. By the same rule, prudence dictated a pacification with the present rulers of France, however cruel and ambitious. Those evil qualities were unhappily too frequent among men, to be urged as just impediments to a cessation of war. It was the duty of ministers to provide against them; not to plunge a nation into endless hostilities, on the pretence of extirpating those who acted under their influence. But were the efforts of coalition to succeed in the restoration of monarchy, would the prince restored rest satisfied with a mutilated kingdom, on a supposition of cessions being made to the members of the confederacy? Would he not, conformably to the usual course of politics, carefully watch and eagerly seize the first favourable occasion to re-annex them to his dominions? Thus it appeared, that with whomsoever we treated,

we had no reason to expect more permanent advantages from the one than from the other. Were it not therefore more advisable to conclude a peace, if an honourable peace could be obtained, with the present government of France, and trust to our caution and vigilance for the preservation of evil designs against this country, than to continue hostilities, attended with an enormous waste of blood and treasure, but not more productive of security than a pacification? Allowing the danger to be equal in either case, that which freed us from an immense charge was, unquestionless, preferable to the other. It was vain to calculate the resources of the French at the rate of a commercial proportion. They had no commerce; they derived no expectations from any other funds than the productions of their soil: these were the gifts of nature, and could not be taken from them: their industry and ingenuity knew how to turn them to the best account. The depreciation of their paper-money had not depressed their affairs: it had not retarded a moment the vigour nor the celebrity of their military operations. Wherever men were willing and resolved to bear with hardships, historical experience had proved that their resources were inexhaustible. Courage and ability were the two main supports in all difficulties, whether of a public or of a private nature. The French had conspicuously verified this maxim; and it behoved us, while we testified our abhorrence of their conduct in so many instances, to do them justice in this particular: but in so doing, we should also recollect how strong a proof it afforded

of the inutility of our efforts to reduce such a people to compliance with our demands. It was not long since we had made a trial of this nature, to our fatal cost. Our American colonies were, if possible, in a situation more desperate and forlorn than the French: yet, amidst our daily taunts at their distresses, and our sanguine hopes of their being finally compelled to yield, they baffled all our strength, all our courage, all our skill, and, what we chiefly relied on, as we do at this present hour, all that profusion of treasure which had nearly brought us to destruction, as it certainly tended to such an issue at this no less unhappy, if not more unfortunate period. In short, they might be said to have fought our riches with their poverty: a serious lesson to those who think that affluence can compass all things.

Mr. Fox, in a very serious tone of voice, implored the attention of the House to this topic, as a blind and obstinate confidence in our own pecuniary resources, and in a failure of the pecuniary resources of France, was the great spring of the calamities with which we were now beset and further threatened, even to national disgrace and ruin. Money is, in fact, only a mark or sign of the value of labour. In a general and comprehensive view of things, money is not so much the cause, as the effect of exertion. *Virtus preestantior auro*. Great designs are not to be regulated and circumscribed by the little rules of vulgar calculation. A nation may be so powerful, and so fertile in invention, as to set derangements in finance, in some measure, at defiance. Productions of art, as well as reproductions of nature, may be

carried on with very little, or even without any money, as the French had already proved. The enthusiasm of liberty, though not properly speaking, itself a resource, conducts men, by its native heat and light, to the discovery and invention of resources. It excites every latent faculty of the soul; and the energies of the mind, in full exertion, fall upon means which it would have wholly overlooked in a state of inaction. Though in the present advanced state of commerce money be a general representative, and equivalent for commodities of all kinds, among which we reckon military stores and military services, the order of nature by which all things are procured by industry and exertion, is not inverted. In times of peace men pursue the medium of exchanging the sign of commodities. In times of war they sometimes, nay, very frequently, pursue by more compendious ways the thing signified. In war it sometimes happens that courage and rage supply the want of ordinary arms. Xenophon, in his *Cyropædia*, has observed, that iron commands gold. The French, when their assignats fail, as it is predicted that they will do, may plunder their neighbours. It must be allowed that plunder is but a fleeting source: yet when a nation has abandoned habits of peace and industry, and acquired the views and manners of predatory warriors,

it is a resource that enables them to spread oppression and desolation far and near. The Arabs did not conquer so large a portion of Asia and Africa, and even part of Europe, by money. The Tartars, or Scythians, had no money, not even assignats; yet they subdued the Roman empire, as the Romans themselves had by their hardihood and military discipline and valour triumphed over the money and numerous mercenaries of Carthage. In our own times we have seen a people without money defeating the richest nation at present on earth. Are we certain that when the resource of the assignats shall be exhausted, the energy of liberty and the fertility of French invention will not be able to open others? The resources of commerce are fleeting and transient; but never, in the divided state of individuals and nations, can there be a conjecture in which courage and numbers may not alarm the fears, and political intrigues, in various ways, practise on all the various passions of human nature. It is not possible, said Mr. Fox, to imagine what new means of continuing the war may be invented by an ingenious people, actuated by a spirit of national independence and honour: and he deplored from the bottom of his heart the fatal error which administration was at so much pains, in various ways*, to propagate.

Mr.

* Alluding probably to certain pamphlets that were published at this time, endeavouring to prove that the certain ruin of the French assignats would be the certain ruin of the French republic. It was some time after this, however, that Sir Francis d'Ivernois (author of a tract published in 1782, and another in 1795, respecting revolutions, at those periods, in Geneva) published his reflections "*Sur la Guerre*," and his "*Etat des Finances*," &c. In the first of these works his object is to shew, 1st, That the French republic will be ruined, just as the monarchy was by the state of the finances; and that before the expiration of the year 1795,

Mr. Fox returned again to the subject of the American war; between which and the present there were so many striking points of resemblance, particularly in the fatal point, that in neither would ministers listen to any arguments or any reports, other than those that were agreeable to their own prejudices and passions.

The loss of America, through our self-delusion, pride, and obstinacy, should teach us to be more moderate in our views of conquest and subjugation; especially when directed towards a country and people less liable than any other to become the slaves of their neighbours, and long accustomed to inspire them all with terror. After protracting the war with America to a ruinous length, Great Britain was glad to treat with that rebellious foe. Why not assent to a treaty with a power never dependant on our jurisdiction, and whose offences, however great, have been committed within itself, and are amenable only to the tribunal of opinion? It had been predicted that to yield to the demands of

America, would be treason to Great Britain; but necessity forced us to yield. It had been foretold that the cession of independence to America would produce every species of national calamities, and sink us at once to the lowest degradation. But were either of these predictions accomplished? After acquiescing in these demands, did we not in a short space emerge out of every difficulty which that contest had engendered? We lost indeed a multitude of subjects, but we acquired a multitude of useful connexions, far more profitable than if retained in subjection by purchase or by terror. In the same manner, by relinquishing an attempt beyond the strength of Europe to achieve, we should fall back into that prosperous course which that enemy, whose ambition we had taken up arms to repress, would never be able to disturb, while we convinced the world by our conduct, that his imputations to our disadvantage were unjust, and that our intercourse with other nations was founded on the strictest principles of good faith and equity.

at farthest. 2d, That Mr. Pitt will be considered by futurity as a greater minister, if possible, than his father. The chances of war Sir Francis certainly shewed to be all in favour of that party who possessed most resources for prolonging the contest. His mistake lay in assuming that the only resource and nerve of war is money: that the whole power of the French republic, and even its military existence, depended exclusively on the assignats; and that its momentary conquests were wholly owing to the profusion of paper-currency. M. de Calonne demonstrated the fallacy of this opinion with great clearness of reasoning, and with an air of gaiety and pleasantry. The constant and repeated predictions of Sir Francis d'Ivernois were uniformly falsified by events. He then took refuge in the observation, that the French republic must have been ruined, as he had predicted, if it had confined its exactions to France, and not also laid violent hands on property of other nations; but that they would, in case of necessity, be guilty of such violence, was a case very likely to happen. It was said, and is somewhere hinted by Sir Francis d'Ivernois himself, that he was employed to publish his doctrine respecting assignats by Mr. Pitt; who was naturally very desirous of convincing both himself and others of what he anxiously wished to be true. This disposition in all men, particularly the great, is the most plentiful source of the greatest errors.

Another advantage would result from a willingness on our side to treat for a peace with France: it would convince the French that we were not inveterately determined to continue their enemies. This would naturally lessen their enmity to this nation, and dispose them to be less subservient to that violent party among them which refused amity to all but those who embraced its opinions. It would do still more: it would reconcile the discordant in this country, by shewing those who disapproved of the war, that it was a measure of necessity and defence. A cordial union of all parties would instantly be produced by such a conviction; and the ministry would meet with none but approvers of the most vigorous prosecution of the war. All these things duly considered, it was time to depose that wrathful and malevolent spirit which led to so much useless crimination and abuse. Instead of contemplating with indignation the guilt of a people so studiously represented as the most infamous of mankind, we should coolly reflect what mode of acting towards them would be most conducive to our own welfare. True policy in a commercial people, consisted in avoiding causes of discontent, especially to potent states, more jealous of their honour, and more inclined to resent real or imaginary affronts than many inferior powers, who think themselves aggrieved. The feelings of neither of them could with safety be slighted; but far greater was the facility as well as the danger of offending a mighty neighbour: deeds and words ought to be carefully weighed: the latter sometimes were apt to create as high, if

not higher resentment than the former. For these reasons, dropping censorious language, and all manner of invective, it became a British parliament to occupy itself solely with the concerns of its constituents. Whatever was irrelevant to those objects wherein they were interested, did not belong to parliamentary discussions. The real question before them was, Whether parliament was bound to countenance those assertions in the royal, or rather as notoriously understood, the ministerial speech, which represented the affairs of this country in a flourishing state.

From what had been stated on both sides in the course of the debate, it clearly appeared that the general success of the war was in favour of France. No impression of any consequence had been made upon that country and people, notwithstanding the numerous and well disciplined armies that had been unremittingly employed against them, and the prodigious sums expended to maintain the vast number of their enemies, and to create fresh ones in every quarter; hence it would be the meanest adulation to coincide with the ministerial assertions, which were so glaringly contradicted by facts, obvious to all men. It were more consistent with the situation of public affairs to address the Throne for peace, instead of pledging themselves to support the continuance of war: were even such a measure advisable, those under whose auspices it had been conducted, had proved themselves so deficient in talents and aptitude for its prosecution, that they were no longer fit to be trusted with so arduous a charge. They had fallen into errors and improprieties

improprieties in almost every attempt under their direction : they had framed plans, without providing the means of execution. The failure at Dunkirk, which proved the origin of the many subsequent disasters, was entirely owing to mismanagement. The advantages that might have resulted from the possession of Toulon, were lost by want of decision, and by an unpardonable procrastination of what should have suffered no delay. But

waving these and other failures, and adverting only to the fitness of terminating this unpropitious war, it ought to be recommended, as an amendment to the address, that, without further objections to the system of government established in France, the crown should treat with it for peace, upon safe and honourable conditions. On putting the question, the address, without the amendment, was carried by 277 votes against 59.

CHAP. XI.

Military Preparations and Strength of France and Great Britain in the Course of 1793. A Body of Hessian Troops arrive in the Isle of Wight. This Measure censured by Opposition in the House of Commons. Defended by the Ministerial Party. Motion for increasing the number of Seamen for the Service of the Navy ; for referring to the Committee of Supply a Treaty with the King of Sardinia. That the Land Forces for the Service of the current Year should consist of 60,000 Men. Conversations and Disputations that arise in consequence of these Motions. Supplies for the Prosecution of the War. New Taxes. Act for restraining the Payment of Money to Persons residing in France during the War. Annual Motion by Mr. Willerforce, for Leave to bring in a Bill for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, in the House of Commons. Carried. Petitions against the Abolition of the Slave Trade. Motion by Mr. Maitland, respecting French Officers in British Pay.

THE attention paid by the British ministry to the means of prosecuting the war against France, was equal to the importance of which both they and the majority of the people seemed to consider it. The French, at the close of 1793, were complete masters of the field on all their frontiers : they had expelled the Austrians and Prussians from their country : they had taken possession of the Netherlands, and menaced Holland with an invasion. Great Britain, the principal guardian of the balance of Europe, saw itself

involved by the critical circumstances of that period, in the disagreeable necessity of interposing between the contending powers, in order to preserve that equipoise between them, on which its political importance and commercial prosperity so essentially depend. The naval strength of the kingdom consisted of no more than forty-five ships fit for service, of which one third was of the line. They were manned by about 15,000 seamen. The army amounted to its usual peace establishment of about 20,000. But the vigour and activity of government

vernment had been such, that before the end of 1793 the navy had been placed on the most formidable footing. Above 300 sail had been put into commission, of which fourscore were of the line, and a hundred frigates. The number of seamen exceeded 70,000. The army had been augmented to 100,000 men, including the militia, which the excellent discipline now introduced among that body of men, rendered equal every way to the regulars. The various levies, under the name of Fencibles, independent companies, and volunteers, amounted to more than 40,000; and the marines on board the fleet were upwards of 15,000. Thirty thousand Hanoverians, Hessians, and other Germans, had been taken into British pay, together with the same number of Prussians.

It was not without sufficient reason that the British government had thought proper to make such efforts. The exertions of France had astonished and alarmed all Europe:—she counted more than 1,000,000 of men now actually in arms. More than the half of this immense force was employed on the frontiers.

The republican administration were fully conscious of the critical state they were in, and that if they failed in the struggle, France must submit to the discretion of its numerous adversaries. Hence no means were omitted to oppose them on every side; and fortune had been so favourable to them, that at the close of the year 1793 they had assumed a posture that menaced the whole confederacy. The superiority of Great Britain at sea was the only circumstance they dreaded; but here too their efforts

had been so unremitting, that they found means, notwithstanding the late disaster they had met with at Toulon, to equip a considerable fleet, which was lying at Brest, and with which they intended to risk an engagement with the British armament that was stationed in the Channel to watch its motions. But the chief object of the French at sea, was, to carry on a predatory war with Great Britain, by means of their numerous privateers. Herein they had been successful, and had taken a large number of British vessels: but these were mostly of inconsiderable value; the rich merchantmen, sailing under convoy, rarely fell into their hands.

In the mean time a body of Hessian troops, destined, it was said, to be employed in an expedition on the coast of France, arrived in a fleet of transports from Germany, to the Isle of Wight. In order to prevent illness among them, through confinement on board, they were landed and quartered in that island, there to remain till the expedition took place. The arrival of these troops, together with their landing and going into quarters, being communicated to the House of Commons, on the 27th of January, a vote of thanks passed for this communication: but on the next day, the measure itself underwent a violent censure from the opposition. It complained that, exclusively of the illegality of the transaction, the number of troops landed, their ulterior destination, and the length of their stay in the island, had not been mentioned in the message. These were particulars, a specification of which was necessary for the satisfaction of the public,

public, as well as of Parliament. The ministerial answer was, that it were highly impolitic, and therefore improper to subject the intended destination of those troops to a parliamentary debate. The time of their stay depending on contingencies, could not be ascertained; and as they were not all arrived, the precise amount of the force landed had not been regularly stated. This answer did not however prove satisfactory to those members in the House, and to those numbers without, who highly disapproved of this introduction of an armed force into the kingdom, without a previous application to parliament. On the tenth of February, opposition renewed its attack. It was strenuously contended by Mr. Grey, that however expedient this measure might appear in a military light, it could not anywise meet with their approbation as constitutional. Ministry ought, in the King's name, to have applied to parliament for its consent, as it was manifestly against law to raise or maintain a standing military force in England during either peace or war, without the permission of the legislature; it being expressly forbidden by the very letter as well as the spirit of the act framed to this intent, that any office of trust, civil or military, should on any account whatever, be held by any but natural subjects, born within the realm. The trust committed to officers and commanders was of the most important nature, and could not therefore, consistently with the obvious meaning of the law, be lodged in the hands of foreigners. Such was the watchfulness of the constitution, that

it had provided not only against the existence of an army, independently of Parliament, but even of a marine, by making it necessary to pass annually a bill for subjecting both to military law; without which neither of them had any legal sanction. If no armed force even of the natives could be suffered in the realm without those precautions, with how much more vigilance ought the legislature to provide against an army of foreigners, used to despotic subjection in their own country, and ever ready, for hire, implicitly to obey any paymaster in the execution of whatever projects he might purpose to execute through their means? Parliament had by various acts prohibited the introduction of foreign mercenaries into the kingdom. The principles on which the revolution was founded, militated against it in so striking a manner, that no real friend to that event could give the least countenance to contrary ideas. Parliament had constantly opposed attempts of this nature, as evidently subversive of their undoubted right to regulate all particulars relating to the existence and support of the military and naval departments of the kingdom. Occasions indeed might arise when dispatch, and perhaps secrecy, required so instantaneous an assistance, that no time could be spared for the usual forms of legislative assent to its introduction; but in such cases ministers ought immediately to apply for an act of indemnity; otherwise they were liable to a prosecution, as guilty of the most dangerous of all infringements upon the safety of national freedom, that of putting the coun-

try into the power of strangers. The royal prerogative ought not to be invaded; but wherever it militated against the spirit of the constitution, this claimed a prior consideration, and parliaments could not be too vigilant in checking the ministerial abuse of the prerogative. In consequence of these premises, it was moved by Mr. Grey,—That to employ foreigners in any situation of military trust, or to bring foreign troops into the kingdom, without the consent of parliament, was contrary to law. This motion was supported by Lord John Cavendish, Major Maitland, Mr. Whitbread, and Mr. Francis.

In support of ministry, Mr. Wyndham contended that, without involving itself into endless debates concerning rights and illegalities, the House should investigate whether ministers had acted properly in advising the king to introduce a body of foreign troops into the kingdom. The only rule of decision was to consult circumstances, and examine without prejudice, whether the exigency of affairs did not sanction such a measure.

In addition to these reasonings it was asserted by Mr. Wallace, that no positive proof had been adduced that the introduction of foreign troops into the realm, when at war, was repugnant to any actual law or usage. Certainly the crown had not abused the prerogative in the present case; and no parliamentary sanction had yet been held requisite in the like cases. It did not become parliament to betray perpetual suspicions of the executive power. This could only produce ill blood between the King and people, whose interests should

never be represented as different from those of the sovereign, without the most obvious and compulsive necessity.

These arguments were enforced by Mr. Pitt, who further observed, that whether the foreign troops in question had been sent for and landed in this country, with the design of employing them with others on some expedition abroad, or whether they intended to remain in the kingdom for its defence, a communication from the Throne, and a consequent address of thanks from parliament, took away all sinister interpretation, and implied a regular consent. This was on both sides a transaction perfectly conformable to former precedents. Were the royal prerogative in cases of a similar nature to exceed its just bounds, the law had provided an adequate remedy, by empowering the parliament to refuse pecuniary supplies, and thus to stop at once the progress of any evil designs.

The debate on this important subject was closed by Mr. Fox, who strenuously opposed the entrance of an armed force into the kingdom, either in peace or war, without a positive consent of parliament: such a prerogative in the crown was in direct opposition to the Bill of Rights, solemnly established at the revolution, with the clearest intent of depriving the crown of all possible power to govern by a military force. The mutiny bill was framed on the same plan. The discussions that took place during the American war, when it was thought expedient to reinforce the garrisons of Gibraltar and Minorca with Hanoverian troops, shewed in what

a light

a light the introduction of these into any part of the British dominions was viewed by all good patriots, and how indispensably requisite it was deemed that no such measure should pass without the explicit consent of parliament. Ministers might give the most positive assurances that the stay of a foreign armed force would be short, but that was not the question. When once introduced, and the principle of introduction tolerated, who was to limit the numbers to be stationed on British ground, on those many pretences for which ministers were never at a loss? When sufficiently numerous to brave all controul, by whom were they to be dismissed without their own consent? Would parliamentary representations, without something more substantial and coercive, prevail upon them to depart? In such a case as the present, it became him, and every member of a British House of Parliament, to speak out, mindless of frowns and careless of favours. It was notorious, that by granting an unlimited power of the sword to Kings and Princes, the liberties of Europe had been destroyed. While parliament acted with wisdom, it would look on its own privileges as founded on public freedom; that once overturned, their own privileges would soon be violated. They ought therefore, for their own interest, to stand by the people, who alone would stand by them in the day of need; but to secure this support, they should beware of delivering the nation into the power of strangers, who, when once firmly settled, would for their own

sake become the instruments of oppression. Ministerial emissaries studiously sought to represent numbers of people in this country as enemies to monarchy; but if this representation were true, the most effectual method of removing this enmity would be to divest monarchy of its terrors, by refusing such an augmentation of his power as the prerogative in question was aiming at. The introduction of the Hessian troops, from general views of good policy in conducting the war, Mr. Fox did by no means condemn; it was merely, he affirmed, the right of the executive power to introduce them into the kingdom, independently of Parliament, which he denied; as a prerogative incompatible with the security of public freedom, and tending incontrovertibly to lodge a degree of authority in the executive department, which at some period might enable it to compass the most fatal designs to this country. This long and animated discussion terminated in favour of ministry, by a division of 184 against 35.

Opposition however considered this subject in too serious a light to give it up without any further debate;—the public opinion was on their side. Though people approved of the measure itself, of allowing the Hessians to enjoy the benefits of a residence on so healthy a spot as the Isle of Wight, still the propriety of a parliamentary permission for this purpose, appeared too manifest for ministers declining to accept of an indemnity for a conduct which was not reputed blameable in any other light than in their refusal to acknowledge its illegality. Their obstinacy on this occasion did them considerable

considerable prejudice. It afforded the discontented a handle to tax them with iniquitous intentions; and it was not without difficulty that their friends could find motives to exculpate them. — The false pride of obstinate perseverance in measures once adopted, rather than candidly and magnanimously own an error, has often been accompanied by many evils, both to individuals and nations. This false pride is noticed by foreigners as a vice peculiarly incident to the English.

This weighty subject was returned in the House of Commons on the 14th of March. The prerogative of the crown to introduce foreign troops without the permission of Parliament, was defended in a long speech by Mr. Grenville, who insisted on the point, that he could not find any law clearly apposite to the present case. Mr. Grey, Mr. Adair, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Smith, spoke on the side of opposition.

Mr. Fox declared, in strong terms, his reprobation of the prerogative in question. Were the crown legally entitled to such a claim, the constitution was a nullity; and those who had so boldly of late represented it in this light, would be found to have spoken a fatal truth. Responsibility was the shield with which ministers covered themselves when meditating unconstitutional designs; but if such a protection were allowed, there was no measure, however injurious to this country, which they would not be able to carry. But ministers should not be suffered to proceed in their iniquitous career; they should be stopt in the outset: merely to warn them of their mis-

conduct, was no remedy; and tamely to wait for new proofs of their guilt, especially in matters of the highest importance, might only tend to place them beyond the reach of punishment. Silence in such cases was criminal in the representatives of a free people, who ought to be duly apprized of the degree of authority lodged in the Sovereign by the legislature. But the acts and regulations so often referred to, were intelligible to every liberal capacity; none but minds inclined to cavil, would raise any doubts of their meaning. If ministers did not harbour intentions that could not bear inspection, why should they be averse to challenge as their due an act of indemnity, which would remove at once all suspicion, and tranquillize the public, not slightly agitated by their bringing forward a prerogative, which if acquiesced in, was evidently pregnant with the worst evils that could befall the British constitution. The late Lord Mansfield, a name of the highest respectability, strenuously recommended to ministers who, pressed by necessity, had taken measures the legality of which was doubtful, always to secure themselves by a bill of indemnity. The point in agitation was of such importance, that ministers could not too speedily clear their character of all sinister imputations. Nor ought parliament to defer a moment longer the decision of a question that involved such essential interests. If it passed undecided, the public would possibly imagine that, by their not contesting its legality, the House tacitly allowed the prerogative to be legal, or, what would be more ignominious, that it had wanted

wanted spirit to contest it. Which-
ever of these opinions went forth,
neither of them would do credit
to the commons of Great Britain.

Mr. Pitt spoke next to this
knotty question. The House, he
observed, had, on the preceding
debate on this subject, explicitly
declared the act under considera-
tion not illegal. But were a bill of
indemnity to pass, would not this
be recalling their declaration?
The business had undergone a so-
lemn and mature deliberation, and
no more could with propriety be
said relating to it. It had long
been the wisdom of Parliament to
avoid precise decisions on points
of a disputable nature, and to act
in the mean time with a view to
seasons and circumstances, which
were a surer guide. Nothing but
unavoidable necessity should force
men to decide in a case where the
issue must be mortifying to one of
the parties concerned. It had
been asserted that the prerogative
in debate had never yet been
laid properly before Parliament;
but this assertion was erroneous.
No war had occurred within a cen-
tury, that had not brought it into
discussion. But Parliament had
constantly declined a positive deci-
sion, doubtless for reasons which,
when coolly examined, would to
the impartial appear justly founded.
No specific law could be cited,
prohibiting the crown to intro-
duce foreign troops into the king-
dom without consent of parlia-
ment. Precedents were manifestly
in favour of this prerogative. Mi-
nisters were described as too proud
to court a bill of indemnity; but
such a bill was no disgrace, when
required for the legalizing of a
transaction, evidently beneficial to

the community:—and such a bill
he shortly proposed to claim. But
it were unbecoming to solicit such
a bill, merely to avoid altercation
or to obtain popularity.

After a few words in reply from
Mr. Grey, expressing the necessity of
coming to an immediate decision
on this matter, the motion was
negated by 170 against 41.

This subject was also brought
before the house of Lords on
the 21st of February, by the
Earl of Albemarle. He took a
retrospective view of all that had
passed for a long course of years
respecting the subject in debate, in
order to shew what solicitude it
had at all times occasioned. He
particularized the bill of indemnity
insisted on by the House of Com-
mons against the ministry, which
had garrisoned Gibraltar and Mi-
norca with foreign troops. The
previous landing of these in Eng-
land, in the way to their destina-
tion, occasioned a formal assevera-
tion in that House, that the
crown had no right to take such a
step without the formal consent of
Parliament. In consequence of
these premises, he moved that a
bill of indemnity should be brought
in, for the conduct of ministers on
this occasion.

It was contended, on the other
hand, by Lord Spencer, that when
a foreign force was only landed in
the kingdom on its passage to ano-
ther place of destination, when its
residence was to be of short con-
tinuance, and an immediate com-
munication of the measure was
made to Parliament, there was no
law prohibiting the crown to in-
troduce foreign troops under such
circumstances. The quartering of
the Hessians in the Isle of Wight,

answering

answering precisely this description, the ministry stood acquitted in their use of the royal prerogative on this occasion. It was not pretended that the King's prerogative extended to the introduction of a foreign military either to suppress domestic insurrections, to serve as garrisons, or to be stationed permanently in any part of the realm, unless by formal consent of Parliament; but no law forbade their transient admission on the terms above specified.

It was acknowledged by Lord Auckland, that he did not consider the landing of the Hessians as strictly conformable to law, nor yet as an illegal act on the part of ministry. The silence of the law, in some cases, was an admonition to Parliament to pass them over unobserved, unless it were evident that to be silent, would amount to a breach of the duty they owed to their country. But without well-founded apprehensions that an ill use was intended of the prerogatives vested in the crown, they should be left untouched; as necessary for the quiet and good order of the community.

Lord Romney took notice on this occasion, that nineteen years before, when he was a member of the other House, it was not even pretended that to introduce foreign troops into the British dominions, was not contrary to law; the only point then agitated was, how to word the bill of indemnity granted to the ministers who had taken that step, so as to remove all doubt as to the unlawfulness of the measure, in which all men were agreed.

This subject was considered by Lord Grenville, as altogether of an abstract nature, and highly impre-

per at present for debate. The Hessian troops were in a situation that required them to be landed for the benefit of air and refreshment: this surely was no straining of the prerogative. The crown, it was true, could not, without consulting Parliament, maintain a standing army of natives, much less of foreigners; but in the present case, nothing had been done to throw the least blame on ministry. It was ungenerous to look upon the exercise of the royal prerogative as necessarily attended with abuse. It might sometimes appear inconsistent with liberty; but while under constitutional restrictions, was experimentally found of essential utility. The responsibility of ministers had been held not in a dangerous light: but it answered two equally beneficial ends; they were not only answerable for doing wrong, but also for omitting to do what was right. In a case like the present, for instance, were they to introduce a foreign force without necessity, or to neglect their aid when wanted here, they would be alike culpable. Hence it fairly appeared, that to press a bill of indemnity upon ministers for what they had done respecting the Hessians, would prevent all future ministers, as well as the present, from resorting to the measure of calling in the assistance of foreigners when it might be most wanted, and while they were also nearest at hand to afford relief. Better therefore to leave a doubtful business undecided, than by circumscribing the motives of ministers, to expose government to a probable failure in its operations against the enemies of this country.

In opposition to this reasoning, Lord Guildford was decidedly of opinion, that no expediency could be alleged against the positive tenor of the law. A strong example had been given in the last century, of the backwardness even of a wicked administration to run counter to the sense of the people, by introducing an army of foreigners into the kingdom. This was the ministry of James II. However violently intent on the accomplishment of his designs, that monarch did not dare to accept of the assistance offered him by his friend and abettor Lewis XIV. of France; and chose rather to incur the risk of not succeeding in his projects, than to offend his people by a measure which he was conscious would lay him open to their universal odium. The bill of indemnity recommended to ministers, shewed how little disposed the nation was to censure them for what they had done; but was no less a proof how unacceptable the principle of empowering the crown to admit a foreign force was to the sense of the nation. Messages from the crown were no justification of ministerial measures. The words of Lord Coke, on a similar occasion, might pertinently be quoted on the present: "the King's message was gracious; but what says the law of the land?"

Arguments of the same import as those already specified, were urged by other Lords, on each side of the question. But the issue of the debate was, that the bill of indemnity proposed by Lord Albemarle, was negatived by seventy-seven against twelve.

This rejection of a bill which could not have affected the repu-

tation of ministers, nor diminished the influence of the crown, was greatly censured by numbers, who wished that government, while engaged in so serious a business as the contest with France, would have laid aside all needless tenaciousness of its authority, and yielded to the ideas of the generality, especially as they extended no farther than to require the genuine principles of the constitution to be acknowledged. It was said, an abridgement of the royal prerogative was undoubtedly in the contemplation of that party which had imbibed the doctrines imported from France among its neighbours; but this party was so greatly outnumbered by those who adhered to the established government, that no danger could have accrued from indulging these reiterated desires, that ministers would refrain from all appearance of haughtiness, obstinacy, and love of power, and trust more than they seemed disposed to do, to the goodwill and readiness of the public to support and carry them through the arduous task of putting a stop to the progress of the ancient enemy of the British nation.

The strength and inveteracy of that formidable enemy were now daily encreasing; and it required the utmost efforts of combined Europe to meet him in the field. The empire of the sea was that object which he strenuously sought, above all others, to compass; certain that if he succeeded, the world itself would be at his command. Full of this mighty project, his efforts were exerted in every maritime town and province of France, to collect a sufficient number of seamen to man the fleet

fleet he was preparing at Brest, in order to make a trial of his naval prowess with the strength of Great Britain, on what is not improperly called her own element.

To prepare for a contest, the issue of which would be very serious to the losing party, was equally the study of the British government. On the 27th of January 1794, Lord Arden moved, that the number of seamen for the service of the navy, during the approaching season, should be augmented to 85,000. The motion was cheerfully complied with; all parties, even those who disapproved of the war as unnecessary, were alike convinced of the propriety of carrying it on with vigour after it had been undertaken, and of supporting the honour of the British arms, both by sea and land, against an enemy who, flushed with his late successes, was become more dangerous than ever, and menaced Britain particularly, as the chief agent in the coalition against him.

Mr. Fox, though he acquiesced in the motion, was very severe in his examination of the conduct of the war. Ministers, he observed, had boasted of the good condition and great services of the navy during the preceding year, particularly of the attention shewn to the commercial fleet; and yet it appeared that several branches of our trade had greatly suffered; seventeen of the traders to the Baltic had been taken, and they had all narrowly escaped: the shipping from Quebec had been left to the protection of only one ship in a bad condition; and their safe arrival was owing to the circumstance

of the absence of an enemy. In the Channel, six French frigates had been suffered to take twenty-six sail of rich merchantmen. These particulars made him doubtful of the care and vigilance professed by the ministry. Nor was it certain that we had not lost as many vessels in the foregoing year as in 1771, when we contended alone with Holland, France, and Spain. It was an undeniable fact, that, since the commencement of the war, in February last year, the French had seized near one hundred vessels more than they had lost.

Mr. Pitt, in reply, stated, that no ships had fallen into the enemy's hands through want of convoy. Six French frigates had remained uninterrupted in the Channel the space of six days, while our fleet just returned from a cruise, was lying in port to refit; but they were soon driven into their own harbours. Our successes at sea had, on the whole, been great: our East and West India fleets had safely arrived at their destinations abroad, and sailed securely home: our trade was immense, and prospered in every quarter of the globe. These were truths that could not be controverted. The British navy had, in the mean time, ruled irresistibly in every sea. Many years would elapse before the French could recover from the blow they had received at Toulon. Our fleets were out everywhere in search of the enemy, who constantly avoided coming to action. As to the intelligence brought from France, relating to the advantages of which the French were continually boasting, but little reliance could be placed upon it; and the
speakers

speakers in the Convention were so careful to magnify their successes and diminish their losses, and to represent their situation as completely prosperous, though it was well known that France was full of discontent, confusion, and wretchedness.

When it was moved by Mr. Pitt that the treaty with the King of Sardinia should be referred to the committee of supply, Mr. Fox represented that treaty as one by which this country engaged to do much for an ally who was to make no return. The port of Nice might have been a compensation for our aid; but of that the French were masters, as well as of his hereditary Dukedom of Savoy. He was to receive a subsidy of two hundred thousand pounds to enable him to defend his own dominions; and Great Britain stipulated at the same time to procure the recovery of the territories he had lost. But the fulfilling of these terms, considering the many chances against us, arising from this unpropitious war, might prove a burden of ruinous weight to this country. Without entangling this expensive ally in a dangerous quarrel, it would have been wiser in us, and more advantageous to him, whenever a pacification took place, to have made the restoration of his dominions a condition of the treaty.

It was observed by Mr. Powis, in reply, that the ancestor of the King of Sardinia, who acceded to the grand alliance against France, at the beginning of the present century, was treated with on similar terms. The French were at that time, as they are now, grasping at undue power; and Europe was, in like manner, compelled to

unite for its preservation. To protect the King of Sardinia was one of the means of our own defence. He was subsidized to fight our battles as well as his own; and the successes he might obtain, were no less advantageous to us than to him, by weakening the common enemy, and by diverting a considerable part of that force which he might otherwise employ against this country and its allies.

Mr. Ryder added, that, in his opinion, the situation of the King of Sardinia's dominions in Italy rendered him an ally of considerable weight, by enabling him to prevent the French from penetrating into the Milanese.

The augmentation of the army was the next object of importance brought before the House. The secretary at war, on the 3d of February, moved, in a committee of supply, that the land-forces for the service of the current year, should consist of 60,000 men. This augmentation was opposed by Mr. Hussey, on the ground of its inefficacy for the purposes of this war. The navy of Great Britain ought rather to have been augmented. A few stout ships were of much more utility than a land-force, in making such an impression upon the enemy as would be solid and serviceable to the interests of this country. He entertained no doubt of the courage and gallantry of our officers and soldiers; but would rather have seen our naval list carried to 100,000 men, than vote for any farther increase of the army.

He was followed by Major Maitland, who entered largely into the subject. He complained that much more money was expended in raising men than heretofore; and that economy

economy was little attended to in this branch of the service. But for what were we expending money in new levies? To encounter ideas and opinions, which were not of a nature to be subdued by force of arms. Nor were ministers entitled to our confidence for their application of the supplies granted to them. The injudicious conduct of ministry had been the radical cause of all the disasters that had befallen the British arms; while the advantages that had been obtained, were not the result of their wisdom. The transient successes of the allies at the opening of the last campaign, were produced by numbers: as soon as they divided their forces, they lost ground. The failure at Dunkirk was an unanswerable proof of the incapacity of our ministers. It was totally due to their mismanagement and presumption, and occasioned a long series of misfortunes. Toulon was put into our hands by the royalists, and retaken by the republicans through want of timely succours to keep it. Equal imprudence had appeared in a variety of other measures.

Mr. Jenkins justified the attempts upon Dunkirk, in a variety of considerations. It was attacked at the only time when such a thing was practicable. Had the business been delayed, it must have been given over till next year. The commanders of the allied army made no objection to the enterprize, and an adequate force was provided for it. But unforeseen accidents interposed; and, in the mean time, an immense army came to its relief.

In support of the augmentation of the army, Mr. Pitt argued that

the power of Great Britain at sea; however irresistible on that element, could not, in the nature of things, make an adequate impression upon an enemy, whose whole strength was concentrated on land; and who, for that reason, could there only be assailed with efficacy. It was to prevent the invasion of the territories of their neighbours, that the war against the French had been undertaken;—it was therefore at land they were to be encountered. Great Britain was no less deeply concerned than its allies, in putting a stop to the encroachments of France. Were it to succeed in the projects it had evidently formed, its aggrandizement would be such, that all Europe must submit to its dictates. This was far from being a mere surmise. The style of the Convention, their continual boasts and threats, the affected superiority with which they treated other states, the plans they openly avowed of compelling all the powers of Europe to bow before them,—these were unequivocal indications of the arrogant designs they harboured against their neighbours. The great scheme they had not only formed but executed, of converting the people of France into a nation of soldiers, manifested their real views, which were those of conquest and subjugation. A nation acting upon such principles, was necessarily at enmity with all others. Whatever the original causes were of the differences subsisting between the French and the neighbouring powers, the contest at present was clearly, Whether they should give laws to others, or contain themselves within their own limits? No exertion, therefore, ought

ought to be omitted by Great Britain, in conjunction with its allies, to reduce so dangerous a people within bounds, and to humble them so completely, as to deprive them both of the inclination and power to disturb the peace of Europe. It had been insinuated that the whole strength of the confederacy was unequal to such a task; but that was the language of despondency. France might make a long and desperate resistance; but the resources of the coalition would, if employed with vigour and unanimity, enable it to hold out longer than France, and oblige that haughty people to listen to reasonable terms.

Mr. Fox, in reply to the arguments adduced by ministry, asserted that the preceding campaign did by no means deserve the epithet of successful. Our failure at Dunkirk and expulsion from Toulon, were sufficient to silence all pretences to success. The relinquishing of Toulon was inexcusable. After pledging the honour of the nation to exert every endeavour to retain it, ministry ought to have provided a sufficient force to repel the attacks of the besiegers; whereas the strength employed in its defence was so inconsiderable, that no doubt subsisted of its inability to oppose the force which the French government was preparing against it. The retention of Toulon was a duty of the first importance. Had it been put into an effectual posture of defence, the condition of France was such at that time, as to afford well founded hopes of a powerful insurrection of the royal party in the southern parts of that kingdom. Such was the language of the enemies to the

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Convention at that time; and it behoved ministry to make a full trial of its veracity, as they professed themselves of the same opinion. But instead of this, they sacrificed Toulon, and its inhabitants, to their projected expeditions in the West Indies. He did not however place much confidence in that language: he had experienced the fallacy of similar assertions by the adherents to government in the colonies, during the American war. While we possessed Toulon, Lyons was in arms against the Convention, and Marseilles in a state bordering upon insurrection; yet none of their neighbours shewed the least disposition to join them. This proved how little we could depend on assistance from the people of France in favour of a counter-revolution. The delays of ministers in fitting out the expedition intended for the coast of France, under Lord Moira, to succour the royalists; and the feeble efforts made in their behalf at Toulon, had convinced them that we were not able to bring them effectual relief; and that they ought not, therefore, to trust in our promises. In the mean time, all these attempts tended to widen the breach between Great Britain and France, and to kindle a spirit of inveteracy productive of great evils to both countries. Peace, however, was not so difficult an object to attain as some people imagined, or affected to believe. The French and English had more than once been involved in the deadliest quarrels. France had strove, with all her might, to impose an arbitrary government on this country, to subvert its religion, and to replace a banished family on the throne.

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These were certainly most heinous attempts; yet they never induced us, in the height of our resentment, to vow eternal war with the French. By a parity of reasoning, the French, notwithstanding our endeavours to force upon them a system of government which they had repobated, would, on our desisting, not refuse to treat for a peace, which they could not want less than we did; and we ourselves could not be supposed so inveterately fixed in our hatred of that people, as to eternize hostilities for the purpose of gratifying it; until they submitted implicitly to our own terms. But this we had no reason to expect, while they continued an armed nation. The supreme power in that country was now lodged in those hands which alone could effect the changes we required; and they were determined to persevere in resisting us and our allies to the very last.

After a few words from Mr. Pitt, stating, that by an armed nation he meant no more than the immense mass of people compelled by the Convention to take up arms, the several resolutions of the committee were agreed to.

On the 5th of February, the minister laid before the house an account of the supplies necessary for the prosecution of the war, together with the ways and means to raise them, the particulars of the intended loan, and of other methods of procuring money, with the taxes that would be requisite to pay the interest accruing on the sums additionally borrowed. He observed, that the exertions required, though great, were indispensable; and that every man

should bear in mind that he was now struggling for the preservation of all that was dear to him. The public had likewise the satisfaction of knowing, that both the naval and military department were on the most respectable footing ever known in this country: the exertions of government had been such, that the numbers voted by parliament were already nearly completed in both these branches of the service. The interior strength of the kingdom consisted of one hundred and forty thousand effective men; and that of the navy, of near ninety thousand: the artillery had been placed on a footing of great improvement, and amounted to near six thousand men. The foreign troops in our pay were almost forty thousand: constituting altogether a force little short of two hundred and seventy thousand men, in the best condition and discipline. He then proceeded to the statement of the sums necessary for the maintenance of this force. The navy would require five millions five hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds; the army, six millions three hundred and thirty-nine thousand; that of the ordnance, one million three hundred and forty-five thousand; and the miscellaneous services would call for two hundred and six thousand. The deficiencies of last year in grants, amounted to four hundred and seventy-four thousand pounds; in the land and malt-tax, three hundred and fifty thousand: the sum appropriated to the discharge of the national debt was two hundred thousand; and the exchequer bills would amount to five millions five hundred

hundred thousand. Thus the total of the supply, wanted for the present year, would be nineteen millions nine hundred and thirty-nine thousand pounds. The ways and means to raise this supply were, the land and malt tax, two millions five hundred thousand; the growing produce of taxes after answering the charges of the consolidated fund, two millions one hundred and ninety-seven thousand; the East India company, five hundred thousand; and the loan, eleven millions. The taxes proposed by the minister to pay the interest of the new loan, were two hundred and forty-three thousand pounds on British spirits, and that upon brandy and rum, at the rate of one penny a gallon for spirits; nine pence for rum, and ten pence for brandy. Seventy thousand pounds on bricks and tiles, at the rate of eighteen pence additional for every thousand; thirty thousand pounds on slate and stone, carried coast-ways, at the rate of ten shillings a ton for slate, and two shillings and sixpence for stone; fifty-two thousand pounds additional on crown and plate glass; sixty-three thousand pounds additional on paper, twenty-five thousand pounds additional upon attorneys; together with four hundred and twenty-eight thousand pounds surplus of taxes in 1791. After producing this statement, Mr. Pitt noticed, that the public revenue was in a state of prosperity beyond expectation. The produce of taxes in 1793 exceeded by one hundred and thirty-seven thousand pounds the average of the four preceding years; and the total amount of the revenue had been more, by five hundred thousand pounds, than at

the most flourishing of former periods.

This general plan of taxation was approved by Mr. Fox, though he considered several parts of it as oppressive.

On the 7th of February, among a variety of taxes that passed the House, the rule by which the Roman Catholics were charged a double rate to the land-tax, was cancelled, to the great satisfaction of the liberal-minded of all persuasions.

The new taxes chiefly objected to on this occasion, were those upon attorneys and paper; the first of which had already been adverted to by Mr. Fox. Mr. Adam considered this tax as exposing the profession to unjust reflections. No persons were professionally employed in a more confidential transactions than attorneys: they were necessarily entrusted with the secrets of individuals, and of whole families: the character of the profession ought therefore to command respect. Doubtless, there were persons exercising it little to their credit; but this was no reproach to the profession itself, which contained as excellent individuals as any class of society. This additional tax was a heavy incumbrance; as after paying it, together with the foregoing duty for a licence, still a man was liable to be struck off the list of attorneys were a court of law to judge him unfit for the profession; in which case he not only lost his situation in life, but received no indemnification for the money he had expended in qualifying himself for it. The heads of the law, and among them were those, the chief justice especially, whose endeavours to

nise the credit of the profession were well known, would become more averse than ever to degrade attorneys, from the consideration of the ruinous loss with which such a degradation must be of course attended.

The additional tax on paper was censured by Mr. Brandling, as amounting to much more in fact than the specified amount. He was warmly seconded by Sir M. W. Ridley, and by Mr. Burdon. This gentleman contended, that the duty imposed on paper of the best sort, was no more than fourteen per cent. while on common writing, and on whited brown paper, it rose to fifty per cent. This was a grievous and most iniquitable charge on the inferior parts of the community; nor ought it to pass unobserved, that it deprived them of the opportunities of information which they had hitherto enjoyed, from the high price at which papers of intelligence must henceforth be sold. This was a consideration that in a free country ought on no account to be overlooked. This reasoning was seconded by Mr. Sheridan, who took occasion to lay before the House a circumstance which he reprobated in the most indignant terms. This was the establishment of a manufactory of paper for the purpose of fabricating assignats. The excise officer who superintended this manufactory, doubtful whether such a proceeding was lawful, had applied for directions to his superiors; but was authorized to attend the manufactory as any other legal occupation of the same kind. Mr. Sheridan did not mention this circumstance as a mere report; he was ready, he said, to particularize the

whole transaction; adding, at the same time, that it was unworthy of government to countenance, and disgraceful to the nation to suffer so ignominious a stain on its character. After some further observations on those matters, on the side of opposition and of ministry, the motion by Mr. Brandling for recommitting the two bills, on attorneys and on paper, was negatived.

The rancour entertained by the government of France against those Frenchmen who were not of their party, or who, diffident of the stability of their system, had conveyed their property into foreign funds, was strongly manifested by the proceedings of the Convention at this juncture. By their order, the committee of finance was directed to employ all possible means to discover the property of Frenchmen in the various public funds of Europe, to the intent of seizing it for public use, and paying for it in assignats valued at par. This determination of the French government, Mr. Pitt laid before the consideration of the House on the 1st of February. It was remarked by him, that exclusively of the injustice of forcing individuals to exchange their property for what they had a right to consider of far inadequate value, the measure went to supply the Convention with the means of acting against this country. By the laws of the realm, the crown might suspend the payment of debts to an enemy. The less severe usages of the present times did not exact the observance of the law: but if this lenity did not secure the interests of foreigners in commercial correspondence with this country, and subjected

subjected their property to be seized by our enemies, and employed to our detriment,—it was an act of justice to ourselves to prevent their intentions, by detaining this property in our own hands: in so doing, however, the strictest faith should be kept with those individuals to whom it belonged, and to whom it should inviolably be remitted, whenever it could be done with safety to ourselves. He would, therefore, propose to stop the payment of whatever might be due in the line of property to individuals now resident in France, whether foreigners or natives of that country; taking, at the same time, every precaution to keep in the profoundest secrecy the names of those French individuals who possessed property in this country, lest they should, by a detection, become liable to suspicions, and fall in consequence the victims of the barbarous policy of their inexorable enemies. After some immaterial objections, the proposal was passed into an act, making it high treason to violate it, and securing, at the same time, the payment of the property to the lawful owner.

The subject so long agitated of the slave-trade, was again renewed by its original mover, Mr. Wilberforce. Shortly after the opening of the session, he introduced a bill for the abolition of that branch of the trade by which we supplied with slaves the islands and territories belonging to foreigners. Hereby, he observed, their possessions would receive less cultivation, and become less able to maintain a competition with our own. Those who contended for the necessity of an ample supply of slaves, could not,

he said, consistently with such a requisition, refuse to second his proposal; and those who had declared, that if there were no slave-trade, they would oppose the establishment of such a trade, were no less bound, if sincere in their declaration, to unite with him in opposing that branch of it he was now endeavouring to abolish; and which was already so much on the decline, that to prohibit its further continuance would be of little consequence to any one.

Sir William Young replied, in opposition to the motion, that the whole of the slave-trade being in a state of gradual abolition, it were more prudent to let it fall of itself, without any further acceleration. He was seconded by Colonel Cawthorn and Mr. Dent.

It was observed by Mr. Dudley Rider, in answer to these and some other allegations of the same tendency, that the general intention to abolish the slave-trade having been approved of as a laudable measure, and gradual abolition allowed to be the most prudent and advisable method of proceeding, it would be unreasonable to reject the bill now proposed, which coincided evidently with that method. The argument, that other nations would take up this branch of the trade were we to relinquish it, was no justification. The motion tended completely, and at the same time without the least precipitation, to effect the ultimate purpose in view, and was therefore unobjectionable.

The sentiments of Mr. Pitt were equally favourable to the motion. It could not, he said, be the intention of the House, after consenting to abolish the slave-trade by de-

degrees, to stop in the midst of its progress, and never to accomplish its abolition. The resolution to this intent was to take place in 1796. An immediate abolition had been moved by the original proposer of the design; but the serious inconveniences and losses that must have fallen upon individuals by so sudden a measure, induced the House to proceed gradually. But the present motion answered so precisely this determination, that it well deserved to be received favourably. Mr. Wilberforce's motion was passed by 63 against 40.

In the mean time, petitions had been presented against the bill moved for by Mr. Wilberforce, on the behalf of the West India merchants of London and Liverpool. When laid before the House, they occasioned a multiplicity of discussions, similar to those already produced by this long debated subject. Among other particulars, it was asserted by Mr. Vaughan, that the negroes in our West India islands were well acquainted with the transactions relating to them in parliament. They were no longer to be considered in the same state of ignorance as formerly; and though not to be kept in order without the exertion of authority, yet much more would now depend upon good policy. The mulattoes and negroes that had obtained their freedom, ought, thro' kind treatment, to be secured in our interest; which also required a larger number of small settlers than heretofore, while the negroes were implicitly submissive. Mr. Fox was decidedly of opinion, that parliament should express itself unequivocally on the present occa-

sion, and openly declare a fixed resolution to persevere in its reprobation of the slave-trade, and finally to abolish it; otherwise, the supporters of this infamous traffic would avail themselves of their silence on the subject, to insist, at a convenient opportunity, that parliament had given, as it were, a tacit consent to its existence. The House of Lords not having come to any precise determination on this matter, it was the more incumbent on the House of Commons to be firmly attentive to it, and to remind their lordships of the necessity of paying it the like attention. From their judgment and equity, he promised himself a concurrence with the Commons in a business of so much weight and importance.

In further support of the bill, Mr. Pitt observed, that the freedom solemnly granted by the French to the negroes in their West India islands, was the powerfulest argument that could be adduced in favour of Mr. Wilberforce's proposal. We were, in some measure, compelled by what the French had done, to adopt new methods of proceeding with our own negroes; not indeed by proclaiming them free, in imitation of the precedent set up by the French; but by judicious regulations in behalf of our slaves, and by treating them with a due admixture of gentleness and authority. The emancipation of their negroes by the French, rendered the farther importation of slaves into our islands extremely dangerous, as it was evidently an acquisition of strength to those of our negroes who were mutinously inclined. Those newly imported would be the most likely to join them,

them, from their discontent and resentment at being torn from their country, and reduced to bondage. It was clearly, therefore, the height of imprudence to augment the number of our slaves at a time when the French were setting theirs free. This transaction could not long remain concealed from our own; and they might claim from us what the French had given to theirs, and insist upon it in such a manner, that we should not dare to refuse it.

After some remarks by other members, the motion for deferring the bill six months, was negatived by 56 against 38.

The generality of people were at this time extremely anxious about the issue of the question concerning the slave-trade. The transactions in the West Indies relating to the negroes, were exceedingly alarming. The Convention at Paris dreaded the difficulties that would attend the preservation of the French colonies; and that the majority of the planters were inclined to apply to Great Britain for protection against the edict for the emancipation of their slaves, and to become its subjects on that condition. Hence they used every exertion to retain the possession of those valuable islands in the West Indies, that had been the source of so much wealth; and were determined, rather than to part with them, to admit the negroes to an ample participation of their benefits. In their principal island, St. Domingo, Poulverel, the chief agent of the Convention, issued a proclamation so advantageous to the negroes, that it could not be doubted they would oppose, with all their force, any attempt to de-

prive them of the advantages it held out to them, in order to secure their allegiance to France. By this proclamation, they were empowered to make choice of a master every year; and, after the expences of the plantation had been deducted, to share one-third of the profits: the business of the plantation was to be conducted by persons partly chosen by themselves. Privileges of this kind would necessarily interest them deeply in the defence of a country where they had so much property at stake; and would, at the same time, serve as a dangerous precedent to the negroes in our own islands.

In the midst of these discussions the main question, of the total abolition of the slave-trade, remained undecided, to the great discontent of that numerous part of the nation which was desirous it should, if not immediately, yet gradually, be wholly abolished. The question was introduced into the House of Lords on the 10th of March, by Bishop Horsley; who, after urging the propriety of coming to a speedy division, complained that three sessions had elapsed since the important subject had been laid before the house. In order to procure expedition, he moved that the hearing of counsel and evidence on that trade be referred to a committee above stairs.

The Duke of Clarence opposed the motion, on the ground that it had already been negatived by a great majority. The method of conducting this business had been already settled, and it was of a nature to require time. The maturest deliberation was due to a branch of the British commerce

and navigation, the benefits of which amounted annually to four millions; that employed an immense number of seamen; and wherein property was embarked to the extent of seventy millions. The Bishop's motion was supported by Lord Grenville, as conducing most effectually to a prompt decision: but opposed by Lords Mansfield and Thurlow, on the impropriety of referring an object of such magnitude to a committee. Those Lords who could not attend the business at the bar of the House could not attend it in the committee. Lord Grenville replied, that the committee being an open one, it ought to be presumed, that every one convinced of the importance of the subject, would make it his duty to attend.

The Bishop of London, in an elaborate speech strenuously supported the propriety of the committee, as most conducive to expedition. Property was doubtless an object of great consideration; but was it greater than the interest of fifteen millions of the natives of Africa, who might strictly be considered as petitioning for commiseration and relief from their Lordships? Four score thousand of them were, by this inhuman traffic, yearly banished from their own country, and condemned to slavery.

Several other members of the House spoke for and against the question.

Lord Guildford in particular observed, that, by their suffering the business to remain at the bar of the House, it might be protracted to the very term which the Commons had appointed for its total abolition. Such a protraction tended to a delay still more injurious to those whom it affected, as in case their Lordships should concur in the propriety of abolishing the trade, they might be requested and prevailed upon to permit its duration some time longer, lest the abruptness of its abolition should prejudice the interests of those concerned in it. The motion, however, was negatived by a majority of 2.

On the 2d of May, when the bill for abolishing the foreign slave-trade was debated in the upper House, it met with very few supporters. Lord Grenville opposed it as improper, while the question itself remained undecided. Other Lords joined issue with him. Those who were not friendly to the trade itself, seemed to think that the gradual abolition of the whole would suffice, without terminating any branch of it in particular. It was therefore, after a long debate, negatived by 43 to 4.

CHAP. XII.

General Anxiety concerning the Issue of the War in both France and England. Motion in the House of Peers for Peace with France. Arguments for and against it. Charge against Ministers in the House of Commons, of Neglect of Nova Scotia. Answer to this Charge. Motion by Mr. Pitt in the House of Commons, for an Augmentation of the Militia, and for levying a Volunteer Force of Horse and Foot in every County. Debates on these Motions. The Motions carried. Spirited Protest of the County of Surry against Ministerial Attempts to procure Subscriptions for Supplies without

without Application to Parliament. A Message to Parliament from the King, requiring the Succours necessary for repelling menaced Invasion. Address in Answer. Motion by Mr. Sheridan against Loans of Money to the Crown to be used for Public Purposes, without the Consent of Parliament. Debates thereon in both Houses. In both carried. Motion in the House of Commons, for enabling the Subjects of France to enter into his Majesty's Service on the Continent. Debates thereon in both Houses. Carried.

DURING these parliamentary transactions, the minds of all men were anxious in what manner the powers involved in the present conflict intended to regulate their movements in the ensuing campaign. It was clear to all the unprejudiced; that whatever might be the issue of this obstinate war, whoever obtained the ascendancy would use it with very little moderation. The threats of the Austrians and Prussians, at the commencement of the war, and their intentions to fulfil them, of which the French entertained no doubt, had filled these with a resentment, the effects of which had been severely felt by those two powers in the campaign of 1793, when, thro' the defection of Dumouriez, and the confused situation into which it had thrown the armies of France, the coalition was enabled, during some time, to assume a formidable appearance. It displayed so firm and systematic a determination to treat France with unbounded severity, and to eradicate, as it were, all traces of its former greatness and importance, that the French were convinced no medium remained for them but the basest state of subjection to their enemies; or to compel them by defeats to renounce the schemes of conquest, which Europe fully understood they had formed respecting France. The campaign of 1793 had nearly decided the question. After some suspense, fortune seemed to have

declared in favour of France; and that decision, to some good judges, had appeared final and conclusive. The coalition would doubtless struggle for a recovery of the situation it was in, previously to the disasters it had incurred at the close of the campaign; but the causes of these disasters, and of the superiority which the French had gained in the field, subsisted in their full force; while the motives that had formed the coalition seemed daily to lose their influence, in proportion as its arms were unsuccessful. Of the three great pillars, as it were, of the coalition, one was beginning to give way; and of the other two, one only could be depended on for ability and resolution to persist in the contest; the means of the other being almost exhausted, to say nothing of the unwillingness with which its restoration to its primitive power was likely to be viewed by a considerable portion of its allies. The unity of France against those three powers was held by many profound politicians as the very reverse of a disadvantage: their different and almost opposite interests were looked upon as sources of discord, that would not fail to operate to the dissolution of the confederacy, or at least to the diminution of its efforts against France; which, though standing alone, yet when driven to the most desperate efforts by the terror of being subdued by a merciless foe, would from that circumstance derive

rive a fund of spirit and of resistance; that, aided by its native strength and genius, would weary out the patience and expectations of the allies, more prompted by the personal views of their rulers, than by their public interests, to engage in the destruction of the French system of government. For these reasons the majority of the nation, though cordially abhorrent of the atrocious conduct of the French republicans, and nowise inclined to give their principles admittance into this country, still bitterly lamented that spirit of inveteracy to their principles, which had put arms into our hands for their extirpation; as if the experience of all ages has not invariably borne witness, that persecution is the feeblest weapon wherewith to conquer the human mind; and that opinions always make the greater progress, from the endeavours to oppose them with any other arms than those of reasoning and argumentation.

Great was the fermentation occasioned among all ranks at the prospect of the uncertainty attending the ministerial measures, and of the fatal consequences that would probably result from their failure. Numbers considered the minister as influenced by other motives than his own, to continue a war, evidently of a more dangerous as well as of a more destructive nature than any antecedent one, and of which, from the fluctuation of fortune that had hitherto attended it, the duration threatened to be considerable, allowing even that the ultimate issue, notwithstanding some unfavourable appearances of late might prove altogether not unprosperous, with what a price must any advantages be purchased! After

the profusion of lives and of treasure they would cost, what would Great Britain finally reap? The utmost that could be expected in the hopes of reasonable people was that France, exhausted as well as her enemies, would at last consent to remain within her antient limits, and give up what she had seized. As to the conquest of that rich, populous, and extensive country, it never entered into the expectation of any rational and well-informed individual.

Such being the general opinion of those in whose knowledge and understanding men at large were disposed to confide, it was with much grief and anxiety that the enlightened part of the public, both in France and England, contemplated the pertinacity with which the war was now carried on by both parties, and threatened to become still more destructive, from the accession of fresh auxiliaries on both sides; either bribed by subsidies to lend their assistance, or stimulated by motives of fear or of jealousy to become parties in the contest. The speculations in writing or in conversation that took up the interval of hostilities in the winter of 1793 and the ensuing spring, were much of this tendency,—deploring the probable continuance of the war, but foreseeing no period of its cessation. This indeed could not appear otherwise than remote: the motives of this unfortunate war being diversities of opinion, the usual obstinacy with which men maintain these, afforded a sad presage of the fatal length of a dispute that involved, in the persuasion of multitudes, the dearest concerns of mankind, and that could not be terminated while either of the

the combatants remained undestroyed or unsubdued.

While the public was busied in the altercations that continually arose from these gloomy appearances and prognostications, the British government was firmly intent on the means of bringing its plans against the French republic to a state of forwardness: the majorities it counted in both Houses were such, as to overwhelm at once all resistance. Never since the American war had its hands been so strengthened by the adherence of its friends, and the accession of those many opponents who, dreading the influx of French principles, were ready to sacrifice all considerations of persons and party-attachments, in order to join in counteracting them. As it were unjust to doubt the sincerity of the declared motives that actuated those in forsaking their former political connexions, it would be equally illiberal to question the repeated assertions of these latter; that their opposition to the measures of government was solely dictated by the conviction that they were erroneous, and by no means proceeding from disaffection to the constitution. They indignantly complained that a motive so heinous and unfounded should be so frequently reproached to them by the great plurality they had constantly to contend with, and which they accused, in their turn, of loading them with those vile imputations, as a revenge for their having hitherto, with amazing patience and resolution, contested inch by inch, as it were, every point that in their opinion demanded litigation. Certain it is, that without espousing the cause of either party, each has adduced remarkable in-

stances of the variety of ways and methods of attacking and defending opposite opinions; and how much wit, genius, and knowledge, may be displayed by men of abilities, on whichever side they may be engaged.

A powerful attack was made upon the conduct of ministers on the 17th of February, by the Marquis of Lansdown, one of the most conspicuous members in the opposition. He had uniformly combated the idea of a war with France on account of its revolutionary principles; and recommended the maintenance of peace with that country as the safest policy that Great Britain could pursue in the present juncture. He introduced on this day, and supported with a multitude of arguments, a motion for peace with France. He had, he said, entertained some hope that ministers, at the sight of the tremendous difficulties they were about to encounter, might have reflected how much more they would ingratiate themselves with the nation by terminating, than by continuing this ruinous war; but, from their vast preparations and their numerous alliances, he too plainly saw their determination to persevere at all hazards in this arduous conflict:—this had induced him coolly, but seriously, to investigate the motives on which it was founded. He would not on this occasion appeal to the passions of men; he would calmly ask, Whether the public would approve the voting of thirteen millions demanded by ministry to prosecute a war, the necessity of which was attempted to be proved by extracts from a French pamphlet, written by the member of a faction in that country? Both that
faction

faction and the writer had been destroyed, and others risen in their turn. But were inflammatory speeches or writings to be converted into authorities for making war? Before we undertook a third campaign, it was incumbent on us to review the former two; and to consider whether they afforded grounds to expect better success in that for which we were preparing. We were involved in a multiplicity of treaties, more expensive than profitable, while we continued to act as we had done during the preceding campaigns. France had been attacked by the ablest Generals, at the head of excellent troops: but it had been precisely where the most consummate masters of the art had pronounced France invulnerable. In defiance of an assertion confirmed by two years failure, we still persisted in the attempt, on the credit of an officer, brave and enterprising indeed, but not to be preferred for his military merit to those who had already been unsuccessful. The advantages that had been obtained in Flanders were short and accidental: it was notorious that we owed them to the dissensions among the French. Since they had proceeded with unanimity in the defence of their country, we had gradually lost ground; and the necessity of being unanimous would always keep men together in the field, whatever parties might arise in the Convention among those who were struggling for power. But, whichever party was predominant, the power obtained was exerted in the most formidable manner; and the French, through the influence of the principles they had adopted, and the indefatigable capacity and exertions

of their rulers, were become the terror of their enemies. It behoved us seriously to reflect on the consequences that would probably follow from compelling the French to cherish those ideas, and keep alive that desperate frame of mind which enabled them to do such extraordinary things. Were we to continue in that violent disposition towards them, which appeared the design of the coalition, they must, in their own defence, become a military republic, the more dangerous for being placed in the center of Europe, whence they might disseminate their principles among their surrounding neighbours. The French were but one people, and the coalition consisted of many: but when a great people, roused by indignation at ill usage, real or so deemed, called forth all its powers and faculties, it instantly assumed a new character, and every man rose above himself.

Great occasions naturally gave birth to great men, and difficult emergencies produced the most striking exertions. France was now a military school, where every youth was educated a soldier, not from interested views, but an enthusiastic passion for the glory and independence of their country.

This being the real situation of France, was it wise to continue a war, pregnant, from the causes specified, with imminent danger to Europe, and wherein, should the coalition be unsuccessful, it had every thing to dread from the resentment of the French? It were unworthy of sound politicians to rely upon the utility of the treaties we had entered into with the various powers in the confederacy: fear and jealousy would dissolve them

them the moment we became objects of suspicion: and this we could not fail to become, from the plans in our contemplation, and the means we possessed to execute them. Spain would not contentedly behold our fleets seizing the French islands in the West Indies. The high haud with which we forced a trade on their coasts,—their remembrance of the late quarrel about Nootka Sound,—the disapprobation they expressed at our taking possession at Toulon of a ship of one hundred and ten guns, to which they thought themselves preferably entitled, as the nearest protectors of the Bourbon family,—these were likely soon to induce that power to look upon us with an invidious eye. Prussia and Austria were such natural competitors, that they could not long be expected to remain cordially united. Austria could not be aggrandized but to the detriment of Prussia: this power was viewed by all the inferior princes and states in Germany, as their natural protector against the long standing ambition of the House of Austria. Were Prussia and the lesser Germanic powers oppressed by Austria, it would give laws to all Europe. The Austrian politics aimed at a monopoly of power, totally inconsistent with the interest of its present allies, who therefore placed no confidence in the imperial ministry. Had its late designs on Bavaria succeeded, the Emperor would have become absolute master of Germany: but were the courts of Vienna and Berlin substantially connected, it could be to no other end than to divide the empire between them, as they had done Poland; in which case the danger to European freedom would be much

greater than from the power and ambition of France.

All these considerations proved how little Great Britain could depend on the stability of her foreign connexions, and how much reason the branches of the coalition had to hold each other in constant suspicion. An alliance between powers thus situated could not last, nor be an object of much terror to the French. While we were busying ourselves with the affairs of this nation, we had suffered a power to aggrandize itself, already much too potent for the welfare of Europe, especially the north, where its influence amounted almost to a sovereignty; we had suffered this mighty power, in defiance of every maxim of common prudence, to seize all the eastern provinces of Poland, countries abounding with all the necessities of life and materials of commerce, watered by large and navigable rivers, and peopled by near 4,000,000 of inhabitants. By such an acquisition Oczacow, a place of little consequence before, was now rendered of the most important value to Russia. Here armaments could be fitted out, and supplied from its neighbourhood with all the appurtenances of war. Hence an attack could with facility be made on Constantinople itself, and the Turkish empire in Europe be annihilated before the European powers, interested in its preservation, could have time to prepare for its defence. An alliance with this formidable power might appear useful in the present plan of confederating everywhere for the subjugation of France; but no faith could be placed in Russian promises of assistance. The policy of that court was, to encourage

rage all the southern powers to unite for the extermination of the French, and to wait till they were so exhausted by their fruitless efforts, as to be utterly unable to impede the Russian schemes. The resources of that Empire, from its immensity, and the abundance and variety of its productions in so many different climates, could, with no more than tolerable management, be rendered fully sufficient for all the projects it had in view: the obvious interest of all Europe required bounds to be set to the rapacity of Russia. Great Britain had ample reason to look upon it in no friendly light. Its hostile interference in the American war, under the treacherous pretext of an armed neutrality, shewed what this country had to expect from Russia, whenever occurrences were favourable to its insatiable thirst for dominion, and its ambitious pretences to extend its influence into every part of Europe.

In addition to the support to be derived from Russia, Holland had frequently been mentioned as an ally of undeniable weight in the present combination against France. But what help had been afforded to us from that quarter? The Dutch, it was well known, had been forced into this quarrel against their consent: and was it to be expected they would join us with heart and hand in a contest wherein they had wished to stand neuter? Our behaviour tended rather to make them our secret enemies. They indirectly refused all naval aid, by a spontaneous neglect of their marine. Far differently had they acted when fighting at different periods against France and Spain: but then they were acting

for themselves, and not compelled to sacrifice themselves for others. Sardinia too was held up as an ally of utility, by the position of the Italian territories: but experience daily shewed that the King of Sardinia, instead of being able to attack the French, was reduced to the necessity of depending on the subsidies of Great Britain for his own defence. These various allies were united by no precise and decided principle of action; their interests were too much at variance to permit cordiality and confidence among them. France was undoubtedly an object of ambition to the principals in the confederacy: to share in the spoils of such a state, some risk they were not unwilling to incur. But were the secondary members of this great coalition to receive any benefit from an augmentation of power in the leading heads? Was Great Britain itself, in the present circumstances of those whom we styled our friends, authorized to look for that indemnification of our toils and expences which, by increasing the commercial grandeur of this country, would necessarily place it on a more formidable footing than was compatible with the secret, though not imperceptible views of the principal powers in the coalition? This vast body, unable to support itself, challenged, as it were, a right to throw its weight on the strength and opulence of this country. Hence it claimed and demanded supplies, as if they were a tribute fairly due to its exertions in our favour. In the mean time we demeaned ourselves to the inferior powers, as if we thought them bound to be subservient to the measures of Great Britain. The courts of Sweden
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and Denmark in the north, of Florence in the south of Europe, with the republic of Switzerland, had experienced British haughtiness, in a degree hardly preceded in the history of the most arrogant and domineering powers. The Grand Duke of Tuscany, brother to the Emperor, whose imperial diadem he might shortly inherit, had been warned by our minister at his court, to renounce his neutrality, and to dismiss the French resident in twelve hours; or the British fleet, in the Mediterranean, would take possession of his port of Leghorn. Was not this, besides its being an insult to the Duke, an open infringement of a regulation made so long ago as the year 1712, by which Leghorn had, for the general convenience of all the European states, been declared a perpetual free port? Sweden and Denmark were not in a position to be so readily terrified by our demands, any more than Switzerland; and they answered in a style becoming independent states.

The conduct of the British ministers towards America was attended with circumstances involving the suspicion of the basest enmity. Happily for Britain and the United States, the latter were under the guidance of a man worthy of being proposed as an example to the rulers of all nations. Instead of listening to the resentment of the multitude at the violent proceedings of Britain against the ships and commerce of America, he prevailed on the public, by his prudence and moderation, to wait with calmness for the satisfaction that would be required for those outrages. Far contrary was the behaviour of our government. With an unbecoming impetuosity, an or-

der of council was issued relating to America, which it was found necessary to repeal in six weeks: so little did the Americans trust to the candour of our government, that they suspected it of having countenanced the depredations of the Algerines on the American traders, and the hostilities of the Indians committed against the people of America. If we added to these difficulties, raised by the impropriety of our measures, the bad state of the finances of our allies, we had a complete view of the perplexed situation in which we had involved ourselves. Spain, hardly able to give currency to the paper already emitted by her government, had been compelled to fabricate 3,500,000 more; the result of which was a fall in the value of twenty per cent. Of all the confederacy, Russia alone retained some credit. Holland, once the seat of public credit, could not now, upon trial, raise 1,000,000 sterling at five per cent. interest, though long used to give only two and a half. France, on the other side, converted to the service of the state whatever was seizable. Gold and silver were paid for articles imported of indispensable necessity; and paper was used for domestic transactions. Having duly reflected on this state of things, what could induce this country to persist in a contest of which the expence fell almost entirely on itself, without any fixed or rational view of indemnification?

Peace with France, so far from being insecure, could with more safety be relied on than with any European ministry. Peace with the French was the first step to recover from all their distresses; but courts

courts afforded daily proofs that the wretchedness of the commonalty could not divert them from ambitious projects, when appearances were favourable to their execution. This was invariably the case where absolute princes ruled: but the government of France was in the hands of the people, who had tasted sufficiently of want and misery, gladly to embrace the opportunity of being delivered from such a condition, and anxiously to beware how they were again reduced to it. Treaties with a people thus circumstanced, would probably be more stable than with states, the heads of which were far removed from common sufferings, and where the popular classes held in abject thralldom, had nothing to say in the management of public affairs.

The objection to peace was, the question, With whom to treat? But with whom could we treat better than with those people? Let both parties be sincere, and a pacification would soon follow. Cavils of the same nature had been raised against treating with America; but they were merely proofs of the unwillingness of ministers to make a peace; in which case Parliament, imitating the laudable example of their predecessors, ought to close the present dispute with France, as they had done that of America, by cutting the knot which ministers refused to untie, and removing at once, by a decisive vote of disapprobation, all the obstacles which they had thrown in the way of treating. France could not, in the nature of things, be averse to a measure which tended directly to the accomplishment of every purpose she

had in view, and was contending for under a complication of difficulties and distresses, which would instantly cease by her joining in issue with us. Indemnity had been demanded by the advocates for the continuation of the war; by which it might be supposed, they required the cession of some French possessions in the West Indies. But the time was no more when such an acquisition could be of use. Principles of democracy daily gained ground in the French islands, and rendered their possession rather precarious and undesirable at the present juncture; and the difficulty of maintaining our authority in any of the Islands that might be ceded to us by France, far outweighed the utility derivable from them. Such indemnifications would also lead the mortgaged people in Great Britain into dangerous attempts to make them profitable, as whatever they laid out in their improvement might, through the fluctuation and uncertainty of the arrangements that would take place in those distant settlements, independently of their concurrence, and with little or no reference at all to their interests, be placed out of the expectation of recovery, either as to interest or principal,—to say nothing of the mortification the French would feel at being obliged to make such concessions, and the secret methods they might contrive to render them a source of perplexities. It was therefore beneath the notice of Great Britain to seek for such compensations. The detriment occasioned by a single year's stagnation of the industry and capital of the British nation, was more deserving

of our attention than the greatest possible value of their richest island. But for what determinate object was the war continued? Ministers having left the public in the dark respecting their real views, the only method of discovering them was, to examine the manifestoes published at several times, by those who commanded the armies or fleets of the different powers engaged in the coalition; and which being formally addressed to the French nation, might very reasonably be supposed to contain the objects proposed by the confederacy.

In the two manifestoes of the Duke of Brunswick; in that of General Wurmser and of Prince Cobourg; in those of Lord Hood, Admiral Langara and General O'Hara,—no clear and distinct idea was held forth connectedly through the whole of them taken together; they inculcated absolute power and unlimited obedience; but there is not one which did not either contradict itself, or which was not contradicted by another; or which had not been entirely disregarded in the conduct of those by whom they had been issued. Thus the real object of the war, and the conditions on which the coalition would make peace, had never been explicitly mentioned. The knowledge of both being necessary for either peace or war, the Throne ought to be petitioned, to make them equally known for the satisfaction of the public. A precedent existed in history applicable to the present state of things in France. A French monarch, Lewis IX., had interposed in the quarrel between our Henry III. and his people, in the character of a friendly

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mediator, and had succeeded in effecting a reconciliation. Such ought to have been the interposition of Great-Britain: Were we at the present hour to shew a disposition to lay aside a hostile spirit, and to admit sentiments of friendship and generosity towards the French, we should meet with an adequate return. Interest and inclination had, from the commencement of their troubles, prompted them to wish ardently for a good understanding with this country. But the evil genius of invective and detraction had unhappily taken possession of both people. To this should be attributed the dreadful calamities that followed. It was time however to advert to the situation in which we stood. The loss of one battle would, in all likelihood, decide the fate of the coalition; but the French might lose several without being disabled. From the numbers of their people and the enthusiastic fury that animated them against their enemies, their armies would always be supplied with numerous recruits; while the confederates, fighting at a great distance from their respective countries, would suffer a constant diminution both from their victories and defeats, which it would be impossible to repair. The consequences would be, that ultimately the French would remain in such force, that the allies would no longer be able to confront it.—The Marquis concluded his speech by saying that he had not laid these various arguments and reasonings before the House in the hope that they would produce an immediate effect; but solely that they might be taken into consideration. He would however move an address to his Majesty,

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to represent the extreme improbability of effecting the reduction of such a country as France; that the coalition could not be relied on; and that Great Britain must finally bear all the expences of the war; and, if unsuccessful, the whole blame of having continued it: that however it might be prosperous, good policy forbade its continuance, as no conquests were worth purchasing at the price they must cost, and at the risk of proving the causes of future wars: that the trade of the kingdom had suffered immense losses from this war, and would probably suffer still greater! That, were France dismembered, those powers would be aggrandized, from whose disposition most danger was to be apprehended. That the opinions of men were not to be altered by violence, and that to obviate the entrance of democratic principles, the rulers of nations should govern them with lenity, and avoid those harsh and oppressive measures that produce popular discontent. That, notwithstanding the adherence of the French to the revolutionary government, so much complained of by their enemies, it was through the necessity of self-defence they bore with it; when delivered from the dread of the confederacy formed against them, they had long purposed to establish one less liable to exceptions, both abroad and at home: that we ought to be experimentally convinced that our interference in the domestic concerns of the French, would be attended with destruction to those whom we favoured. We had constantly failed in every attempt; and it was rash and inhuman to expose people to certain ruin by renewing

them. For these reasons the King should be earnestly requested to declare, without delay, his consent to enter into a negotiation for peace with France upon such equitable terms as would evidently tend to secure its duration; and that he would signify this determination to his allies, to the intent of putting an immediate stop to hostilities.

The Marquis of Lansdowne's speech and motion were opposed with great vehemence by Lord Fitzwilliam. The address presented to the King at the opening of the session precluded, he said, any motion of this nature. The French having endeavoured to disseminate their pernicious maxims through all Europe, it had a just right to take up arms to prevent so great an evil. He appealed to the writings of Brissot for the proof of what he asserted. These sufficiently manifested a concerted plan to spread their innovations every where, and to disturb the peace of society in all countries. The motion was calculated to violate the compacts formed with such mature deliberation with the most respectable courts, and to enter into engagements of reconciliation and amity with a people who had put their monarch to death, and massacred multitudes of innocent individuals; and whose enormities, if not repressed, would revive the days of blood and barbarism, and plunge all Europe into a second state of incivilization. The compacts framed by government were highly laudable; and we could not abandon the confederacy, without loading ourselves with disgrace, and relinquishing the interests of the kingdom. The atrocities perpetrated by the French, shewed the

the nature of their present government, and of what excesses they would be guilty, if not in due time prevented by the alliance that now happily opposed them. The attempts that had been made to introduce their principles into this country, would have succeeded, but for the vigilance of government. It would not be denied that they were the aggressors in this quarrel. They had, immediately after the battle of Jemappe, when they imagined themselves above their enemies, proclaimed to all the world their determination to encourage the revolt of subjects against their lawful sovereigns. They had attacked and wrested the Duchy of Savoy from its native possessor; they had seized upon the Netherlands, invaded Holland without provocation, and opened the navigation of the Scheldt in defiance of the faith of treaties. Their enmity to Great Britain aimed at an entire overthrow of our constitution: they insisted on its abolition as the price of peace. Could we therefore safely renounce our alliances, and remain inactive at such a critical juncture, without delivering ourselves into their hands? The more we become submissive, the greater would be their arrogance. Peace therefore must be attained and secured by firmness, not by condescendence. Such was their pride, that they would listen to no accommodation, unless we previously withdrew from the country we had taken from them, and trusted to their moderation for equitable terms. A British minister ought in honour and duty to spurn at such insolence: and to advise a compliance with so

haughty a requisition, was more in the spirit of opposition to ministry than of sound judgment on the present circumstances of the British empire; the honour of which would be essentially tarnished by not persisting with the utmost firmness in the confederacy, of which it had been so active a promoter. The interest of this country demanded a complete humiliation of the enemy, before any idea of peace could with propriety be admitted into our councils. Were government to act otherwise, it would countenance the guilt of which it accused the French, and lose its credit and dignity in the eyes of Europe.

A Peer of the first rank, who had long absented himself from Parliament, took an active part on this occasion. This was the Duke of Grafton, who formally declared, that an intimate conviction of the propriety of the motion brought before the House, after the maturest consideration, was the sole motive that induced him to second it. He was not so sanguine as to have formed a hope that the party with which he concurred in opinion would have sufficient weight to alter the resolutions taken by administration; but he flattered himself, that by undeviatingly opposing the present measures, and perseveringly exerting themselves to shew their tendency to injure this country, those who were now a minority might, in the end, succeed in their endeavours to prevail on a majority to embrace the same opinion, and unite their efforts to terminate a ruinous war. That fatal contest which concluded with the loss of America, would have probably lasted longer, and

produced more disastrous effects, had not a minority, inconsiderable at first, and loaded with all manner of reproaches and obloquy, inflexibly persisted in opposing the ministerial phrenzy of the day, and by patience and perseverance effected a total revolution of sentiments in Parliament. The motion now laid before the House, did not affect the dignity of the crown nor the interest of the nation: it would, on the contrary, prove highly beneficial, by saving thousands of lives that otherwise must be lost in this destructive contest, as others had, which might have been spared, if wiser councils had been followed by the heads of this country; and of that pernicious coalition which had done and was still likely to occasion many evils. Unhappily for the people of this country, their calamities seemed to proceed in a considerable degree from the change of disposition effected through great artifice by the friends of arbitrary power. Whether through interested motives, or an absurd notion that freedom led to licentiousness and confusion, they had for some years past laboured with indefatigable zeal to persuade people that opposition to ministers proceeded from personal disappointment and disaffection, and that want of confidence in government denoted an unfaithful and disloyal subject. Tenets of this sort had made an alarming progress; and those who opposed them were represented as factious, and movers of sedition. Hence the hands of ministers had been strengthened to an unconstitutional degree. Relying on the base and blind submission of the public, they had pursued of late such measures as evinced how

little they were concerned for the welfare of the community, provided they could bring that system to bear, which they fondly imagined, would insure to them a perpetuity of power, by rendering government absolute: forgetful of the mean dependence to which they would be reduced themselves, were once the executive branch of the constitution to be raised above all controul. The time however would probably arrive, when the nation would exercise the liberty of judging for itself; in which case the propagators of those slavish principles, and those who have availed themselves of the temporary delusion they had wrought, to plunge this country into difficulties, would be called to a severe account. However excellent the British constitution might appear in theory, the flaws in its practice were obvious to all men who did not studiously strive to conceal or to palliate them for sinister purposes. It was the duty of the legislature to investigate the causes of those enormous abuses of which all parties were, in their turn, so ready to complain when out of place. Ministers in the mean time could not be supposed so deficient in abilities, as not to be sensible of the highly perilous situation in which they had involved this country. Nothing short of manifest and undeniable necessity could justify them; but this was far from being the case. Numbers of the most judicious and well informed were of a contrary opinion to ministry. There could be no certainty where opinions were so different, especially when ministers differed themselves in the most essential points, and spoke at a short interval of time a language wholly opposite

opposite to that which they had held with the utmost positiveness and confidence. Only two years since peace, without interruption for fifteen years, had been held out for the nation as a matter of certainty, together with the prospect of extinguishing a considerable proportion of the national debt. But how quickly were these expectations converted into the deepest gloom! Twelve months scarce elapsed when government, instead of realizing those fair promises, thought proper to involve the nation in a war reputed avoidable by a large majority, and the object of which had never been clearly explained by its authors, though, with all their subterfuges, they could not conceal from the world, that the object for which they were in reality contending with so much warmth, was the restoration of arbitrary power in France, in order, as they were accused openly by some, and shrewdly suspected by many, to pave the way for a similar establishment in this country. But whatever motives had influenced ministers to precipitate France and Great Britain into a war, it was a lamentable circumstance that each of the two nations should think itself under the necessity of exterminating the other, unless it complied with the requisitions respectively insisted on, and urged with the utmost violence and fury on either side. How would the minister reconcile his former ideas of peace with a war so sudden in its arrival, and so unprecedented in its principle? Whether in condescendence to superior authority, or from a very speedy change in his own conceptions, it was plain that he had

embraced a system totally different from that which he had originally proposed respecting France. But the interference in its affairs, and the alliances with the continental powers, had already proved the entire destruction of 100,000 men, without serving the cause for which they had been sacrificed. Our attempts to force the French to regulate their affairs on our plan, were not only fruitless, but inequitable, as no right could be challenged by any people to interfere in the most domestic concerns of another. In order to prove the inveteracy of the French, the speeches in the Convention were cited, as if invectives were proofs of any more than the rancorous disposition of those who made them, or at most of the temporary rage of an exasperated enemy. Nations, like individuals, when they became cool and composed, would speak in far milder terms. The French knew their interest, and would pursue it; and angry words would be forgotten, when imperious necessity had recalled each party to the use of its reason. We certainly had no pretence to complain of harsh expressions: we first had adopted the style of abuse; the French had only followed our example. It was in the mean time unfair to distort the meaning of the motion before the House; it neither recommended breach of treaties, nor a desertion of the confederacy, of which Great Britain was the head and chief support. In this very capacity its inclinations to peace would operate to the same end upon our allies, whose dispositions must naturally and necessarily coincide with our own. Nor if the French, on the supposition

tion of a treaty, should insist on the disbanding of our armies but in the same proportion as their own, did the motion imply the least acquiescence on our part in so unreasonable and insulting a proposal. The treatment of the French by the associated powers in Germany, at the beginning of hostilities, had given birth to the outrageous speeches in the Convention. These never would have taken place, had not the Duke of Brunswick's proclamation been published. If he had previously communicated it to our ministry, they ought to have prevented its appearance; and if this communication had not been made, it argued great want of respect in the Austrian and Prussian ministries for the court of Great Britain.

After thus expatiating on the danger and expence that would inevitably attend the continuance of the war, the Duke concluded, by declaring his persuasion, that it threatened not only the prosperity of the British nation, but the very safety of government and of the British throne.

The speech of the Duke of Grafton was represented by the Earl of Caernarvon as calculated to render us suspected by our confederates. The motives of the war, he said, were just, and fully authorized us to undertake it. The motives imputed to ministry were unfounded; but had they explicitly declared for a restoration of monarchy in France as a necessary step to forward their measures, he would have given them his cordial approbation.

In reply to the preceding, and other allegations on the ministerial side, Lord Guildford stated, that, allowing all the invectives against

the present governors of France to have weight, still the former conduct of its rulers while a monarchy was no less deserving of censure:—the French court was equally ambitious at least; and as little faith could be placed in it as in the Convention. Peace, it was affirmed, was inconsistent with the treaties we had made with foreign powers: But he would also affirm, that no treaties were so binding as to invalidate the privilege of the legislature, to remonstrate against them, and to require, if contrary to their sense, that those treaties should be annulled. The designs of France were inscribed as inveterately hostile to this country; but while we constantly spoke the language of an enemy, how could we expect that the French should speak any other? Could any thing be more inimical than to proscribe to them a system of government which they had solemnly pronounced odious to them? What foundation had we for the exercise of such a prerogative over France, after forbearing it on occasions that afforded us equal right? Did Great Britain interpose when Russia, Austria, and Prussia, dismembered Poland? But the French had actually complied with our demands; they had formally retracted that decree at which the British government had taken such umbrage. The dangers so often pretended, to laws and to religion, were mere declamations for the purpose of inflaming the minds of the ignorant and the vulgar. Liberty of conscience would not destroy religion; and the laws of one country would not subvert those of another. But exaggeration seemed the maxim generally adopted by those who hated the French; as if
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it were not illiberal and unjust to misrepresent even an enemy. Our business was not to abuse, but to consider in what manner we could live in peace with them, without prejudice to our character and our interest.

The motion recommended by Lord Lansdowne was objected to by the Duke of Leeds as improperly timed, and ill founded. Without enquiring into every motive for this war, it could not altogether be reputed unjust. The French system of government was so opposite in its very nature to all the established governments of Europe, that it must necessarily be viewed in the light of a constant and perpetual enemy, that would never cease to act against all the others till it had destroyed them, or till they had brought about its own destruction. The manifestation of a desire of peace on our side, would rather tend to elate the French than to reconcile them. They would attribute it to timidity, and would probably rise in their terms.

The Duke of Leeds was seconded by lord Sydney, who observed that the motion amounted to a declaration that we were no longer able to prosecute the war; that we placed no reliance on the coalition, and that we acknowledged the cause of the French to be just. Peace in the present stage of the contest would be unstable; and it now became us to act with firmness, and to yield nothing to an enemy whom we were in a situation to encounter, with every reasonable hope of compelling him to an agreement that might prove entirely satisfactory to the views proposed by the confederacy.

He was followed by Lord Lau-

derdale, who spoke with his wonted warmth on the aspersions cast on the opposition to ministry. They were, he said, represented as the Jacobins of this country; but their principles were those on which the constitution of Great Britain was founded, and without which it could not be supported nor justified. The French were become odious to the princes of Europe, for having cast off the burthen of absolute monarchy; but was that a valid motive for Englishmen to coincide in that odium? The excesses of which they had been guilty, no good man would extenuate, but no honest man would deny that they were perfectly justifiable in refusing to submit to the injunctions of other nations in the management of their affairs.

In answer to these allegations in favour of the motion, Lord Carlisle asserted, that however a speedy termination of the war was desirable, it could not with prudence or propriety be attempted while the enemy remained so violent and inveterate, and while our preparations were so formidable, as to excite reasonable hopes of lowering his arrogance. Our arms had compelled him to abandon Holland, and expelled him from the Austrian Netherlands; we were masters of some of his strongest towns. In the East Indies we had completely triumphed over them. What necessity could therefore impel us to sue for a peace, which would promote an intercourse the wisdom of the legislature had prohibited, but which war only could effectually prevent?

Lord Grenville spoke next against the motion. He considered the various arguments in its sup-

port, as inadequate to the proof of its expediency at the present time, and of its practicability during the ferment and implacable disposition manifested in the Convention.—The debate of this day would, in the mean time, he observed, satisfy those who had heard it and the public at large, that government had not acted rashly by prosecuting the war on the principles that moved them to undertake it. The people would be convinced that it was both just and necessary, and not entered into from ambitious and sinister motives. They would see how much it was their interest, as well as their duty, to preserve this country uncontaminated by those pernicious maxims that had filled France with all manner of woe; and from being one of the most agreeable countries in Europe, had converted it into one great and dismal scene of misery and horror. The designs of the French against the European governments, particularly that of Great Britain, were the constant topics of declamation both in the conventional and other assemblies. Such was their universal animosity to this country, that were it in their disposition to negotiate, no man among them would take upon him to be a negotiator. The abettors of the war had been desired to comprize in any two words its real motive. The answer required but one, Security. Provocation to war had been given to the German powers, and to Great Britain, which studiously sought to avoid a quarrel. The reproach of having altered the system of a fifteen years peace into that of a needless and expensive war, was unfair and illiberal. Could the minister foresee

future contingencies? Was there at that time any symptoms of the dreadful explosion that since happened in France? The complaints of opposition respecting the treatment of M. Chauvetin were highly unjust: that minister exerted all the abilities he was master of to sow the seeds of sedition in this country; and was at the bottom of some projects of actual insurrection. He had done sufficient mischief to merit an instant dismissal, and to authorize the conduct of ministers towards him, notwithstanding the pains taken to describe them as haughty and overbearing. The partizans he had gained were not, at this very hour, inactive; and were striving with all their might to effect the purposes of which he had recommended the execution. The words and phrases they had borrowed from the French republicans, they were continually endeavouring to introduce in all discourses, for the purpose of rendering them familiar and acceptable to the public.

Notwithstanding the pressure of the war, commerce flourished, and the national resources were productive of all the means that were wanted for the public service. They were levied in a fair and regular manner; not with that disorderly violence and compulsion which characterized the management of the French finances, and subjected individuals to continual acts of extortion and rapacity.

In reply to these allegations, it was observed by the Marquis of Lansdowne, that several of his arguments, and of those adduced by the Duke of Grafton, had been represented in a light that placed them, together with the other dis-
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approvers of the ministry, among the worst enemies to their country. But if what they had said was strictly attended to, and fairly repeated, it would be found that they had spoken truths highly disagreeable perhaps to ministers, but no less necessary to be known to the public. Ought it not, for instance, to be told, that in Birmingham, a manufacturing town of the first reputation in Great Britain, business had so decreased, that since the breaking out of the war no less than four thousand individuals had been added to the poor's rate? In the country towns traders were daily breaking; and incessant complaints were made of the heavy burdens laid upon them. These were occurrences not to be denied or explained away by specious reasonings. The nation in general, not only those who were averse to the war, but even those who approved of it, were equally loud in censuring the inequality of treatment experienced by multitudes in the repartition of taxes, at the time when they ought to be apportioned with the most rigid equity to every person's real capacity to pay them; and not promiscuously imposed without sufficiently attending on whom they fell. Another grievance too, of a scandalous nature, and of long standing, demanded seriously to be redressed. This was the prodigious number of sinecures, and of places of little other efficiency than to produce emoluments and perquisites to persons in the service or favour of ministers. Another grievance existed, greatly offensive to a very considerable part of the nation, and deeply reflected on its honour and generosity:—The vast body of the dissenters, notwithstanding their firm and noted attach-

ment to the British constitution, and to the family on the throne, had of late been distinguished by some acts of the legislature, as a dangerous combination of disaffected subjects, watching for opportunities to bring forward innovations inimical to the interests of the kingdom: but what were those innovations? To enjoy the same rights in civil matters as the other subjects of Great Britain. Various arguments were urged against their demands; but the real cause of their meeting with a refusal, was their attachment to the principles of the opposition. They had certainly an uncontrollable claim to every right enjoyed by their fellow-subjects, and it was a shameful grievance to withhold them. The duty of ministry in these critical times, was to conciliate all parties and all persuasions.

The debate closed, by 103 against the motion, and only 13 in its favour.

The great and unexpected success which had attended the arms of the French republic in the close of the year 1793, had so materially reversed the relative situation between them and the coalition, that all those lofty ideas and expectations it had indulged previously to the beginning of the last campaign, were totally obliterated. Defence, much more than conquest, was become the objects of the most judicious of their enemies, who clearly perceived, that to effect a reduction of so large a country as France, inhabited by a people so numerous, so determined to resist them, and animated by motives that had produced such wonderful exertions, was a task to be accomplished only by enemies impelled by motives equally cogent and enthusiastic.—But the situation of the subjects of the

the various princes forming the coalition, held out no objects sufficiently strong to stimulate them in like manner. This was a circumstance, however, which they did not sufficiently consider. The events of the latter part of the campaign, though conspicuously influenced by the national disposition of the French, they still viewed as mischances solely occasioned by the ordinary causes, that decide of ill fortune or of success, and were not willing to relinquish the hopes in which they had primarily indulged, and which had been the basis on which the coalition was originally founded. These hopes were generally understood to be the same that actuated the junction of Austria and Prussia, when they availed themselves of the distractions and feuds of an ill-governed and divided nation, to deprive it of independence, and partition it between them and other powers, without whose concurrence such a transaction could not have happened.

But whatever ideas the continental members of the coalition still continued to entertain, the ruling powers in Great Britain began to remit of the sanguine prospects with which they had entered into the confederacy against France.—Instead of the triumphant career they had promised to the public, they found themselves necessitated to apply to it in a far different style from what they had hitherto adopted. On the 6th of March a motion was made by Mr. Pitt for an augmentation of the militia, in order to provide for the better security of the kingdom against a menaced invasion by the French. To this measure he added another, which was to levy a volunteer force of horse and foot in every county.

The first of these motions was agreed to; but the second warmly opposed by Mr. A. Taylor, as injurious to agriculture and industry.

It was observed by Mr. Francis, that after boasting of the successes we had obtained over the enemy, whose inability to resist had boldly been asserted a twelvemonth ago, we were now called upon to make the most serious preparations against the danger of his invading this country. That such a danger did exist he was inclined to believe, from the less arrogant language now adopted by ministers; and would not for that reason oppose the augmentation proposed.

After some members had spoken in favour of the motion, Mr. Fox rose, and in a speech of considerable length, severely reprehended the conduct of ministry. Greater exertions were now required, he said, than when this country had not a single ally to face the united strength of America, Holland, Spain, and France, and was hourly threatened with an invasion: and now, with a marine decidedly superior to that of the enemy (without consulting parliament) and almost all Europe to assist us, France alone, represented as unsuccessful, was able to intimidate us. During the American war our danger was real, but did not appear so great as ministers affected to describe it. He would nevertheless assent to the motion for augmenting the militia.

Mr. Ryder, in reply, took notice, that though incapable of persisting much longer in the contest, the French might, however, in some of those momentary exertions that had proved so successful and astonishing, meet again with the like success;

cess, unless we were duly prepared to counteract them.

To this Mr. Grey made answer, that these momentary exertions had lasted uninterruptedly from the beginning to the end of the campaign; and that, from the extreme anxiety of ministers, it appeared, notwithstanding the advantages gained by the armies of the coalition, that the situation of this country, instead of better, was worse; and that we were now in more danger than at the beginning of hostilities. The motion, after some more observations on both sides, was now carried.

On the 17th of March a warm debate took place in the House of Commons. The ministry had issued a requisition, under the name of a recommendation, for the raising of volunteer companies of horse and foot, in order to preserve internal peace, and suppress domestic insurrections; and to aid the military, if necessary, to repel an invading enemy. The measure was condemned by the opposition as unconstitutional; and the voluntary subscriptions proposed to support it, were in particular declared unlawful, without the specific consent of the legislature. In a subsequent discussion on the 21st of March, Mr. Sheridan demanded, whether that recommendation proceeded from the secretary of state? and in case it did, that it should be communicated to the House, which must of course be apprized of it, as it related to the levying of troops and money. The minister's reply was, that the recommendation was no more than a method adopted by ministry to direct it in the formation of a plan to be presented to the House as soon as

proper estimates of the expence had been regularly made out. Letters having been written by government to the lieutenants of the several counties on this subject, Mr. Sheridan required they should be produced: but this being refused, he gave notice that he would move the House to declare its disapprobation of the measure. The minister, in answer to this, asserted that it was founded on precedent; and that money thus raised, had in various instances been expended in the support of troops, as it was proposed in the case before them. Pursuant to the notice he had given, Mr. Sheridan resumed this business on the 24th of March. Being informed, he said, that a principal member of the coalition was about to leave it; he would of consequence gladly see the kingdom put into such a posture of defence as might secure it from the danger accruing from this unexpected dereliction: but this did not authorize any description of men to consult together how to raise and pay a military force without the consent of Parliament. This was the more censurable, as they did not act from their own motion, but by the direction of a secretary of state. But what aggravated it still more, was the notice publicly given in the papers, that those who refused compliance with this direction, would be considered as enemies to government. Ministers in this matter had grievously offended. — Why did they not consult Parliament, without applying to lieutenants and magistrates of counties, who certainly could claim no right to levy money on the subject? He moved, in conclusion, an address to the King for a communi-

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cation of all the papers relating to this subject.

Mr. Western added, that if the crown were once allowed to raise money, under the pretext of benevolences, there would be an instant stop put to the exercise of all the rights and duties of parliament. Exclusively of its privilege to legislate, the power of raising money by imposing taxes, belonged solely to that body; but the scheme in contemplation would transfer this power to the executive department. Were this to happen, there would be no further occasion for parliament to meet, as it would then be divested of all its authority and importance.

To these reasonings Mr. Pitt replied, that voluntary contributions for levies, when these were assented to by parliament, were strictly legal, and consistent with the precedents; and that a message from the King would be brought to the House on the subject in question.

Mr. Fox insisted, on the other side, that the precedent alluded to by ministers, was totally irrelevant. The contributions during the American war were truly voluntary, as no official authority had prompted them; but, in the present case, it was plain that the executive power had assumed the right of demanding pecuniary assistance from the people, without the intervention of parliament; which was undeniably unconstitutional, and subversive of all the laws that had so carefully provided against the levying of any money but with the positive and formal consent of the representatives of the nation.

He was followed by Mr. Francis,

who asserted that ministry was under no necessity of recurring to such a method of obtaining money: it was both irregular and needless. The readiness of parliament to grant supplies, was unquestionable. To what intent had ministry resorted to any other medium, unless to create a precedent unfavourable to the commons, and to produce jealousy and discord among individuals?

Mr. Serjeant Adair, who spoke next, did not deny the illegality of the mode recommended; but he exculpated ministry, on the ground of expediency at the present juncture, and as nowise aiming at infringements of parliamentary rights. It was altogether an abstract question, better avoided than brought into discussion.

A contrary opinion was expressed by Mr. Grey, who said he thought it incumbent on the House to pass a censure of disapprobation on the measure, as militating against the laws and constitution of the realm. The question being put, was carried in favour of ministry.

A message from the King was delivered to the House on the 25th of March, purporting the intention of the enemy to invade the kingdom, and requiring the necessary succours to oppose him, by increasing the militia; and informing it, at the same time, that, relying on its concurrence, the King had issued orders to that purpose. A corresponding address was moved by Mr. Dundas, to assure the King of the readiness of the House to concur in all the measures requisite for the prosecution of the war, as just and necessary. The address proposed, was carried without opposition.

The ministry's attempt to procure

secure subscriptions without application to parliament, had, in the mean while, created much dissatisfaction. It was vigorously opposed in several counties; and counter-resolutions entered into by meetings for that purpose. That which was published by the county of Surrey, on the 27th of March, merits recording. It was conceived in the following terms: "Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting, that it is their duty to refuse any countenance to private subscriptions at the requisition of ministers, for public purposes; but that we are ready at all times to stand forward in any constitutional manner, in support of our King and country, against all foreign and domestic enemies.

On the 28th of March, Mr. Sheridan, agreeably to the notice he had given, moved in the House, that it was dangerous and unconstitutional for the people of this country to make any loan of money to parliament. He asserted that ministers had, in the business of the subscriptions, aimed rather at establishing the legality, than at deriving any present utility from them. Were the Sovereign entitled to procure supplies from the meetings of counties, or of private individuals, he would be released from the necessity of explaining for what purposes he wanted them, to the representatives of the nation; of whom he would immediately become independent, or, in other words, absolute. It was prudent, therefore, to prevent any popular infatuation from producing such effects, by limiting the power of granting money to the nation at large, regularly convened in parliament; but in the

instance now before the House, it was well known that the subscriptions were not so voluntary as represented. Persons employed in the collection of the revenue, and the other numerous dependants and emissaries of ministry, chiefly composed the list of subscribers: but were such a measure not repugnant to the constitution, still it was attended with an impropriety that would soon be manifested. The sums already required for the expences of the year, amounted to no less than thirty-five millions. This surely was an enormous requisition, without recurring to further exactions. But so great was the zeal of this nation presumed to be for the important objects held out to it, as the motives of the war, that the very extremest exertions of which it was capable were confidently looked for; but ministers misreckoned, if they relied on those causes as productive in the degree that some of their most zealous advocates expected. Numbers might doubtless subscribe; but what a proportion of them would act from mere compulsion! The influence of government and of its many adherents, together with the dread of being considered as disaffected, could not fail powerfully to help out the subscription. Personal ostentation and interested motives would also contribute towards it; but the aggregate of its produce would not answer the prospect of those who might indulge sanguine hopes of its being very considerable.

These reasonings were opposed by the Attorney General, who justified the conduct of ministers, as agreeable to precedents and constitutional

stitutional authorities. He cited the letters written by the Marquis of Lansdowne, then Lord Shelbourne, while in office, to the Lieutenants of counties, in 1782, as a case precisely similar to the present; and mentioned the raising of companies by private subjects, at their own expence on other occasions, in much the same light.

Mr. Fox, in answer to this, affirmed, that in that letter no money nor subscription had been solicited, nor any received. The precedent which the ministry were endeavouring to establish, amounted in reality to an order from the King to the people, unconstitutional in a British monarch, as being inconsistent with the freedom of a British subject. It would certainly tend to keep alive those jealousies of the executive power which had of late excited so powerful and extensive a spirit of democracy; nor was the measure deserving of the pains taken to carry it. Three hundred thousand pounds was the utmost it would produce. Was the public, for so paltry a consideration, to be exposed to party feuds and disturbances?

The sentiments expressed by Mr. Wyndham, on this subject, were that the subscriptions recommended were essentially different from the benevolences and compulsory loans formerly used, and justly reprobated. If the letter in 1782 did not specify subscriptions, still its purport could be no other; as without money no arms nor accoutrements could have been provided for the men, nor pay to maintain them. He strongly vindicated himself from the accusation of inconsistency, so frequently alleged against him. He did not, he said, covet the praise of consistency by

remaining in error; and would always be governed by his conviction of what was right, however this might make him appear to have changed his opinion. He concluded, by saying that the opposition of the present day resembled that of the year 1745; which, to favour the cause of the Pretender, declared the country was in no danger.

These assertions, made use of on the part of Mr. Wyndham, drew an animated reply from Mr. Sheridan, who recalled his remembrance to the vehemence with which he used to inveigh against the present minister; and spoke with great severity of his dereliction of the minority. There were, said Mr. Sheridan, some fundamental principles, which no man could be justified in forsaking. To grant no supplies to the crown, but through parliament, was the essential part of the constitution. To relinquish this privilege, was to empower the crown at once to corrupt parliament, and subvert liberty. So far, however, was opposition from impeding the ministerial plans of defence, that it was ready to legalize the subscriptions they had recommended, provided they were not drawn into a precedent. The debate concluded with a majority of 170 for the previous question.

The lawfulness of the subscriptions was warmly debated in the House of Lords, on the 28th of March, and supported, as well as attacked, by much the same arguments as in the House of Commons.

Lord Lauderdale observed, that parliament had always been extremely attentive in watching and preventing the success of attempts of this nature, which had often been made by the crown, and resisted

sisted by the legislature. The influence of the crown was an object that could not be too seriously opposed. Years ago, when not arrived at its present magnitude, the House of Commons had formally voted that it had too much increased, was still increasing and ought to be diminished. The present war had sufficiently evinced the vast accession of power to ministers, who rewarded their adherents, and punished their opposers in a manner that alarmed all men of independent principles. The newspapers in the ministerial pay were instruments of their severest vengeance: whoever thwarted their measures, were described as foes to their country; and some persons of rank and importance had been indirectly accused by them of receiving wages from the French for opposing government. He contended, at the same time, that ministry, by their present efforts, were striving to raise the executive department to a higher degree of power than ever: were it invested with the prerogative of levying money without consulting the great council of the nation, parliament, what more would be needed to place that department above all controul? He would therefore move that it was unconstitutional and dangerous to grant to the executive government any private aid or benevolence for public purposes, without the consent of parliament.

He was answered by Lord Hawkesbury, who insisted on the obvious difference between a forced contribution and a voluntary gift.

The Earl of Derby observed, in favour of the motion, that compulsion consisted in terror as much as in actual violence. To his know-

ledge several persons had joined the subscription against their approbation, out of the fear of becoming marked men if they refused.

The Marquis of Townshend contended; on the other side, that in the county of Norfolk, of which he was Lord Lieutenant, the people were strenuously disposed to subscribe, from their zeal for the constitution, and the preservation of their country against the attempts of the disaffected to introduce French principles and government. Individuals, acquainted with the sentiments of their neighbours, would certainly be the properest to be employed in watching their motions, and defeating their machinations. The evil-disposed were numerous, and could only be known to those who dwelt in the same places, and who would therefore be nearer at hand to suppress them than regular troops fetched from a great distance. In this light the scheme in agitation was highly useful and salutary: it tended most effectually to secure the public peace, by keeping in constant readiness, every where, men who could be depended on for their loyalty and attachment to government, and who, being of the middle classes, were interested in preventing disturbances, and protecting industry and property.

The Earl of Caernarvon additionally observed, that to consult with individuals, legally convened in county meetings, about the means of levying men, or with private gentlemen engaging to raise companies or regiments on their own funds, were transactions similar to each other; if the latter were lawful, the former must be the same. Money was the medium to be procured

cured in both cases, without appealing to parliament. In 1782, the great towns were called upon by letter, officially directed to them, to furnish a certain number of men, stating to them what share of the expence government would bear. Was not this a clear intimation that the other share must be defrayed by them? What were the subscriptions now proposed, but precisely a repetition of that measure?

The discussion of the present question was greatly censured by the Lord Chancellor, as too much involved in theory. Facts were the best principles to consult. In the year 1745, twelve noblemen offered each to raise a regiment at his own expence: their offers were accepted, and provision was made by parliament for the subsistence of those levies, notwithstanding the cavils raised against ministers upon this occasion. The business in agitation ought, in his opinion, to be maturely weighed, before liberty was taken to censure it. The letters to the lieutenants laid before them a scheme, which they were, in conjunction with others, to examine, in order to settle the method of carrying it into execution, previously to its introduction to parliament. Such a line of proceeding could not be illegal, as all pecuniary negociations with ministers were transacted in the same manner, before they were brought into parliament for its approbation or dissent. The discussion ended by a majority of 76 against the motion.

Mr. Pitt, conformably to the notice he had given, moved, on the 1st of April, for a committee on the bill for the encouragement of those who should voluntarily enrol

themselves for the general defence of the kingdom, during the war.

Hereon Mr. Francis enquired, whether, in case the bill should pass, it were to be understood that subscriptions for raising troops would be considered as thereby sanctioned by parliament? Precedents in this matter ought not to be viewed as principles: the conduct of persons in office was no rule to those who succeeded to them, any more than the measures sanctioned by our parliament could bind another to give them the same approbation. The legislature ought to direct its principal attention much more to what should be, than to what had been done. Taking the measure proposed in this point of view, he judged it illegal and dangerous.

When the bill came to a third reading, it was again firmly opposed by Mr. Francis, as contradictory to the bill of rights, which, in the most express and positive terms, prohibited the levying of money without the concurrence of parliament.

He was followed by Lord Wycomb, who contended that the plan contained in the letter of 1782, was entirely dissimilar to that of the present subscriptions: the former went to arm the people, the latter to arm the crown; the former appealed to the opinion and inclinations of the people; the latter was intended to controul them. According to the plan of 1782, the officers were to be appointed by the lieutenants of the countries; according to the present, by the crown; by the former, those officers were to be men of property in that part of the county in which they were to command: and the men were not to be called out but in case of actual danger; but by the present

no such qualifications were required in the officers; and the men were liable to the utmost severity of martial law, on the least appearance of a riot: the former raised no supplies, the intent of the latter was to raise them independently of parliament.

In reply to Lord Wycomb, Mr. Pitt contended, that whatever could be alleged for the justification of the former of these measures, equally justified the latter: the former, far from precluding subscriptions, was so much understood to recommend them, that the county of Surrey, which already maintained a considerable body of men by subscription, on receiving that letter, construed it into a recommendation of that tendency, and actually added three companies by means of new subscriptions: no exceptions however were taken at this proceeding. When several regiments had been raised by noblemen in their private capacity, for the service of government, in 1745, Lord Hardwicke, a name of the first authority, decided the lawfulness of the transaction. If a dozen noblemen were authorized to employ their funds in this manner, why should not some hundreds of loyal subjects be allowed to do the same? Subscriptions for the public service carried nothing dangerous in them; and subjects ought, in reason, to be at liberty to apply their property to so laudable a use. The statutes formerly enacted against that method of levying money, called a Benevolence, were in fact a real relief to the people, by shielding them from arbitrary exactions. But were free and voluntary donations to be classed with tyrannical extortion? The subscriptions now proposed

would, besides their general utility, produce an effect of particular consequence at this critical time: they would convince the French that the English went heart and hand with government.

Mr. Fox animadverted severely on this latter argument. Far, said he, from operating to that end, the subscriptions would probably tend to confirm the French in their idea, that the majority of the nation disapproved of the war, from the inconsiderable number of subscribers when compared to the multitudes that would not subscribe. Two descriptions of men might reasonably be expected to refuse: those who looked on the measure as unconstitutional; and those who denied the good policy of the war. They were both extremely numerous, and yet as firmly inclined and ready to oppose the aggression of a foreign enemy, as the warmest adherents to ministry.

In addition to the plan of raising an internal force by voluntary subscriptions, Mr. Pitt brought a proposal before the House on the 7th of April, to enable the subjects of France to enlist in the King's service on the continent of Europe, and to employ French officers as engineers, under certain restrictions. Many advantages, he was of opinion, might result from such a measure, considering how deeply they were interested in our success, and how zealously they were attached to the cause for which we were contending. Two amendments to this proposal were moved: the first by the Attorney-General, to oblige those who enlisted, to take the oath of allegiance; the second, by Mr. Sheridan, to limit the operation of the bill to twelve months, the term

to which the mutiny bill was confined. The former of these amendments was adopted; the latter rejected by a majority of 97.

Mr. Sheridan succeeded however in proposing, that no greater number of these troops should be stationed within the kingdom than 5000.

But on the second reading of the bill, it was most strongly opposed by Mr. Baker, on account of its wanting a specific statement of the numbers to be enlisted, and its allowing them to be quartered on British ground. Mr. Sheridan now declared himself against the bill, and among other motives, alleged the certain death awaiting these men, if defeated; asking, at the same time, whether in such case we could venture to retaliate? Mr. Burke immediately replying in the affirmative, was vehemently reproved by Mr. Sheridan, for letting fall an expression that might prove so fatal to our own troops, and lead to scenes of reciprocal bloodshed, unprecedented in the wars between Europeans. He strongly insisted on the danger of committing to the disposal of the crown an army of 50 or 60,000 men, all strangers and sworn enemies to the very name of liberty.—Mr. Burke's answer was full of asperity towards the present, and of praise of the late government of France; and he concluded it by asserting, that if the property wrested, in France, from its ancient owners, were not restored to them, property would not exist ten years longer in England. The motion was carried by a majority of 185.

The commitment of the bill was carried by a majority of 102. When it came to a third reading, it was again opposed by Mr. Harrison,

who remarked that it was highly imprudent, while we were under the apprehension of being invaded by the French, to put arms into the hands of those multitudes of emigrants in England, who might very probably be tempted, by the hope of pardon, to join their countrymen.

He was seconded by Mr. Fox, who considered the bill as an engagement on the part of this country, to restore to the emigrants the possessions from which they had been ousted, and to re-establish the ancient government: but so arduous an attempt must not only prolong the war, but render it so bloody and destructive, as to alienate the two nations from each other, in a degree that neither prudence nor humanity could justify. The successes that might attend our arms would not alter the sentiments of the French: they were indifferent about their distant settlements, while they preserved France itself. They were not fighting for remote objects; their safety at home, and their independence of foreign masters, occupied them entirely. To conquer such a people, we must attack them in their own country; it was there only we could bring them to subjection. But would any man, not bereaved of reason, recommend such an attempt? Why, therefore, should we so much forget past experience, as to imagine that, after the most resolute as well as the most numerous bodies of royalists had repeatedly failed in their endeavours to resist the French government, we should be more likely to succeed through the help of an inconsiderable number that had fled their country, and whose prowess had not been tried? Notwithstanding the

the advantageous descriptions of France under the monarchy, he too, said Mr. Fox, had travelled in that country, and could with truth affirm, that the circumstances of the peasantry were wretched and miserable to a degree not exceeded by that of the poorest inhabitants of any part of Europe. Dreading to be reduced to that deplorable situation, could they refrain from indignation and fury, when they were told that the powers in the coalition against France had taken up arms for the avowed purpose of forcing them back to that state of misery?

In answer to Mr. Fox, it was alleged by Mr. Dundas, that the present rulers of France could not be viewed as possessed of any stable power. If appearances could be credited, they were not less hated than dreaded by the generality of the people. Were these well assured of being supported, it was the opinion of good judges, that they were ripe for an insurrection against the republican system. It would, therefore, be wanting to ourselves to omit the opportunity of trying what might be effected by embodying those numerous emigrants that had long testified a desire of being employed in some enterprize against the usurpers of power in their own country, and to restore its ancient government. An enterprize of this kind was the more deserving of encouragement, that none could be so well acquainted with the means of forwarding it in France; natives of that country, conversant in all its affairs, and in possession of numerous connexions, united to them by relation or friendship, and above all, by an identity of sentiments on the transactions of the

times. But a motive, paramount to all others, for using our utmost efforts to compel France to change its system of government was, that while it subsisted, no other system was safe.

As to the fate awaiting the emigrants, if unsuccessful, they knew it, and had made up their minds for what might happen, undismayed and fearless of events. No less than a force of 500,000 men had been mentioned as requisite for the subverting of the French republic. Such a force would be highly acceptable to every one that sincerely wished for a suppression of the enormities that had so long afflicted France and menaced all Europe; yet a more moderate number would suffice for that purpose, and exonerate this country from the unhappy necessity of lavishing so much blood and treasure for the accomplishing of so desirable an end.

Mr. Dundas was supported by Mr. Burke, who declared it was more for the honour and benefit of the emigrants to accept of this opportunity of recovering their just rights, than to linger away their lives in banishment and dependence. He then spoke with his usual asperity of the proceedings and character of the French, against whom the coalition of all governments was, in his opinion, fair and lawful, as the foes of those civil and religious rights hitherto enjoyed in the worst of times, and through all the vicissitudes of political events, by the various classes of society, without disturbance or fear of deprivation. Under pretext of asserting the liberties of mankind, they sought the extension of their dominations, and the increase

of their influence and power, in order, at the same time, to introduce everywhere a conformity to their destructive precedents.

To these charges Mr. Sheridan replied, that it merited an enquiry, how far the iniquities of which the French had been guilty, were to be ascribed to the character and disposition of the natives of France, or to the sentiments and examples they had imbibed and copied from their former government.

Other members spoke for and against the bill; which was carried after a long and tedious contest.

It was opposed in the House of Lords, on the same ground as in that of the Commons. Among other arguments, it was urged by Lord Albemarle, that it was bad policy to collect, under the same standard, men of different opinions on the very subject for which they were brought together. The French, who were to be enrolled for the service proposed, had emigrated at different times, and from different motives, and were rootedly averse to each other's sentiments.

Lord Hawkesbury, in defence of the bill, represented how little could be apprehended from so inconsiderable a body of men as 50,000, no more being allowed by the bill to land in this country at a time; and they were not on any pretence to move beyond five miles from the sea.

The Duke of Bedford contended with great animation against the compulsion exercised upon the emigrants, who were called upon, under the penalty of disgrace, to take an active part in measures that must lead them to destruction. Other ways of providing for these

unfortunate people might have been discovered. Much had been held out by ministers about the little probability of Robespierre's continuing long in power but his fall would at no time accelerate the subversion of the French republic: it was founded on the consent and support of millions, and by no means depended on the life of one single man.

The Marquis of Lansdowne spoke after the Duke of Bedford. He warmly reprobated the idea of retaliation, and reminded the House of the consequences it had produced in America. Some of the emigrants, he noticed, had expressed their hope, that they would be joined in France by large numbers of the peasantry on the lands and estates formerly their own: but was it likely that men, who had so grievously felt the oppressions exercised upon the rural classes under the ancient government, would forget them, in order to return to the arbitrary subjection and servitude in which they were held by their former masters? He had lately conversed with persons of probity and information, who had, not long since, had occasion to travel over many parts of France; and they positively asserted that the country was in a more flourishing state of cultivation and the people in better circumstances than before the revolution. He concluded by declaring himself an enemy to the erection of barracks and the introduction of foreign armies.

Other Lords expressed themselves for and against the bill.

Lord Stanhope, in particular, took occasion to speak with great acrimony of the slight and contempt with which some persons of exalted rank

rank affected to treat the Rights of Man. It was, he said, to the spirit with which those rights had been maintained in this country, that those persons owed their exaltation. Whenever that spirit was departed,

their greatness would cease, as liberty, its only foundation, would be no more. The debate now came to a termination, by a division of 51 for the bill, and of 7 only against it.

CHAP. XIII.

Treaties concluded between the British Minister and the several Members of the Coalition. Motion against it in the House of Commons. Debates thereon. Motion by Lord Stanhope in the House of Peers, for abstaining from farther Interference in the Domestic Concerns of France. Motion by Lord Hawkesbury, for the Employment of British Seamen discharged from the Navy in Time of Peace. Motion by Mr. Grey, relative to the Failure of the British Arms at Dunkirk and Toulon. Debates thereon. Finances of India. A Message from the King to Parliament, concerning a Pecuniary Subsidy to Prussia. Debates thereon. Discontents and Jealousies entertained by the North-American Provinces of Great Britain. Moderate and wise Councils of the Americans. Differences between those Powers settled. Motions and Debates respecting these in both Houses of Parliament. Motion in the House of Peers, by the Duke of Bedford, for terminating the War with France. Motion to the same Effect, by Mr. Fox, in the House of Commons. Debates thereon in both Houses.

WHILE these various matters were in agitation, divers treaties concluded by administration, with the several princes forming the Coalition, the expences which these occasioned, and the obligations contracted, were objects of so much magnitude, that great alarm at their consequences to this country, had filled the minds of multitudes, not otherwise unfriendly to the measures of government, than as they thought it too precipitate in listening to the demands of its allies, who had objects to accomplish, which, however beneficial to themselves, did not interest Great Britain so deeply as to authorize the degree of exertion which they expected from the British ministry. The complaint to which these demands gave occasion

induced opposition to make them a subject of parliamentary debate. An address to the King was moved in the House of Commons, on the 6th of March, by Mr. Grey, for the purpose of expressing their concern that he should have formed a union with powers, whose apparent aim was to regulate a country, wherein they had no right to interfere. The King of Prussia had not taken up arms against France in consequence of the defensive treaty by which he was bound to assist Great Britain, in case of an aggression from that power; but a coalition had been formed with him and others against the French, who were not the aggressors in this war; by which this country was involved in enterprises injurious to its interest, and to the Liberties of Europe. He

supported this address by a variety of arguments. The views of Austria and Prussia, he asserted, were evidently ambitious and unjust. Their conduct towards Poland sufficiently proved their intentions towards France. Whatever our declarations had been for the constitution accepted by the late King of France, it was not approved by Austria. There was no faith in either of these powers. Had their first invasion of France been successful, the balance and freedom of Europe must have been lost.

The views of the combined powers were justified by Mr. Jenkinson, who stated, that the main object of the war was, to recover from the French the countries they had taken. The means employed to obtain this end were entirely proper. We could not be too solicitous in preventing the French from extending their dominions. The case of Poland, however blameable the conduct of the powers interested in the transactions relating to that state, was nowise applicable to the present war.

In reply to Mr. Jenkinson, it was asserted by Mr. Fox, that both moral and religious considerations should induce us to contrast the benefits derivable from our political connexions with the ignominious consequences attending them. Neither the French Convention, nor Jacobin club, had produced instances of perfidy so criminal as that of the King of Prussia to the Poles. After encouraging them to form a constitution, he had in the lapse of a year united with its disapprovers, and assisted in its destruction, from the hope of sharing in the dilapidation of the Polish monarchy. The different style in

which the French and their armies were spoken of, seemed to imply that the crimes of princes and of courts had a right to pass unnoticed, while those arising from anarchy merited the severest condemnation, and demanded the heaviest punishment. What could be baser than the conduct of Austria at the time of Dumouriez's defection? While the army that he had commanded was thought to adhere to his schemes, Prince Cobourg's manifesto declared a resolution to assist him in restoring the French constitution of 1789, founded on the principles of liberty. But as soon as that army had forsaken its General, that manifesto was immediately retracted. The treatment of that General after he had relinquished the service of the Convention, shewed what others had to expect who should imitate him, and put their trust in the honour or the policy of the allies. Was it in Prussia, in Austria, or in Russia we could confide, when we recollected their respective behaviour to Poland? But was France to be reduced, would the well-known animosities among the allies permit them to settle the affairs of that nation without broils and contests among themselves? Happily, however for Great Britain, the demands of the coalition upon her were so unreasonable and exorbitant, that all the impartial world must exculpate her, were she to throw off so oppressive and unnecessary a load.

In answer to Mr. Fox, those arguments were urged by Mr. Pitt that had already so often been adduced. It was happy, he said, that so many powers thought it their interest to unite with this country against France; and it were extremely

treely imprudent to dissolve such an alliance. A peace obtained at any rate would endanger this country much more than the continuation of war, which, for our own safety, ought not to be terminated but in conjunction with our allies. The resources of the allies were greater in the aggregate than those of the French. By patience and perseverance they must ultimately prevail.

Mr. Whitbread reminded Mr. Pitt of what had been affected by the Americans with far inferior resources to those of the French.

The same subject was debated in the House of Peers on the 18th of March. It was opened by the Earl of Guildford, who observed, that the House had the clearest right to advise the Crown against all engagements with foreign powers that might be detrimental to the kingdom. We were unhappily connected with some that had formed the vain project of conquering France; which, were it practicable, might not in the issue prove so beneficial to this country as to leave it unmolested in the settlement of its own concerns. Neutrality had once been reputed the wisest measure we could embrace; and no satisfactory reason had ever been assigned for the change that had taken place in our councils. He was of opinion, with many others, that the four great powers with which we had coalesced against France, entertained each separate views: and yet we had bound ourselves unalterably to second them, by consenting to no peace without their concurrence. Would they go the same length in our favour?—He concluded by making a motion

similar to that made by Mr. Grey in the Lower House.

Lord Hawkesbury acknowledged the right of the House to discuss the propriety of treaties; but insisted on the good policy of adhering to those that had been framed at the present juncture. He sincerely wished that not a power in Europe had remained neutral. The invasion of the Austrian Netherlands, and the attempts upon Holland, gave sufficient grounds for provocation, especially as France by the acquisition of the former was become so near and so dangerous a neighbour. The treaties viewed in this light were highly meritorious:—we could not frame too many when our security was so evidently threatened by an old and inveterate enemy, who, whatever his internal government might be, would probably continue such from a variety of motives.

Lord Lauderdale observed, that were the coalition to be prosperous, a subject of dispute would probably arise concerning the government to be established in France:—herein the coalesced powers would in all likelihood disagree, and a difference of this kind would not be terminated easily. It had been asserted, that government was obliged by no treaty to the re-establishment of the constitution accepted by the late King in 1791; but this very constitution had been made the ground of our reception at Toulon; and it would be a direct violation of the national faith, pledged by Lord Hood and the other commissioners, not to insist on its restoration. Many benefits had been promised from our successes in this war; but one evil is certain:—we should be loaded

with subsidies for our allies, who might, nevertheless, from motives of convenience, be extremely apt to abandon the confederacy.

The Earl of Mansfield maintained, on the other side, the need we stood in of allies, to accomplish the objects which the interest of this country evidently required. The mass of the French, though silent through fear, heartily desired the return of monarchy; and if duly supported, could more effectually restore it by their own exertions, than by the intervention of a foreign force.

The expressiveness of the treaties was severely condemned by the Marquis of Lansdowne. It was surprizing, he said, that a people circumstanced like that of Great Britain, could so readily be reconciled to sacrifice so much of their substance for the persecution of a quarrel in which such numbers of them must necessarily perish. The principle of trusting to the attachment and fidelity of the people in their defence, was manifestly reprobated by the coalesced princes. The King of Prussia had strongly objected to it from the danger, lest, when in arms, they might indulge the more freedom in political ideas, and imbibe some of those adopted by the French. This was a proof how conscious those princes were of the hard usage experienced by their subjects, and how little they merited their affection. Was the grandeur of such princes deserving of the efforts of this country to support it? and could its preservation redound to the benefit or honour of the British nation?

Lord Stanhope, one of the most strenuous opposers of a war which he deemed entirely ministerial, on

the 25th of March, made a motion in the Upper House against any further interference in the domestic concerns of France. He severely reprehended Lord Mansfield's opinion, that no expence ought to be spared by this country to procure as extensive an insurrection against the present government of France as money could effect in that country. He condemned it as contrary both to religious and political principles, and particularly to that system of civilized society which had so much contributed to soften the ferocious nature of war. He expatiated largely on the consequences of such an opinion, and on its tendency to kindle internal flames of discord in all countries. He reminded the House of the sufferings to which the continuation of the war must necessarily subject the people of this country, and of the injuries already sustained during the short space it had lasted. The speech and motion of Lord Stanhope were vehemently censured by Lord Mansfield and Lord Grenville, who moved that, in order to prevent the resolution proposed by Lord Stanhope from appearing on the journals of the House, it should be expunged.

The Lord Chancellor seconded Lord Grenville, by refusing to read the preamble to the resolution; which was negatived, and the motion for expunging it carried.

This method of preventing a disagreeable resolution from being recorded, gave great offence to opposition, and to others, who, though disapproving of Lord Stanhope's opinion, thought him entitled to insist on its insertion in the journals of the House.

Lord Lauderdale denied the right in

in the speaker of either House to mutilate or alter any motion; otherwise freedom of expression would gradually be obliterated. He moved in consequence, that motions should be put in the words they were made.

Lord Thurlow contended, that the proceeding complained of was orderly; and used with the sole view of obviating a more disagreeable manner of rejecting the motion.—A warm discussion followed, which was terminated by an adjournment, and the question itself left undecided.

In the midst of these parliamentary altercations, the public saw with much satisfaction a bill brought into the House of Commons, of such national utility, as to claim and command at once the concurrence of all parties. This was a bill introduced by Lord Hawkesbury, to take place at the end of the war, and by which a great number of seamen that must in consequence be discharged would immediately be provided with employment. The principal intention of the bill was to oblige all British merchantmen to be manned with three-fourths of British sailors; and coasting vessels to admit of no foreign seamen during peace. This latter regulation would prevent foreigners from becoming acquainted with our sea-ports; a knowledge often attended with danger in time of war. By another provision of this bill, no ship, without being duly registered as belonging to this country, should have the freedom of British ports. This would exclude vessels belonging to foreigners from the enjoyment of this privilege, and tend to augment the number of our own merchant-

men. He stated the quantity of shipping in Great Britain at sixteen thousand vessels, measuring more than one million of tons, and manned with one hundred and eighteen thousand British mariners: twelve thousand of these vessels belonged to England alone, and employed one hundred and seven thousand of those mariners. To such a summit of prosperity had the naval power of Great Britain risen within the last hundred years, that during the American war, Liverpool alone had fitted out privateers exceeding in tonnage and number of seamen the whole of the grand fleet employed by England against the Spanish Armada in 1588. At the restoration, in the year 1660, the shipping of England amounted to 95,000 tons; at the Revolution, twenty years after, 190,000; at the accession of the present Royal Family, in the year 1714, to 421,000; in the year 1750, to 639,000; in the year 1774, the year before the American war, to 796,000; and in 1792, the year preceding the present war with France, to 1,330,000.

The strong probability that the war would continue longer than had been confidently predicted by its approvers, began at this time to excite great alarm in the public mind. The majority had flattered themselves, that if the coalition were not able to compass all the designs it had originally proposed, still it would succeed in accomplishing many; and at all events, that France would be compelled to accede to such terms as might affect the tranquillity of Europe, and leave the French themselves in possession of an internal system of government, which, tho' not repugnant to the general sentiments of that nation,

tion, might prove not inconsistent with the views of the coalition.

But these expectations having totally failed, and the duration of the war appearing now uncertain, a determination to prosecute it until the coalition had obtained its ends seemed to have been adopted as a principle never to be relinquished. Those who were averse to the war itself, professing great zeal for the reputation of the British arms and councils, resolved to exert their abilities in the investigation of those causes to which the late failures were due. In pursuance of this resolution, the documents relating to the transactions of the last campaign were moved for by Mr. Grey and Major Maitland; but on being refused the inspection of them, Major Maitland, on the 18th of April, proceeded in the House of Commons to a retrospect of the occurrences of 1793. The transactions at Dunkirk and at Toulon were the objects of his animadversions, together with the projected expedition under Lord Moira. He entered circumstantially into the particulars of these matters, by moving for a committee of the House, to enquire into the causes which led to the failure of the army under the Duke of York at Dunkirk, and to those which occasioned the evacuation of Toulon under Lord Hood and General Dundas.

In opposition to Major Maitland, it was asserted by Mr. Jenkinson, that no exertions had been wanting on the part of ministry. The bravery of the British troops, and the prudence of those who guided our affairs, were alike unimpeachable. The attempt upon Dunkirk was defeated by the prodigious strength employed by the French in its defence.

No violation of agreement could be imputed to this country in the affair at Toulon. When the people in that place stipulated for the constitution of 1789, they could not certainly mean that of 1791. Due care had been taken, when that place was evacuated, to provide the means of safety to all who would accept of them. The success of the expedition commanded by Lord Moira depended entirely on the junction of the Royalists. Had they possessed a harbour for his landing, he doubtless would have landed, and done his utmost in their cause. The object in the view of government, was not to compel the French to embrace any particular form of government, but to put an end to those ambitious projects which the French republicans had formed and pursued ever since the extinction of monarchy. The Jacobin system had generated this restless spirit, and till that iniquitous scheme was destroyed, France would neither enjoy peace itself, nor suffer its neighbours to enjoy it. Notwithstanding the pretended impracticability of marching to Paris, this was the best plan that could be adopted. France was full of enemies to the Convention: were the allies resolutely to move forward, numbers would infallibly join them on their way.

Mr. Jenkinson was seconded by Lord Mulgrave and Sir James Murray. The first spoke in justification of the proceedings at Toulon, where he was present. The second, in vindication of the British commanders before Dunkirk, where the failure was attributed merely to the immense force brought to its rescue by the French, whose numbers were irresistible. The retreat

was made with order and spirit, and the loss not considerable.

Mr. Grey's motion was negatived by 168 to 35.

The affairs of India, after the dispatch of other business of less importance, were brought before the House by Mr. Dundas on the 4th of April. From the averages of three years preceding the war in India, and of the three years succeeding, he formed an estimate, by which it appeared, that the net improvement in the Company's affairs by reduction of debts and by increase of assets, amounted to 1,669,700*l*. The resources of the Company hereby were equal to the demands they had to answer. The British possessions in that part of the world he stated as in the most flourishing situation. The only European power that we apprehended, was no longer in existence; and the most dangerous of the native powers was completely disabled. Notwithstanding some of the domestic sales had been deficient, from the quantity of goods for sale being less than expected, the home debt had been decreased by payment of 300,000*l*. and there was no doubt that, the commercial difficulties of last year being removed, the demands for India goods would bring them to a good market, and compensate for all past deficiencies. It would however be expedient to permit the Company to increase their capital, by enabling them to continue their bonded debt at 2,000,000, and to issue new bonds for 1,000,000 more. This, on Mr. Dundas's motion, was agreed to accordingly.

On the 29th of April a message was delivered from the King, informing the House of Commons

of the treaty concluded with the King of Prussia; by which Great Britain and the States General had jointly stipulated to grant that monarch a larger subsidy for the prosecution of the war. When the terms were laid before the House, it appeared that 1,800,000*l*. were to be paid him for the services of a twelvemonth; of which Holland was to furnish 400,000*l*. The immensity of such a sum, advanced to a prince in whom little or rather no confidence was reposed, awakened the fears of those who dreaded his duplicity; and that being once in possession of this treasure, he would feel little concern for those from whom he had received it. This apprehension was the more justly founded, as he was privately negotiating with the French government at this very time, and preparing for that secession from the confederacy which he had already resolved on.

On a comparison of these enormous terms with the uncertainty of the services they were given to purchase, it was not surprizing that the most forward in the opposition should imagine that many would hesitate whether they ought in prudence to be granted.

On the very next day, Mr. Curwen moved the House to put off the conclusion of a business of such magnitude, for at least a fortnight, that the members might have full leisure for consideration. This motion gave birth to a warm discussion on its propriety, at a juncture when ministry insisted that the most expeditious decision was necessary: and its opposers contended, with no less obstinacy, that due time should be taken to weigh the reasons that might be adduced

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on both sides of the question.—Mr. Curwen was warmly seconded on this occasion by Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Harrison, and Mr. Francis; but the motion was negatived, and the following day appointed for a conclusive determination. This was the 30th of April.

Mr. Pitt entered on the subject by representing the inadequacy of the Prussian finances to the prosecution of the war, unless they were further supported by our own, to which only resort could be made on the present emergency. The main point to be considered was, the proportion of the expence incurred to the succours that were to be furnished: and this, he asserted, was very equitable. In this country, besides the disbursements for arms, clothing, and accoutrements, the levy-money amounted to fifteen pounds a man: whereas, all requisites included, we paid only thirteen pounds for a Prussian soldier; which was a more moderate price than that we gave either for the Hanoverians or the Hessians, or indeed for any continental troops. He then moved, that 2,500,000*l.* should be voted, to enable the King to fulfil his engagements with Prussia.

In answer to this motion, Mr. Fox observed, that it appeared from the minister's speech, that the King of Prussia was no longer to act in the original character of a principal in this war, but as a subsidiary ally; while the real fact was, that he first took up arms in this contest, and that we were only accessaries; though, by artifice and contrivance, we had been brought so much forward as to become the very heads of the confederacy. It was by assuming this imprudent situation, that we were called upon

to support all the members. The conduct of Prussia on this occasion, he asserted, was equally perfidious and mean. After involving this country in a quarrel which, but for the intrigues of that court, would have been avoided, it threw the burden upon us; and threatened to abandon the contest, unless we supplied the means of continuing it. With what face could the Prussian ministry require any confidence from this country, after betraying it into difficulties of their own creating, and leaving us to extricate ourselves without any aid from them, unless we paid for it? But what reason would our own ministry assign for entrusting the command of mercenaries to their master, after such proofs that no faith could be put in him, and that he was averse to any risk in this expensive and dangerous quarrel? Nor had ministry displayed much sagacity in trusting to the Dutch themselves for their share of the expence. They were known to be not zealous in the business, and providently determined to limit their concurrence therein to a twelvemonth.—He concluded by moving, that no larger sum should be voted for the purpose in question than 1,500,000*l.*—These arguments were combated by Mr. Wyndham, who added, that whatever the conduct of Prussia might have been, wanting men for the prosecution of the war, we could not procure them on more advantageous terms; and ought gladly to secure them. The amendment proposed by Mr. Fox was rejected by 134 against 33.

In the House of Lords, a message to the same effect was taken into consideration. Lord Grenville observed, that when this country applied

applied to foreign princes for the use of their troops, it was not from want of able men of our own to fight our battles; but good policy which led us to spare our own people for the cultivation of arts, businesses, and agriculture at home.—The worst policy, on the other hand, prompted our enemies to ruin their country, by draining it of every useful hand that could be torn from the necessary pursuits of a civilized nation, and sent into the field, where every useful habit was soon forgotten, and no improvements made but those of destruction. By those coercive means, the whole mass of society was forced into action;—but such efforts were too violent to be lasting. It was a dreadful but a short-lived exertion of all the strength and power of a nation; which being unnatural, and contrary to the fundamental principles of civilized society, must terminate in its dissolution as soon as the means of action produced by its cultivation began to fail. But while this exertion continued, our own should be proportioned to it, though not in the same desperate extreme. In order, therefore, to obviate so great an evil, we ought cheerfully to sacrifice all the wealth we could possibly part with, to procure such a proportion of strength, wherever it could be found, as would enable us to face the enemy until that period arrived, which must infallibly come when he would be radically exhausted. On this principle, the treaty with Prussia was founded. We thereby acquired a numerous and well disciplined force at much less cost than we could have obtained levies of raw men, unfit for service till a long space of train-

ing had elapsed. Had we not taken this method to secure that power, it would have been lost to the confederacy.

The sentiments expressed by the Marquis of Lansdowne on this occasion were, that ministry had unreasonably narrowed the time for considering the treaty with due attention. This treaty had most completely reversed the order of things. Prussia, the leader of the allied powers, could hardly now be viewed in any other light than as a hirer of troops to the coalition. But these subsidiary treaties had long been the channel through which the treasures of this country flowed into the coffers of our allies; who seemed to claim a presumptive right to load us with all the expences of our connections with them. But what amity subsisted between Prussia and Austria to unite their co operations against a common enemy? Their jealousies and suspicions of each other obstructed all cordiality; and the expence at which we underwent to encourage union between them, tended usually to render them rivals in rapacity, and eagerness which of the two could extort most from us, under the denomination of subsidies and loans, without reconciling them to each other. This mutual inveteracy was the cause of the ill success of the coalition: and would this treaty bring any remedy?—Prussia boasted that 70,000 of its choicest troops had been employed against the French; but that, with all their bravery and veteranship, they had been assailed by such multitudes, that valour and skill were unable to stem so incessant and overwhelming a torrent. This torrent was daily encreasing, and becoming

coming more irresistible; but instead of 70, we had little more than 60,000 Prussians to aid us in the approaching campaign; and these far from chosen troops. Upon what then did we build those sanguine hopes we were so confidently bid to indulge? The French royalists themselves complained that we held up no precise and determinate object to their view; and assigned this as a material discouragement, as it led them to suspect that plans of dismemberment and partition were in reserve for France, if the coalition were to crush the republicans. But this appeared a hopeless attempt, while the bonds of union between the confederates were so feeble:—it were imbecility to imagine that they felt a common cause with this country. They dissembled an attachment, while they felt our ability to supply their wants; and while this country and its allies remained on this respective footing, they were too wise to desert us. But as they entertained no cordiality for us, it were a contemptible debility to retain any towards them. The sooner we closed the difference between Great Britain and France, the readier this latter would be to meet us half way, and even to sacrifice some of the acquisitions we had made in the West Indies, in order to secure a cessation of enmity on our part.

The Earl of Mansfield insisted strongly on the good policy of the treaty. The subsidy he allowed to be the largest ever given; but no precedent subsisted of so critical an emergency. He expressed a favourable opinion of the King of Prussia's integrity, and violently reprobated the idea of compromising with the French in expecta-

tion of cessions in the West Indies. This would completely degrade us in the eyes of Europe, and prove ultimately the worst of policy, by detaching from us every ally whom the reputation of our national faith and honour had hitherto taught to look up to us with the highest confidence and respect. To preserve this reputation unsullied, we should not hesitate to stand firmly by the coalition, till such a government was established in France as would secure the future peace of Europe.

Lord Lauderdale noticed these last words, as an avowal that ministry were aiming at a specific mode of government in that country, notwithstanding the reiterated assurances that this country claimed no interference in the internal arrangements of France. He explicitly demanded whether, after the King of Prussia had broken the prior treaty, binding him not to desert his allies nor the prosecution of the war but by reciprocal consent, it became us to trust him? The breach of the latter might as readily be expected. A proof how little Prussia thought itself interested in this war, was the enormous subsidy it required for its co-operation. The grand foundation of all our fallacious hopes,—the fatal illusion which ministers were at so much pains and even expence, if same reported truly, to foster in their own minds, and to communicate to that of the public, was, that the capital of France was in a state of rapid consumption, and must soon come to an end: and he reminded the House of the instance in which physical productions, talents and virtues, had triumphed over the accumulations and the revenues of an extensive commerce.

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Notwithstanding this observation, which had been so often made, and ably illustrated in both Houses, as well as various productions of the press, though indeed the fact required but little illustration, we madly preserved in a course which supposed that the only nerve of power was finance, and that our own finances were inexhaustible.

Lord Hawkesbury affirmed, that though he could not foretell the period when it would arrive, yet it was easy to foresee, that want of means must inevitably befall a country, when every medium of public and private transaction was reduced to paper, esteemed of no value.

The debate closed with 90 in favour of the motion, and 6 against it.

While ministry were providing, at this enormous expence, for a vigorous prosecution of the war with France, the nation was on the point of being involved in a serious dispute with another republic. Since the recognition of the independence of the British colonies in North America, under the name of United States, they had preserved a watchful eye on the conduct of the British court and ministry, convinced that the loss of so considerable a portion of the empire had not been submitted to by the government of this country without the keenest regret; and that the re-acquisition of it at some future period, according to the usual spirit of sovereign powers in similar situations, was an idea not totally relinquished in the political speculations of our statesmen. On this ground they viewed the revolution in France, and its subsequent erection into a commonwealth, as events that added security to their own situation, by removing all pro-

bability that the French, after abjuring a royal government, would passively permit North America to revert by conquest to the British monarchy. They were of late become less disposed than ever to be satisfied with the conduct of Great Britain. A short time after the breaking out of the war with the French republic, the British government ordered all the American can vessels laden with corn to be seized, and their cargoes to be detained, paying a reasonable price for both those and freight. This behaviour was construed by the American states as an action of infraction on their independence; and was highly resented by the people at large in that country. This proceeding of the British government was not long after followed by one that gave still greater offence. In the ensuing month of November, an order was issued for seizing all American vessels carrying provisions and stores to the French colonies. The consequence was, that in the space of five months the number of American vessels seized in virtue of this order, amounted to more than six hundred:—nor were American vessels permitted to sail from the British islands without giving previous security that they would land their cargoes in British or in neutral ports. These transactions were accompanied by another, that excited universal alarm among the inhabitants of the United States. The British troops in Canada retook possession of some forts on the boundaries, which had been ceded to the Americans by the treaty of peace in 1783. All these different events had raised a great fermentation among them. Those who favoured the French represented the English as arming to re-

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cover the mastery of North America, and exhorted their countrymen to make one common cause with France, and immediately to commence hostilities with Great Britain. Another occasion of alarm was the conference held with several Indian tribes by Lord Dorchester, the governor of Canada. They had repaired to Quebec, in order to lay before him their complaints against the people of the United States, for encroachments on their territory. The answer they received, seemed to imply a design of hostilities on the part of our government.

These various occurrences had created much anxiety among the British merchants. The commerce with North America was a source of great benefit to this country: it employed nearly 250,000 tons of shipping, and took off an immense quantity of our manufactures. In case of a war, the navigation from Britain to the West Indies would suffer great and inevitable depredations from the numerous privateers with which the Americans would cover the West Indian seas. Our islands too would lie exposed to their attacks; and, in conjunction with the French, they would certainly attempt their reduction. Happily, however, both for Britain and the United States, moderate counsels prevailed in the Congress, over the anger expressed by the public at the treatment they had experienced. Notwithstanding the violent temper of the public, the government yielded no further to its fury than to lay an embargo on the British shipping in the American ports for thirty days. A minister was appointed to settle the differences between Great Bri-

tain and America. This was Mr. John Jay, chief justice of the United States; who repaired to England in the summer of 1794.—His memorial to the Secretary of State on the subject of his mission, was presented at a time particularly favourable to the remonstrances it contained. The allied armies in the Netherlands had been repeatedly defeated, and the events of war were decisive every where for France. He complained that a large number of American vessels had been irregularly captured and condemned in the British admiralty-courts; and that American seamen had been used with great severity, and compelled to serve on board British ships of war. Lord Grenville did not deny that irregularities had been committed; but attributed them to the difficulty of being avoided in a naval war of so vast an extent. He engaged at the same time that strict justice should be done, and due compensation also be made to every person, according to the loss he had sustained. He assured the American minister, that no intention was ever harboured to impress the natives of the United States; but, speaking the same language, it was extremely difficult to distinguish them from Englishmen. All possible precautions should henceforth be taken, in order to obviate all complaints of this kind, and to procure the fullest satisfaction and redress for all irregularities. This answer from the British minister rendered farther representations unnecessary, and fortunately brought about conciliatory measures between both parties.

In the mean time, the conduct of government towards America occasioned

casioned a motion in the House of Peers, on the 26th of May, by the Marquis of Lansdowne, for "An address to the King, requesting his Majesty to direct copies to be laid before the House, of the instructions sent to Lord Dorchester relative to all differences between this country and America, and such communications as had been made of conferences with the Indian tribes north-west of the Ohio."

Lord Grenville represented the necessity of annoying the enemy by all means, consistent with the law of nations: according to which the detention of ships going to France with provisions was justified, on payment of the cargo and also freights; conditions that were fully performed. These being valued, and honestly paid for, the American ships were released: an indulgence not allowed to other neutral states. The Americans had certainly no real cause to be offended at our detaining their ships for the sole purpose of purchasing their cargoes intended for our enemies; and which were paid for in British guineas instead of French assignats.

After some observation from the Marquis of Lansdowne, who stated that the law of nations did not authorize us to starve whole nations, nor interrupt the commerce of an independent people, his motion was negatived by 69 against 9.

A motion of the like tendency was made by Mr. Sheridan on the same day, in the House of Commons. Little stress was laid by opposition on the detention of the American vessels: and, for the affairs of Canada, Mr. Dundas positively asserted, that no instructions of an unfriendly kind to the Americans had been given to Lord Dor-

chester; on which Mr. Sheridan withdrew his motion.

Four days after, a debate of more importance took place in the House of Lords.—The Duke of Bedford, on the 30th of May, produced a series of resolutions for terminating the war with France. He pre-faced them by a retrospective of the principal events that had occasioned its commencement and continuance; stating the various views professed, at different times, by its promoters and abettors. He requested the House to examine the domestic and foreign situation of affairs; and whether, from the measures pursued, there was any likelihood of compassing the end proposed, of compelling France to submit to our terms. He then proceeded to the reading of his resolutions. From the facts on which these were founded, it appeared, he said, that the first ostensible motive of the war, was to oppose the navigation of the Scheldt, and to protect the Dutch from a French invasion: these ends having completely been accomplished, terms of pacification might have ensued on our part, instead of imprudently prolonging a contest, the profest object of which was attained; but our ministry had determined to interfere in the affairs of France, and declared accordingly for the re-establishment of monarchy. The French were charged with having first declared war; but had we not first given the provocation? After engaging in this war, on being promised the concurring aid of the other powers that formed the coalition, circumstances induced government solemnly to declare that, provided France established a government

on equitable principles, and capable of maintaining the accustomed relations of peace with other powers, this country, in treating for a pacification, would require only moderate and equitable conditions. If such were offered, said the Duke, the people of France would compel their rulers to accept them. As to the assistance to be expected from our allies, it was in us a matter of self-deception. We had, to use our own phrase, taken up arms in the defence of the rights of all nations: but Sweden, Denmark, and America, did not look upon us as acting in this light; and Venice and Genoa refused to join with us. Of our alliances, Russia did no more than promise; and Spain, Portugal, and Sardinia, had hitherto effected nothing; the latter, indeed, was a mere burden. Prussia, after first declaring war against France, and acting as a principal, had formally seceded from its engagements, and refused to act even as an auxiliary, without an exorbitant subsidy. Austria was approaching to a situation that would probably require the help of our finances, notwithstanding that it was more deeply interested in this war than any other member of the coalition. This conduct of the enemies to France had been invariably, said the Duke, marked by inconsistency and duplicity. Prince Cobourg, after uniting with Dumoriez to restore the constitution of 1789, and publishing a declaration to that purpose, totally revoked it four days after. All the other declarations, made subsequently by other members of the coalition, differed from each other, and could not, therefore, be relied on by that numerous party in

France, which, though attached to monarchy, knew, from past experience, the necessity of its being limited. The Constituent Assembly, whose form of a monarchical government was probably the wish of a majority of the French nation, were unquestionably, for the most part, persons not only of rank, but of virtue and abilities. The system they formed was doubtless imperfect, and required much emendation; but the calamities that afterwards befell the French, did not arise from this constitution, but from the intemperate dissatisfaction expressed by the neighbouring powers at the downfall of absolute power; which they considered as ominous, and preparatory to their own. This roused their enmity and malice at those who had effected this mighty change in the government of France. They combined their whole strength, and all their intrigues, to counteract it. Discord and suspicion unhappily spread throughout France. The unfortunate monarch, however pure his intentions, was, by the imprudent conduct of those who assumed the character of his friends, and supporters of his rights and dignity, rendered an object of jealousy and mistrust to all the violent partizans of liberty in his kingdom. Through the ill timed and injudicious denunciations against these, and the haughty declarations in his favour by the despotic sovereigns, who, with more zeal than sagacity, espoused his cause,—that well-meaning and worthy Prince became at last suspected of treachery to his people, and of being secretly leagued with the enemies of their newly acquired liberties. Hence a hatred of the monarch grew general

ral, and was easily converted by the furious republicans into a detestation of the very office of King. Such was the radical cause of all the enormities that had been perpetrated in France.

The Duke then adverted to the apprehensions so often expressed, that war was necessary to prevent the entrance of French principles into this country: but was it among a people enjoying such rational liberty as the English, that such principles would be admitted? They could be welcome only among a people made frantic by oppression. True freedom was the surest bar against licentiousness. But ministers, in the heat of their violence against French principles, had imitated, in various respects, the tyrannical conduct of the French government. No peace of any permanence, it was alleged, could be expected with France: but what treaties were proof against infraction, when opportunity and interest prompted men to break them? But breaches of public faith seldom failed to be attended with condign punishment. Reflecting seriously, therefore, on the probable consequences of continuing a contest hitherto so unproductive of the effects we had promised ourselves, and on the uncertainty of the reliance we had rashly placed on our confederates, it was our duty to consult our national safety, by refusing any longer to sacrifice our people and our substance in the vain pursuit of so unattainable an end as the subjugation of France.

Lord Auckland affirmed, in answer to the Duke, that the war was undertaken on just grounds; and that we had no other alternative to

preserve us from internal confusions and miseries: but despondency was inconsistent with so clear a truth, as, that the infatuation of the French must, in the nature of things, quickly terminate. Providence, he asserted, would not permit such a system of destruction to overrun mankind. We shortly should arrive at a close of this unfortunate, but indispensable war, and conclude it more auspiciously than either the open or the secret enemies of this country had taken upon them to prognosticate. Induced by these motives, he would move for an adjournment.

He was seconded by Lord Darnley and Earl Fitzwilliam. The latter observed, that it was highly becoming so high spirited a people as the English, to interfere in the defence of Europe: they had done it before, under the auspices of King William; and had resisted the ambition of France in the days of Louis XIV. with the universal approbation of all nations.

It was observed, on the opposite side, by the Duke of Grafton, that four years ago government would have involved this country in war with a long standing ally, in order to preserve the balance and the liberties of Europe; but was now labouring to destroy both, for the purpose of restoring an arbitrary government in France.

To adopt the resolutions proposed, would, it was asserted by Lord Mansfield, be highly dishonourable to parliament, after having so repeatedly approved the measures against which they were framed. France, he affirmed, and not Great Britain, had provoked the war. In proof of this affirma-

tion, he quoted a letter from Sieyès to Neckar, in which he addressed him in these remarkable words: "I shall ever regret that France has provoked war, and set all Europe against her."

Lord Lauderdale said, that it had been reiteratedly and confidently asserted, that the mass of the French nation was inclined to the restoration of monarchy; but that he had been in France, and from all he had seen and heard, would aver that assertion to be false. Were the coalition, therefore, to succeed in replacing a King on the French throne, the expence of maintaining him against the will of the majority, would form a weighty object of calculation.

The danger of interfering with the prerogative of the crown in the question of peace or war, was, by Lord Hawkesbury, represented as very great; particularly at this critical period. Were the French to imagine that the legislative department was at variance with the executive, their backwardness to peace would increase. Our allies too must necessarily be dispirited on suspecting a branch of our legislature to be inimical to a confederacy, of which this country was the soul. The surest means of re-establishing tranquillity in Europe was a change of government in France. Twenty-five millions were too numerous a people to be governed by republican maxims. The English, a less populous nation, had unsuccessfully attempted this form of government in the last century. The means of persevering in this important contest, were far from wanting. Money was continually flowing in from our conquests in the West Indies. Through the ac-

quisition of the French islands, the commerce of this country, and of course the national revenue, were incessantly increasing.

In answer to Lord Hawkesbury's ideas on a republic, the Marquis of Lansdowne observed, that no resemblance existed between the situation of England before the Restoration, and that of France at the present day. The division of property was much more equal now among the French, than it was then among the English; and this equalization was the very groundwork of a republic. Nothing, he continued, could more strongly prove a defect of political knowledge, than to presume that so enthusiastic a people as the French, in the united defence of their country and its opinions, could be reduced to subjection by the remains and the recruits of those veteran armies of Austrians and Prussians that had not been able to stand before them.

Lord Grenville, in opposition to the resolutions, contended that it were absurd to depend on any treaty with a government so shifting and unstable as that of the French republic; numbers of those who bore the sway last year, were now no more. Ministers were perpetually challenged to declare and to abide by an uniform object of war. He would produce the most justifiable of any, a safe and honourable peace: he would go further, and acknowledge that the re-establishment of monarchy was the sole security to be relied on for its continuance; by monarchy however, he did not mean despotism. He largely insisted on the desperate methods of raising money in

in France; on the unproductive state of their revenue; the approaching annihilation of their assignats, the only nerve of their power; the total ruin of their commerce, and the discontents of their nation, deterred only by the terrors held over them, from breaking out in a general insurrection against the tyranny of their government.

The debate closed by Lord Auckland's motion for the adjournment, being carried by 113 against 12.

Fourteen resolutions of the same import as those of the Duke of Bedford, were brought into the House of Commons by Mr. Fox on the same day. He therein contended, that the sole motive for the war had been the ostensible object held out to the public, not only before, but after the overthrow of the monarchy in 1792, and even subsequently to the horrors of September in that year. He allowed the rectitude of the intentions then acknowledged by ministry, that if the French attacked our allies, or should pursue plans of aggrandizement, they would oppose them. The principle of a right to interfere in the settlement of the domestic affairs of France, was not avowed even after the commencement of hostilities; and no determined objection was made to treat with the existing government of France. Such had been the line of conduct adopted by ministry previously to the close of the last session; but since that time it had altered gradually, though they could not certainly assign a more valid reason for their interference at this, than at that period. The war was undertaken on the principle of self-defence; but the nation was now in-

formed of the necessity to prosecute it, from other motives; which, if mentioned at first, they would have disapproved. The stipulations made with the different powers in the coalition, were all to their advantage; as we thereby engaged to make no peace till whatever dominions they had lost, or might lose, were restored to them, without requiring similar terms on their part. The ministers of both Austria and Prussia were alike averse to open their treasures. Prussia had already applied to government in a direct manner: Austria had taken an indirect method.

Peace was affirmed to be unattainable while the present government of France was suffered to exist, which was pronounced subversive of all other governments. But the experience of ages had shewn that between governments totally different, and even repugnant in their very first principles, agreement and amity could subsist. Why should not a peace with France rest on a fair trial, before we presumed to declare it impracticable? But should we experimentally find it such, even then the transition from peace to war, would be less difficult than from an unprosperous war to an honourable peace. As to the French principles, so virulently objected to, they were originally of English growth, and transplanted with our colonies to America, from whence they found their way to France. After arguing, with great energy, on a variety of other points, he concluded, that whatever the object of ministry in prosecuting the war might be, they ought openly to avow it: and if it were the re-establishment of the former government, its adherents would probably join us;

us : if the constitution accepted by the late King, we might reasonably expect the co-operation of the constitutionalists. Were it even a constitution framed on republican principles, this was preferable to no avowal of any determinate object : but whatever plan was adopted, we ought to rest persuaded that the conquest of France was the project of folly. After the loss of 200,000 men, she still was able to meet the coalition with a superior strength, and to overwhelm it with fury and numbers, if not with regularity and discipline.

In answer to Mr. Fox, Mr. Jenkinson urged those many arguments that had so often been brought forward to justify the war. He added, that the principles on which the rulers of France founded their power, excluded all ideas of moderation ; whoever, in the successive changes of men in power, had ventured to act on this principle, had been destroyed. Such a system must not therefore be permitted to exist. He then moved the previous question.

Before this was put, Mr. Sheridan animadverted on the sanguine hopes entertained by government, notwithstanding that the allied armies had been obliged to retreat before the French, and that every day's intelligence weakened the expectation of future success.

In reply to Mr. Fox's resolutions and prefatory discourse, Mr. Pitt asserted that they were designed to stand on the journals of the House, as an abstract of the sentiments of opposition. He denied the silence of government on the object proposed by taking up arms. In the King's message to the House, on the 28th of January, the pre-

ceding year, it was particularly specified, that we armed to guard against the danger to be apprehended from the power that had been assumed for the most pernicious ends. The very movers of the resolutions had, at the close of the last sessions, concurred in the propriety of such a degree of interference in the domestic affairs of France as might prove necessary for the security of this country. But the resolutions opposed all interference, even now that we were at open war : this, however, was a right sanctioned by the practice of all nations : Mr. Fox himself had explicitly recommended in our late interposition on the behalf of the Stadtholder, that such a form of government should be settled in Holland as would most effectually secure our interests in that country.

It having again been asserted, that a majority of the inhabitants of France were inimical to the present government, Mr. Fox adduced, in proof of the contrary, the inactivity of the great numbers on whose resolute endeavours to force their way at any rate to a junction with Lord Moira, we had so confidently relied. But this reliance on the general devotion of the French to the royal cause, had constantly proved an illusion. On Dumouriez's defection, he was only followed by some intimates and a few soldiers. At the taking of Valenciennes, the garrison remained faithful to the Convention. When the royal standard was erected at Toulon, how small the number that repaired to it ! The truth was, that however the French might wish for another system of government, they had too much

wisdom as well as too great a spirit, to submit to the interference of other powers in the settlement of their domestic concerns. The behaviour of Austria and Prussia in the business of Poland, had taught the world what to think of them. This unhappy war, said Mr. Fox, too fatally resembled that ruinous one which lost us America: the same arguments were brought to justify it in parliament, and the same conduct and success attended it in the field,—nor had we the

least prospect of a more auspicious termination. As to the repugnance to treat with the present rulers of France, had not the minister himself treated with Chauvelin,—and Lord Auckland with Dumouriez? Ought charges of Jacobinism to stand in the way of nations? or should studied obstacles prevent the reconciliation of states?

This long and obstinate discussion concluded with 208 votes for the previous question, and only 55 against it.

CHAP. XIV.

Motions in both Houses of Parliament for revising the Trials of Messrs: Muir and Palmer. Arrests and Trials for Sedition and Treason. Constitutional and Corresponding Societies. The Publications of Mr. Burke and Mr. Paine, the grand Signals for Political Controversy. Committee of Secrecy for the enquiring into treasonable and seditious Practices. Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. Popular Societies in all the three Kingdoms. Their leading Principles and Practices. Motions in both Houses of Parliament for Addresses of Thanks to his Majesty for his Communications respecting Seditious Practices.

THE progress of what were called the principles of the French, scarcely less alarming than that of their arms, produced in Britain arrests, trials, and discussions both in parliament and courts of justice, concerning the spirit and import of certain laws relating to sedition and treason,

By sentences of the court of justiciary at Edinburgh, and of the circuit-court at Perth, in August and September 1793, Mr. Muir and Mr. Palmer, for the crime of *leasing making**, were adjudged to transportation; and Botany Bay was understood at the time the sentences were passed, to be the place to

which they would be transported. These were the first instances in which transportation was imposed by the court of justiciary in Scotland for an offence of that nature. In the last session of parliament, within a few days after, the House of Lords had finally decided, that no appeal was competent from the court of justiciary in matters of law.

Mr. Adam gave notice of his intention to propose early in this session, some alterations in the criminal law of Scotland, particularly on appeals from the court of justiciary in matters of law. Accordingly on the 27th of January 1794,

* A term in the Scottish law importing the speaking of words tending to excite discord between the King and his people.

five days after the meeting of parliament in the present session, he intimated to the House, that he would, on the 4th of February, move for a bill to grant such an appeal. He stated at the same time that the cases of Mr. Muir and Mr. Palmer, which were unforeseen at the period of his original notice, would lead him, in some measure, to enlarge his plan, by moving, if the bill should be received, for an instruction to the committee on the bill to insert a clause that should have a retrospect to all cases in which the courts of justiciary had pronounced judgments in the year 1793; thereby rendering it competent for Mr. Muir and Mr. Palmer to appeal for error in law.

Mr. Adam's motion for leave to bring in such a bill being rejected, he gave notice on the 14th of February, that he would bring forward a motion for the relief of Messrs. Muir and Palmer, in another form. The consideration of his motion was deferred to the 24th of February: and in the mean time, Mr. Sheridan presented a petition from Mr. Palmer, representing, that he conceived the sentence passed upon him by the high court of justiciary, from which there was no appeal, to be unjust.

Mr. Pitt objected to the receiving of this petition; which, he said, would be an undue interposition between the sentence of a competent court, and its execution.

The petition was justified by Mr. Fox, on the principle that it was the duty of the legislature to attend to all the complaints on the subject.

But Mr. Dundas signified, that the sentence was already executed, the warrant for the transportation of Mr. Palmer being both signed

and issued. This proceeding was loudly condemned by opposition, which asserted that while the House was about to deliberate on the lawfulness of the sentence, to suffer it to be executed was a mockery of justice. A motion was directly made to stop the sailing of the transport; but negatived by a great majority, and the discussion of the petition was put off to the 27th.

Mr. Sheridan produced on that day such valid precedents in proof of the right to present it, that Mr. Pitt was obliged to retract his words, and the petition was admitted.

Mr. Adam, on the 10th of March, moved accordingly for a review of the trials of Thomas Muir and the Rev. Fysche Palmer. From the records demanded, his object, he said, was to question the legality of the sentences passed upon them. But as no appeal could lie from the decision of the court, however questionable, he proposed, in consequence of the doubtfulness of the case, to move for the production of certain records relating to the trial, and for a petition to the crown in their favour. The crimes for which those men were indicted, were stated in Scotland leasing-making; corresponding to that misdemeanor in England, called a public libel on the government, and tending to disturb the peace. No other crime was charged in their indictment; and transportation could not be legally inflicted for leasing-making: the only punishment for which by law, was fine, imprisonment, or banishment. Nor, if the acts charged in the indictments did not amount to leasing-making, were they charged with any crime known to the laws of Scotland. He then adverted to various circumstances attending the trial,

trial, which he decidedly reprobated as oppressive and unjust; and condemned the sentence altogether, as illegal, arbitrary, and unwarrantable. On these grounds, Mr. Adam maintained, that their punishment exceeded all the bounds of equity and moderation. He concluded by declaring, that he had undertaken the present business neither from interested motives, personal affection to the sufferers, whom he knew not, nor disrespect to the judges who had presided at this trial; but solely from a persuasion, that an impartial administration of justice was the surest preservative of public liberty, and that the perversion of the law, where the interest of the whole community was at stake, tended to introduce despotism or anarchy.

A multitude of arguments and reasonings were brought forward on this important subject. The Lord Advocate of Scotland, Mr. Wyndham, and Mr. Pitt, contended strongly for the propriety of the sentence, and of the proceedings of the Scotch courts. The first of these gentlemen even went so far as to assert the superiority of the Scotch over the English laws, for the punishment of libels and the suppression of sedition.—The second seemed to insinuate, that if the English laws were not equal to those purposes, the Scottish law should be substituted.—The supporters of Mr. Adam's motion were Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan. The former spoke in very severe terms of the sentiments and opinions delivered by the Lords of justiciary, one of whom had said that no man had a right to speak of the constitution, unless he possessed landed property; and another had asserted, that

since the abolishment of torture, there was no adequate punishment for sedition.

Associations, said Mr. Fox; had not many years before been formed in England, on the very plan and principles of those formed in Scotland by Mr. Muir and his associates. These unfortunate men, said Mr. Fox, did no more than the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Duke of Richmond had done before them. The addresses of these two noblemen to the people of England, were not merely to petition for a reform in parliament—not simply to state abuses, and pray for redress, but to demand them as their right.

Mr. Sheridan was not less pointed at the Lord Advocate, whom he reprehended with the most animated indignation for his preference of the Scotch to the English law. Such assertions, he said, ought not to be made in the hearing of the House of Commons, without meeting explicit abhorrence and contempt. He examined with great freedom and spirit the particulars of the trial, which both he and Mr. Fox exerted their utmost abilities to represent as a base and iniquitous stretch of legal tyranny. The motion was on a division rejected by 139 against 32.

Mr. Adam still persisted in his determination to introduce, if possible, some regulations into the Scottish courts of justiciary, that would be more favourable than the present to the liberty of the subject, and to a milder administration of justice.

But he was most strenuously opposed by Mr. Dundas, who coincided with the Lord Advocate in declaring, that the English laws were not sufficiently severe in their punishment

punishment of seditious practices; and that some rigorous measures ought to be adopted. Mr. Adams's motion was then negatived by 77 against 24.

Motions for an examination of the trials of Messrs. Muir and Palmer were also made in the Upper House respectively, by the Earl of Lauderdale and the Earl of Stanhope. These motions being negatived by vast majorities, were followed by another from the Lord Chancellor, declaring that there were no grounds for interfering in the criminal courts of justice as now established. This motion was carried, and put an end to the discussions on these subjects; the importance of which had, while they were in agitation, greatly excited the attention of the public, and raised the hopes and fears of numbers, both in Scotland and England: the former being extremely desirous of an extension of the English laws to that country in the cases under debate; and the latter being no less apprehensive of the Scottish laws obtaining an introduction to England.

There were at this time two famous political societies in England: the one styled the Society for Constitutional Information; the other, which was the most numerous, the Corresponding Society. The avowed object of each, was, a reform in the parliamentary representation of the people. But far deeper, and more dangerous designs were imputed to both, especially to the latter, which consisted of the middle and lower classes. The commercial and manufacturing towns were full of them. The members of this society, in their meetings, were extremely free in their censures of

administration, in reprobating the war against France, and even in explicitly wishing success to the French. They did not seem to entertain the least dread of ministerial power. Publications frequently appeared, notoriously patronized and circulated through their means, the contents of which were of so daring a nature, as equally to excite the astonishment of the public and the anger of government. They had organized their assemblies and proceedings with the utmost regularity; and the various resolutions and sentiments adopted in their meetings, were published to the world by addresses and advertisements in the newspapers. They appeared resolutely determined to shun concealment, and to let all people know their intentions. Whatever these might ultimately be, their ostensible aims went no further than to bring about such changes in the system of electing the representative body, as might enlarge the number of electors, and shorten the duration of parliament. But they were charged with views of another kind: they were accused of an enmity to the present constitution, and of covering, under the pretence of legal reform, a radical design to destroy it fundamentally, and to introduce a republican form of government. That such designs were harboured by many of them, cannot be denied; but that such an imputation was applicable indiscriminately to all, cannot with any truth be asserted.

The publication of Mr. Burke's sentiments on the French revolution, and the subsequent answer to Mr. Paine in his celebrated performance, style the Rights of Man, were

were the first signals to the ministerial and the popular parties in this country, to engage in that violent and acrimonious contest, which is not yet terminated. These two famous performances revived, as it were, the royal and republican parties that had divided this nation in the last century, and that had lain dormant since the Revolution in 1688. They now returned to the charge with a rage and animosity equal to that which characterized our ancestors during the civil wars in the reign of King Charles the First; and it remained a long time in suspense, whether this renewed contest would not be attended with the same calamities: so eager were the partizans of the respective tenets contained in those performances, to assert them with unbounded vehemence.

Among those who publicly and unequivocally maintained the doctrines contained in the publication styled the Rights of Man, were all the popular societies in the three kingdoms. The book written by Mr. Burke was chiefly patronized by the upper classes. But this, instead of intimidating the lower, served rather to rouse them to dangerous enquiries into the nature of that superiority claimed over them by those very classes. Thus, the dispute between the higher and the lower orders became every day more virulent, and threatened very serious consequences. It was not however till the middle of 1792 that government took any formal notice of those transactions. They then issued a proclamation against seditious meetings; which, instead of preventing the reading of that performance, against which it was chiefly levelled, the Rights of

Man, contributed to its dissemination throughout every part of Great Britain and Ireland, and gained it more readers and proselytes than ever. In the course of that year, the events that had happened in France so much alarmed government, that it was thought necessary to counteract the societies in this country, by opposing to them other societies, on principles wholly contradictory to theirs. With this view were instituted the associations against republicans and levellers. But these associations, tho' numerous, and composed of the genteeler parties in society, did not deter their still more numerous antagonists. These continued resolutely to act on the plan they had primarily adopted, and to manifest a spirit of resistance to their new opponents, which afforded sufficient ground of alarm to the friends of domestic tranquillity. Government in the mean time kept a watchful eye on the proceedings of the popular societies. These continued to hold their meetings as usual, and to declare their sentiments with unlimited freedom. In some of those meetings, however, they exceeded the bounds of discretion so far as to use expressions that laid them open to the charge of sedition: but the circumstance which principally rendered them obnoxious was, the regular correspondence they had established with the many societies in the kingdom acting on their own principles; but chiefly the intimate communication they held with the convention that assembled in Scotland, and to which they sent deputies to represent them; intending shortly to summon a convention in England on the same plan, and composed of the deputies from all the

the societies established in this part of the united kingdom.

But after the trial and sentence passed on the principal leaders in the Scottish convention; government, it seems, resolved to pursue the same measures respecting the English societies. To this end the principal members of the Corresponding Society, and of that for constitutional information, were apprehended as guilty of treasonable practices, and committed to the Tower. Their names were Thomas Hardy, secretary to the Corresponding Society; Daniel Adams, secretary to the Society for Constitutional Information; the celebrated Horne Tooke; Jeremiah Joyce, domestic tutor to Lord Mahon, son to Lord Stanhope; and John Thelwall, well known as a political lecturer.

On the 12th of May, a message from the King was delivered to the House of Commons by Mr. Dundas, informing them that seditious practices had been carried on by societies in London, in correspondence with other societies, to the intent of assembling a convention to represent the people of England, in defiance and opposition to Parliament; and on principles subversive of the laws and constitution of the kingdom, and introductory of the anarchy prevailing in France. Their papers had been seized, and would be laid before Parliament; to which it was recommended to examine them, and to adopt such measures as might appear necessary. They were produced accordingly on the next day; when Mr. Pitt moved an address of thanks to the King, for the communication received, and proposed that the pa-

per of secrecy, consisting of twenty-one members, chosen by ballot. The report of this committee was produced to the House by Mr. Pitt on the 16th of May. It contained the proceedings of the two societies, from the year 1791; most of which, however, had been already published in the newspapers by the societies themselves.

It appeared to the committee, Mr. Pitt said, that a plan had been formed, and was in forwardness, to assemble a convention of the people; which was to assume the character and powers of a national representation, and to supersede the authority of parliament. If the House concurred in the same opinion, of which he entertained no doubt, not one moment should be lost in arming the executive power with sufficient authority to prevent the execution of such an attempt. A mere parliamentary reform was not the real aim of these societies: their papers would make it evident, that they were, during the two last years, leagued in a correspondence with other societies in this and a neighbouring country; from which the clearest inference might be drawn, that a convention, such as described, had been their original view; and that they were only waiting a fit opportunity to realize it. He bitterly inveighed against the doctrines contained in the performance termed the Rights of Man; charging it with all the evils that had befallen France, and assisting to propagate them in all Europe. The report, he said, would shew that a correspondence had subsisted between these societies and the Jacobin club; that they had sent delegates to the Convention at Paris, which had formally received

received them; and that when the French Jacobin government commenced the war against Great Britain, these societies had, to the utmost of their power, acted an hostile part, manifested an adherence to the same cause, assumed their expressions and appellations, and laboured to disseminate their principles. It was chiefly in the manufacturing towns their efforts were greatest, from the number of ignorant and discontented people with which they abounded. Notwithstanding their endeavours to conceal their intentions at times, they had not been able to disguise them at others. In one of their letters, that to the society at Norwich, they plainly intimated that they looked for no reform but from the convention they had in view, advising, however, a continuance of petitions for reform, as a cover to their designs. They had the audacity to style the Scottish convention a legal representation of the people; and to justify those whom the law had sentenced to punishment. The condemnation of those men was the signal at which they had agreed to come finally to an issue upon the point, whether the law should frighten them into compliance, or whether they should oppose it with its own weapons, force and power. What was this, Mr. Pitt said, but declaring, in other words, that the time was come when either tamely to submit to the laws of their country, or resolutely to rise up against them! This society, however despicable, and consisting of the lowest vulgar, had found the means of a most expeditious and extensive increase: it counted thirty divisions in London only, some of them amounting to six hundred

individuals; and it kept a regular correspondence with many others, systematically distributed through various parts of the kingdom, particularly in the manufacturing towns. It had audaciously assumed the task of watching over the transactions of parliament, and of limiting boundaries to its powers, threatening destruction if it dared to transgress them. It was no longer than six weeks, he said, since the Corresponding Society had laid before the Constitutional Society, a scheme for calling together a convention of the people, manifestly for the purpose of dissolving the government, and lodging the supreme power in their own hands. This was to have been executed in a few weeks. The addresses they had drawn up to this effect were circulated with the utmost care and expedition: they had chosen a central spot, in order to facilitate the assembling of delegates from all parts; and every society was requested to transmit an estimate of its numbers, that the strength of the combined societies might be exactly known. These wretches, said Mr. Pitt, expected, by following the precedents of the Jacobin principles and practices, to arrive at the lame degree of power. They had, no longer since than the 14th of April, held a consultation, wherein the members of every department of the state had been most scandalously vilified, as unworthy and incompetent to hold their official situations. The report, he also said, mentioned that arms had been actually procured and distributed by those societies. In consequence, therefore, of the informations contained in this report, he would move for a suspension of the Habeas Corpus

Corpus act, as particularly necessary when a conspiracy existed in the heart of the country: against which government ought to be empowered to proceed with all possible vigour and expedition.

In answer to Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox expressed his astonishment, that so much pains had been taken by the committee of secrecy to lay before the House a collection of facts notoriously known to them and to the public at large for years. Whether the individuals concerned in the transactions just related, had acted consistently or not, was not deserving of consideration. One point in their conduct was clear: through the whole of the business they had taken in hand, they constantly expressed their wishes for a parliamentary reform. The Scotch convention had, in the most public manner, declared a resolution not to oppose government, but only to request a redress of grievances. Were convention and sedition synonymous terms? He had been a member of one in the year 1780, which corresponded openly with societies formed on the same principles in divers parts of England. They presented their joint petition to the House, which formally received it, without charging them with sedition. Conventions never had, till the present period, been reputed contrary to the letter, or to the spirit of the constitution. By a convention the Irish had obtained a free constitution: by the same means the catholics in that kingdom had obtained the privileges they now enjoyed. He would not countenance the convention proposed by the societies; but it would be dangerous for a House of Commons, the immediate protectors of

the franchises of their fellow-subjects, to declare it illegal. To pretend alarm at their attempting to seize the reins of government, was mere affectation. Were any convention formed on such a plan, to be so dispossessed of their reason as to venture on such a step, they must immediately become an object of too much derision to command any obedience. The extent of the ministerial measure was no less than to invest the executive power with absolute authority over every subject in the kingdom: the restraints with which it surrounded every man, were incompatible with that manly freedom of thought and speech, without which no liberty could exist. The suspension of the Habeas Corpus act was by no means warranted by any actual necessity. The suspensions that took place in the years 1715 and 1745, were no precedent for the present period. Those were truly perilous times: the religion, the liberty of the kingdom, were both menaced by a rebellion in favour of a popish pretender, and of a despotic government.

Mr. Sheridan, in opposition to the bill, took severe notice of the impatience with which the ministerial party had called for the question. Such conduct went to the preclusion of all parliamentary discussion, and to impose silence at once upon the legislative body. It would be more reasonable to limit the operation of the bill to individuals belonging to societies engaged in the carrying forward political undertakings, than to deliver up all men indiscriminately to the will of the minister.

Mr. Burke contended that the catholics in Ireland had not denominated

minated their assembling together a convention, but simply a meeting of delegates. Their object was manifest and acknowledged; but the convention alluded to, embraced every object, and assumed a latitude of power superior to that of parliament itself. The suspension, far from being an oppressive measure, had frequently saved families from ruin, by placing the heads of them in custody, and preventing their rushing into rebellion.

The motion for a suspension being carried by a large majority, the bill, at three o'clock in the morning, after going through a first and second reading, was voted into a committee and reported.

But the third reading was deferred to the next day, when it was moved, but strenuously opposed by Mr. Grey. He accused the minister of unjustifiable practices in appealing to the public voice when he flattered himself it would be favourable to him, and by speaking of it in a disparaging manner when he expected it would reprobate his measures. He reminded him of his behaviour when defeated in his former projects of parliamentary reform, and of the resolution in which he participated at the Thatched House in conjunction with Mr. Horne Tooke and other gentlemen: "that, considering it was in vain to look to parliament for a regeneration originating within itself, it be recommended to the people throughout the kingdom, to assemble during the ensuing summer, in districts, for the purpose of an application to parliament upon that subject." What difference could there be, said Mr. Grey, between the meetings thus recommended, and the convention that was now

proposed? Were not their objects precisely similar? But how altered was the promoter of those former meetings! William Pitt, the reformer of that day, was the prosecutor and persecutor of reformers at the present! he then exerted himself to stir up the passions of the people, and to render parliament odious to them; but he now thought them unqualified to judge of their rights and interests: and he pursued with the rancour of an apostate his once intimate associate in the business of parliamentary reform. He had that very day been taken up in the examination of Mr. Tooke, for persevering in the sentiments which he had himself warmly avowed. He ought therefore to be considered as an abettor of the doctrine of appealing to the people, instead of applying to parliament: if they were guilt in this, the minister was eminently guilty.

It was asserted by Mr. Canning, on the ministerial side, that if precedents were wanting, the occasion would justify the measure proposed, and it was clearly warranted by the report of the committee. He fully agreed in opinion with the minister, that though a parliamentary reform might be a proper object of discussion at a season of tranquillity, it was highly improper in times of war and popular agitation. He explicitly declared, that as he had sided with the minister in his ideas on this subject, he should feel no repugnance in adopting his sentiments upon it on any future occasion, when he might be pleased to express them, confident that they would be apposite to times and circumstances.

Mr. Courteney, after noticing, with much humour, the readiness
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of Mr. Canning to adhere firmly to the minister, and which had already produced not a little laughter, observed how strongly Montesquieu, in his *Spirit of Laws*, had recommended it to the English nation, to consider the Habeas Corpus act as the palladium of their liberty. Nothing therefore could justify its suspension, but the extremest necessity; but none existed at present: no arms had been taken up, nor correspondence carried on with the enemy; and no legal proof could be adduced of a conspiracy to subvert the government.

In answer to what had been spoken concerning precedents, Mr. Dundas observed, that an exact concurrence of circumstances precisely similar, was, in the nature of things, hardly possible. In matters of great moment, it was sufficient that incidents bore some resemblance to authorize a similitude of conduct. The Habeas Corpus act had been suspended nine times since the Revolution, under circumstances of danger to the state, without producing those evils that were described in such alarming colours. No undue severities had been exercised by government on those occasions, and no individual ever had just reason to complain of being ill-treated in consequence of that suspension. The low condition in life of the members and friends of the societies in question, was pleaded as a motive for viewing them rather with contempt than terror; but from individuals of this description much was certainly to be apprehended: having little or nothing to lose by civil disorders and confusions, and perhaps, in their imaginations, a great deal to expect, numbers, if not the

majority, might justly be presumed to favour public disturbances. A mere parliamentary reform would not answer their views. In one of their societies it had been expressly stated, "That some things were not to be submitted to, either with or without the sanction of parliament." But though they did not all effect such a style, he had not the least doubt that a convention, met on the principle of establishing universal suffrage and annual parliaments, was totally inconsistent with the existence of the monarchy and parliament.

Mr. Dundas was replied to by Mr. Sheridan, who took particular notice, that ever since the French revolution, ministry had betrayed a remarkable apprehension of a parliamentary reform. Granting that discontents existed, did they prove a determination to rise in open revolt? Did the report, so much insisted on, make it appear that the arms said to be in possession of those societies, had not been provided by individuals to guard against the fury of a church and king mob?

Mr. Wyndham observed, that it could not be reasonably denied that sufficient proofs had been adduced of a conspiracy to overthrow the constitution. The principle of universal suffrage was alone a source of the most lamentable evils, as France could amply testify. The mild conduct of government having failed of putting a stop to the licentious proceedings of ill-mentioned individuals, it was time to employ severe methods; and if those did not produce the end proposed, stronger and severer measures still must be adopted. The evils threatened must be obviated at all events; and if the laws in being were inadequate to that purpose, others

others more effectual ought indispensably to be framed.

These observations occasioned a most animated speech by Mr. Fox. After condemning the measure of suspension in the strongest terms, he adverted to the menacing tenor of Mr. Windham's discourse, which seemed to portend a gradual deprivation of their liberties to Englishmen. Should the restraints already laid upon them not answer the views proposed, which were apparently to break their spirit, and tame them into submission, other means were to be tried, and others still to succeed, until those views were completely effected. But what severer usage than the present could remain in the contemplation of ministers? Would they forbid people to meet and communicate their sentiments on public affairs? Were such an injunction disobeyed, would they sentence them to imprisonment? Would they, in the rage of resentment, at the hatred excited by their tyranny, erect tribunals to punish the indignant public? Was it resolved, in short, to demolish the British constitution one part after another, under pretence of preventing its destruction by French principles? The fact was, that in England, as well as in France, terror was to be made the order of the day, and not a voice be lifted up against the ministers. The word Convention was now held up as an object of alarm, to terrify the people, and induce them to think the kingdom was in imminent danger of some great calamity. But what was a convention but a meeting of the people? wherein, if they behave seditiously, or did any thing unlawful, they were liable to be imprisoned and punished in the

same manner as if there were no convention. Where then was the danger of such a meeting? The object of the societies, which they scrupled not to acknowledge, was to obtain universal suffrage. Allowing such a system to be impracticable, it was far from clear that the confusions in France had arisen from that cause; it was a theory which, like all others, might through the iniquity of men be rendered instrumental to wicked purposes: but did it follow that, because improper ideas of liberty had been taken up by the French, or that liberty itself had been abused, every man who mentioned that word should be charged with disloyalty? The misfortunes of France were due to the previous oppressions of the former government, which had rendered the French nation desperate, and prepared it to receive any talents that thwarted tyranny. Had that nation been protected by a Habeas Corpus act; had the government been constrained, by standing laws, to respect the rights of the community; those tenets would not have found an entrance into that unhappy country. By a parity of reasoning, those misfortunes were not to be dreaded here, while the constitution remained free from perversions. But it was the very essence of the English constitution, that men should speak their minds. Were the freedom of complaining against grievances, and of meeting for the purpose of petitioning for redress, and of expostulating with persons in authority, to be branded with the name of sedition, what would become of our boasted constitution, of that liberty which distinguished the English from all other nations? But

nothing was more certain than its very speedy dissolution, if ministers were permitted to carry every measure they proposed for the curtailment of the long established franchises of the people. As the thirst of power was never satiated, so those who possessed it would, if unobstructed, proceed, step after step, to surround themselves with all the terrors of parliamentary decrees in favour of the executive authority delegated to them, until that authority become finally paramount to all resistance. But why, said Mr. Fox, should the manifest danger of so fatal an issue be incurred? Was it to punish the discontented, and root out all discontents? But if the suspension was to continue till this were effected, then it must never have an end: a supposition which would not suffer a moment's countenance.

The necessity of suspending the Habeas Corpus act, was argued no less strenuously by Mr. Pitt. The question, he said, was, whether the dangers threatened to the state were greater than any that could arise from the suspension proposed, which would terminate in six months, and could not in the mean time anywise affect the rights of the people, or the privileges of any rank of society? Were the power thus conferred to be abused, the law would still lie open against the guilty, and prove more inexorable than in any other instances of misconduct, from the very nature of the offence; which would be a breach of public trust in the most criminal degree. It was unjust, he said, to compare the conduct of government in this country to that which was now exercised over the French. The truth was, that we

were necessitated to resist French crimes by opposing to them French principles. Whatever might be alleged against severer measures, if those already employed to obviate the apprehended evils were inefficacious, more effectual must be used. Was lenity to be admitted where the constitution was at stake? Were a convention upon Jacobin principles once established, who could foresee how it would end? No indulgence, no concession ought to be shewn to those societies.—How could they expect or deserve any from a government and constitution they indubitably proposed to subvert? Not to stop the progress of their opinions, were no better than granting a toleration to sedition and anarchy. As to the extent of the rigour intended against them, that must depend wholly on the audacity of their attempts. No undue severities however, said Mr. Pitt, would be resorted to: and the degree of punishment would not exceed that of criminality. It were nugatory to deny the existence of designs against the government and constitution; and he doubted not that the measure taken to obviate these would appear exceedingly proper, as it did not oppose the right of the people to meet together for lawful purposes, or to petition for a reform, or a redress of abuses. But the convention proposed by the societies, went far beyond all those bounds, as fully appeared from their papers. Nothing would have satisfied it less than a controul over parliament itself.

Lord Grenville, on the 17th of May, brought into the House of Lords a message from the King, similar to that which had been delivered

livered to the Commons of the 12th. He moved, that the report of the secret committee of that House should be referred to a secret committee of the House of Lords.

This motion was opposed by Lord Stanhope, on the ground of the papers differing in those respects materially from that report; which could not, for that reason, be considered as fair and impartial. But the motion for a secret committee was carried. This committee stated to the House of Lords, on the 22d, that having compared the report of the committee of the Commons with the papers it was accompanied with, it had come to the same resolutions that had been adopted by that committee.

Lord Grenville moved in consequence, that, in order to strengthen the hands of government, the Habeas Corpus act should be suspended. He supported his motion with arguments similar to those that had been employed for the same end in the House of Commons.

Lord Stanhope opposed the motion in the same style of reasoning with which it had been combated in the Lower House. He reprobated the bill of suspension as a counter-part to the Bastile and the *Lettres de Cachet*.

Lord Thurlow expressed himself with great caution on this subject. He acceded to the bill, he said, merely on the presumption that its necessity had been proved. From his inspection of the report, it contained, in his opinion, many facts amounting to real sedition, but not to any higher crime. The suspension would not, he said, invalidate the Habeas Corpus act, which would remain in full force, those

cases only excepted where an individual was detained on suspicions well founded.

Lord Lauderdale spoke vehemently against the bill of suspension. Ministry, he asserted, was pursuing a revolutionary system in this country by a chain of innovations fundamentally destructive of the constitution. It was hard to decide, he said, which was the greatest calamity to a state,—a successful struggle for an increase of despotic authority, or the introduction of licentiousness. The bill, he contended, should not extend beyond the societies under accusation; otherwise it would establish that system of terror which we so much reprobated in France. He concluded by moving an adjournment.

Other Lords spoke for and against the bill.

Among a variety of arguments, it was alleged by the Marquis of Lansdowne, that the societies now so grievously accused, were in truth the offspring of those societies that made so much noise in this country towards the close of the American war; and to which much more reproach, if any were deserved, was due, for having led the way in this method of calling upon government to do justice to the public. But the English Jacobins of that day had renounced their principles, and were now persecuting the Jacobins of the present. As to the demands insisted on by the Jacobins of both epochs, if they were justly founded, such was the disposition of the people and the nature of the constitution, that they must ultimately be granted to them in despite of all ministerial opposition,—unless indeed one were to suppose that the

constitution was so far gone, as to be irretrievable, and the people become so degenerate, as to have lost all ideas of asserting their rights. What were the objects of the harsh measures already adopted, and of the still harsher, so explicitly threatened? Was total silence to be imposed upon the British nation on the imprudence and mismanagement of their rulers? Were armies of informers to be let loose on the community, to discover what preparations were making against their employers? But, without such odious and despicable instruments, why did not ministers, if they really apprehended that arms were fabricating against them, apply for information to some of the chief armourers in the metropolis? without whose knowledge no fabrication to any large amount could possibly take place.

The Marquis of Lansdowne was replied to by the Lord Chancellor, who, among other reasonings, alleged, that the constant mention of a parliamentary reform by the societies, could no more clear them of illegal intent, as their proposed convention, than the expression of God save the King, at the bottom of a seditious libel, could clear it of sedition. The individuals composing those societies, he asserted to be ten times as numerous as those concerned in the riots of the year 1780.

After the adjournment moved by Lord Lauderdale had been negatived, a motion for the third reading of the bill was opposed by him as irregular, and violating the standing order of the House, that no bill should go twice through a reading on the same day. Such precipitation, he said, would impress

the public with a belief that it was intended to prevent a petition against the bill: but his opposition was over-ruled, not however without a spirited protest against the bill by the Duke of Bedford, and the Earls of Albemarle, Stanhope, and Lauderdale.

An address being moved, on the 13th of June, by Lord Grenville, to assure the King of the House's loyalty and determination to punish the participaters in the conspiracy laid before it, and to invest him with additional power for the suppression of attempts against government, it was warmly opposed by Lord Lauderdale, but carried and sent to the Commons for their concurrence.

On Mr. Pitt's motion for an address to the King, similar to that to the House of Lords, Mr. Lambton took occasion to condemn the methods used in framing the report of the secret committee. Partial selections and extracts from the letters and papers of the societies could not, he said, be considered as fair proofs of the charges alleged against them. He appealed to the words of Algernon Sidney on his trial, "That if quotations were suffered to be mangled and disguised to answer party purposes, he would prove from the Bible itself that there was no God." Partial extracts, without any overt act, were not evidence in a court of law, and could not therefore be admitted as proofs by the court of parliament. The statements in the report were inconsistent and confused: it mentioned that arms had been prepared: they amounted on a specification to eighteen pike-heads, ten battle-axes, and twenty sword-blades. Such were the warlike preparations

preparations for encountering and destroying the British government.

Mr. Lambton was seconded by Mr. Robinson and Mr. Martin, and opposed by Mr. Serjeant Watson, Sir Watkin Lewis, Mr. Alderman Newnham, and Mr. Burden.

The address was opposed by Mr. Fox. He thought it unnecessary in the present case, and tending to make it appear of more importance than it really was. No motive existed to prompt government to the extraordinary exertions of power, recommended by ministers:—the courts of law were amply competent to punish the individuals arrested on treasonable charges, if they were found guilty. The loyalty of the House could not be questioned on this or any other occasion, and its advice was not called for. What could therefore be the purport of an address at present, unless to assure the King of their persuasion that a conspiracy existed, the reality of which had not however been legally proved? Was this a matter worthy of an address, which was solemnly to declare the constitution in danger? He strongly reprobated the affected alarm at the term Convention, as if the thing itself were necessarily pregnant with evil. He reminded the House that a convention had called the King's ancestors to the succession of the British crown. This alone proved the utility of conventions, and that popular meetings ought not to be held in an odious light. Were people once debarred from assembling in order to discuss political subjects, it would infallibly prove a mortal wound to the constitution, of which it might linger a while, but would ultimately die. The old Tory faction, he said,

was fast reviving in this country, and zealously striving to destroy the only fence to the constitution, in cases of extremity. This only effectual fence was the lawful resistance to lawless proceedings, authorized both by the theory and practice of the constitution. Was it impossible to suppose a case wherein the people might legally assemble by their delegates, and call upon parliament to do that which of its own accord and motion would never have been done? Why, therefore, countenance doctrines and measures that would necessarily establish passive obedience and non-resistance, and rob us at once of that constitution which some persons invested, in an evil hour for this country, with high credit and authority, durst not asperse with their words, but were indefatigably striving to subvert by their actions? When we viewed with a dispassionate eye the persons implicated in the supposed plot, they appeared to be men who might co-operate in a revolution, but could never produce one. Such men, the law could easily reach, if guilty of what they were accused. They might have held imprudent and even seditious language; but that was punishable without recurring to severities to terrify the whole community, and without anticipating the declaration of their guilt in a court of justice after a regular trial. Such an anticipation parliament could manifestly be charged with, by declaring its belief in the accusations brought against them. He acknowledged, that in states where the destruction of a few persons subverted the order of things, a small number of obscure individuals might effect a revolution; but in

this country, where such an event must rest on the broadest foundations of popularity, it was unreasonable to think that so insignificant and diminutive a set of men could seriously, with any remains of sanity in their minds, have engaged in such an undertaking. He concluded a long speech of great animation, by recommending principles of moderation as the firmest security of government, and finally moving to omit that part of the address which specified the persuasion of the House, that a conspiracy had been carrying on against the constitution.

Sir William Dolben warmly rejected the proposed amendment, as disrespectful to the Lords, and tending to expose the proceedings of both Houses on the subject before them, to public derision. Were such an amendment adopted, we should then have, he said, a passive obedient King, non-resisting Lords, and a rampant republican House of Commons.

The Attorney General, in support of the address, contended that the societies had incontestably the most treasonable views. He considered, in particular, that which was styled the Friends of the People; and another instituted for the Liberty of the Press, as peculiarly dangerous, from the persons of birth and distinction that formed them: the latter of these societies made it their business to applaud and patronize individuals convicted of misdemeanours against government, and to extol the integrity and patriotism of those members of the law who had pleaded their cause, as if those retained on the opposite side merited reprobation. He warmly maintained the pro-

priety of the address. The expressions it contained relating to the conspiracy, were founded on indubitable facts; and to retrench them, would deprive it of the most essential part. The measures proposed by ministry, were the most apposite to the threatened evils; they went to prevent them; which was certainly better than to wait till the punishment became necessary. Had government taken preventive measures in the year 1780, much mischief would have been obviated.—The issue of this long and warm debate, was the rejection of Mr. Fox's amendment, and the passing of the address.

In this manner terminated the parliamentary discussions on the apprehension of the members of the societies, and the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act. Those members remained, in consequence, close prisoners in the Tower, till they were brought to a solemn trial before a special commission at the Old Bailey, on the 25th of October. A bill of indictment had been previously found by the grand jury, at the Sessions-House, Clerkenwell, on the second of October, against Thomas Hardy, John Horne Tooke, J. A. Bonney, Stewart Kydd, Jeremiah Joice, Thomas Wardell, Thomas Holcroft, John Richter, Matthew Moore, John Thelwall, R. Hodson, John Baxter, and John Martin.—The first person tried was Mr. Hardy:—His trial began with a long statement, specifying nine overt acts of treason, wherein his fellow-prisoners were equally involved. They were accused of having conspired to raise a rebellion in the kingdom, in order to subvert the government, and depose the King. For this purpose they had

had composed and published various books and addresses, recommending the election of delegates to a convention: they had consulted on the means of forming a convention, and where it might be held: they had agreed among themselves and others, to meet together for the execution of those purposes: they had procured arms to be made to that intent; and they had resolved to aid the King's enemies.

The speech made by the Attorney General, on opening the prosecution, lasted nine hours: it contained a circumstantial account of all the particulars mentioned in the reports of the secret committee. Among the papers he produced in evidence, many were intemperate and abusive of persons in the ministry, and of high rank in official departments; but however severe on the character of individuals, or rash in the expression of sentiments, no charge of treason could strictly be brought against the writers.

It was a remarkable circumstance on this celebrated trial, that of those witnesses who deserved credit, none criminated the prisoner; and that those who deposed against him, were found, on examination, to deserve none. Another circumstance no less favourable to him, was that the proceedings of the societies were of public notoriety. They had applied to members of parliament, earnestly soliciting that they would present their petitions to the House of Commons for a parliamentary reform; which appeared uniformly to be the sole object of their request. The legality of Mr. Hardy's conduct was convincingly proved from the answers to every question and cross examination by those who

were summoned to give their evidence. A variety of means was tried to substantiate and bring the charges of treasonable practices home to the prisoner; but they proved ineffectual; and the goodness of his character repulsed every insinuation to his disadvantage.

The speeches of Mr. Erskine and Mr. Gibbs, in defence of Mr. Hardy, were universally considered as finished pieces of professional knowledge and eloquence. The public was loud in its mutual congratulations on the forcible and effective manner in which they silenced every attempt to establish the fatal doctrine of constructive treason.

The satisfaction of the public on the acquittal of Mr. Hardy, which took place on the 5th of November, was for this reason great, and expressed without restraint. Every man felt himself interested in opposing the introduction of maxims destructive of all personal security, and that subjected him to the iniquitous interpretation of the law in cases that ought never to need explanation.

The trial of Mr. Hardy lasted eight days; during which the anxiety of all men how it would terminate, was visible not only in the metropolis, but in every place throughout the kingdom. When the circumstances of the trial were made known, the verdict of the jury impressed the public with the highest sense of the importance of that strongest bulwark to justice and liberty; that had been felt for many years.

Mr. Tooke was tried on the 17th of November: his personal character and his distinguished talents contributed to render his trial peculiarly remarkable. It was attended

attended by personages of the first rank. The abilities of Mr. Erskine and Mr. Gibbs were again eminently displayed in his defence; and, notwithstanding the endeavours to criminate him, he was cleared of every charge and imputation brought against him on this occasion; and his acquittal was accompanied with the same approbation and applause that had marked the preceding.

Mr. Thelwall was tried on the 22d. The grounds of accusation were much the same as those alleged against the other prisoners, with the addition only of rash and violent language on particular occasions: but the evidence in proof of this allegation, which was that of two informers, being fully invalidated, he was also acquitted, to the great satisfaction of the public. The zeal and capacity of Mr. Erskine and Mr. Gibbs were exerted in his cause, as they had been in the two former. They were no less ready to undertake the defence of the remaining prisoners; but this task was rendered unnecessary by

the cessation of all further prosecutions on the part of the crown; in consequence of which all the persons indicted were set at liberty.

Such was the issue of a business which had by numbers been expected to have terminated in quite another manner. Those partizans of ministry who, previously to those trials, had manifested sanguine hopes that the arrested members of the societies would have been condemned to severe punishment, did not appear so dissatisfied at their acquittal as it had been presumed. They could not help perceiving the dangerous consequences to which they themselves must in common with all men have been exposed, had that condemnation ensued of which they were so imprudently desirous. Those also who had been alarmed by rumours of the vast strength of that party, from which disturbances were dreaded, could not fail of being gratified at the discovery, that its power and means to effect the purposes imputed to it, were too inconsiderable to excite any reasonable apprehensions.

CHAP. XV.

Motion for an Account of the Money advanced to the King of Prussia and the Troops employed by him in the Service of the Coalition. Prorogation of Parliament. Naval, Colonial, and Commercial Affairs.

THE session of parliament was now drawing to a close; but the intelligence from the continent did not promise ministry an opportunity of dismissing the members with any well-founded hopes of success to the arms of the confederacy. On the eve of the prorogation, opposition entered into an animated discussion on the situation

of affairs, and the gloominess of the prospect abroad.

Mr. Sheridan moved for an account of the money advanced to the King of Prussia, and of the number of troops employed by him in the service of the coalition. What was the King of Prussia doing? Was he massacring the Poles, or was he fulfilling the stipulations of the

the treaty by which he had been entrusted with so much money? It were ignominious, and past forgiveness in a minister, to tell parliament that he had not imagined that prince would have deceived him; it was the minister's business never to have thought otherwise of a prince of this character: he was forewarned what to think both of him and of other princely members of the confederacy. After dwelling on various other particulars with great animation, Mr. Sheridan delivered it as his opinion, that the magnitude of the objects now pressing on the attention of the public, and the duty of ministers to come forward with every information in their power for the satisfaction of parliament, ought to induce them at this critical season to advise against its prorogation.

It was replied by Mr. Pitt, that the conduct of so powerful and important an ally as the King of Prussia ought not to be scrutinized or reprehended in a public manner, in the midst of a campaign so eventful and decisive.

The usual period of prorogation being arrived, it would argue unnecessary apprehensions to prolong the sitting of the two Houses: ministers were still answerable to them, without the necessity that they should remain on the spot to watch their conduct.

Mr. Grey adverted with great pointedness to the reluctance of ministry, when called upon to explain the conduct of Prussia. That business, he observed, was wrapped up in secrecy; it was a secret why any treaty was made; a secret why purchased at so enormous a price; a secret why the troops were paid for so lavishly. One thing

only was no secret,—that the King of Prussia had received the money.

This debate was accompanied by many personal charges on both sides, urged with great vehemence and acrimony.

Mr. Sheridan concluded it at last by withdrawing his motion, in consequence, he alleged, of ministry's refusal to give the information for which he had applied.

On the 11th of July, the sessions of this year, after having lasted nearly six months, were closed by a speech from the throne; wherein, after thanking Parliament for its assiduity and zeal in the public service, the King congratulated them on the victory over the French at sea, on the 1st of June, and the acquisitions in the East and West Indies; exhorting them to firmness and perseverance, notwithstanding the successes of the French in the Netherlands. He commended their diligence in the investigation of the designs formed against the government and constitution, thankfully acknowledging the trust reposed in him, and promising a vigorous but prudent use of the powers he had been additionally invested with for the preservation of public tranquillity. Relying on the affection of his people, he doubted not effectually to repress every attempt to disturb the peace of the community. He reminded them that the inimical designs against government were connected with the system prevailing in France, the principles of which were irreconcilable with those of every other government. It was therefore incumbent on them, from every consideration of domestic safety, faithfully to co-operate with the allies of this kingdom in the contest wherein they were united
for

for their reciprocal interest; on the prosperous issue of which depended the future security of this and every country in Europe.

It remains for us to satisfy the curiosity of our readers, by a summary account of the several objects just mentioned, of his Majesty's congratulations to parliament. On the morning of the 28th of May, the French fleet were discovered far to windward by the British Channel fleet, under Lord Howe, cruising off the north-west coast of Brittany. The French fleet consisted of 26 ships of the line; the British, of 25. Partial actions took place on the evening of the 26th; and on the 29th, by vast exertions, the British, Admiral weathered the enemy's line. On the morning of the 1st of June he beheld them to leeward, waiting his approach, and not declining battle. He soon brought the hostile fleet to a general and decisive action. Six sail of the line were taken, one sunk, and many crippled. The disabled ships, with the remainder, retired from the scene of action, and took shelter in the harbour of Brest. The usual intrepidity and exertion of British seamen were fully displayed on this glorious day; but it was a hard contest. The valour of the French could not be exceeded; and it is but justice to say, that the victory turned on the British Admiral's superior knowledge of naval tactics. His own ship, the *Queen Charlotte*, of 100 guns, and a few more, gallantry went through the enemy's line; and by this, combined with other manœuvres, obtained the weather-gage: and again on the day of the general action, he performed the opposite manœuvre, by breaking through their

line; and fighting them in close action to leeward.

While the enemy's fleet went back into port, ours regained, in triumph, their native shore; and were welcomed with the loudest applause by all ranks and degrees of loyal subjects. The grateful public, with the usual sympathy by which our countrymen are so much distinguished, generously contributed to assuage the sufferings of the wounded and maimed, and to dry up the tears of the fatherless and widow.

Though the attempt on Martinico in 1793 had failed, the plan of reducing the French islands was not abandoned. An army of 5000 men, commanded by General Sir Charles Grey, protected by a fleet under the command of Sir John Jarvis, sailing in the end of 1793, for the West Indies, reduced Martinico after a gallant resistance on the part of the French, in the different forts, particularly in Fort Bourbon, the last that fell; where the Generalissimo, Rochambeau, commanded. The date of this event was the 25th of March 1794. Soon after this, the English made themselves masters also of St. Lucia and Guadaloupe, with its dependencies, the Saints, Marie Galante, and Desiderade. The island of Tobago, as mentioned in our last volume, had already fallen once more under the protection of the British arms and government.

The burning bilious fever incident to Europeans in hot climates, and called, from the tinge which it gives in its last stage to the complexion, the Yellow Fever, is at all times to be dreaded by troops newly arrived from northern regions; but particularly in war, when the blood

be violently agitated by excessive exertions during the day, and the body suddenly chilled by the heavy dews of the night. This disease, even in peaceable times, and in the ordinary course of things, is found to consume two thirds of an European regiment in three years. Unfortunately for the British army, the calamity was not confined to the ordinary limits of devastation. Its malignity was aggravated by a pestilential infection, imported in a Guineaman from Africa, and communicated not only to the West India islands, but also to America; where even the keenness of a frozen atmosphere did not stop its desolating career till the second winter.

It was during the prevalence of this epidemic distemper, that a small armament of about two thousand men, from Brest, escaping the vigilance of the English cruizers, and landing in Guadaloupe, immediately stormed and overpowered the weak and sickly English garrison in the fort of Grand Terre. The British General, by collecting reinforcements from the other islands, endeavoured to retrieve this loss; but the ranks of every regiment were so thinned by sickness, the wants of so many islands, and the waste of so active a campaign, that this was no easy task. A respectable force being at length collected and landed, drove the enemy, commanded by the French commissioner Victor Hugues, after a stout resistance, from some commanding heights that lay between him and the fort: but the pursuers, on the same day, were attacked more than once, by a reinforced multitude of all colours, whites, blacks, and mulattoes clad in uniforms, and obli-

ged to have recourse to the bayonet before they could be compelled to remain sheltered behind their fortifications.

As the commencement of the rains had now terminated the season for military operations, the General, about the end of June, made a concluding effort to expel the French by a nocturnal attack. From different accidents and mistakes, the attempts of our men, though made with their usual gallantry, were completely frustrated. In various rencounters five hundred brave British officers and privates were killed, wounded, and missing.

The British General retired to Martinico, leaving a force for maintaining the other posts that yet remained in the hands of the English. This force, soon reduced by mortality to one hundred and fifty privates fit for duty, was taken (though not without a long and vigorous defence) by the enemy: and the whole island fell again into the hands of the republicans.

From St. Vincent, the seat of the Caribbs, or what remained of the ancient inhabitants of the islands, the passion for liberty and equality was communicated to the minds of the mulattoes and negroes in Martinico, St. Lucia, and the Grenades; and a spirit of disorganization and anarchy introduced into every part of the West Indies. Of all the French West India islands, Martinico alone escaped (and that through the vigour of the regulars and colonists) the cruel devastation of invasion and insurrection. The contagion spread to Dominica; but was repelled, though not without a long struggle, and much loss of property. In Jamaica
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the maroons, or original inhabitants living in the mountains, commenced a war of unexampled barbarity, putting prisoners to death with the most execruciating tortures; and when reduced to extremities, cutting the throats of their own wives and children. By the vigilant and active policy of Lord Balcarras, and the military skill of General Walpole, they were at last surrounded in the woods and fortresses, and reduced to the necessity of surrendering at discretion.

By the British conquests in the West Indies, large additions were made to private fortunes by captures or plunder, which did not escape the boldest change of unfeeling rapacity; and, what was of more importance, the national revenue of Britain was prodigiously increased by duties levied on imported sugar, rum, coffee, indigo, and cotton. A new source of revenue was also opened in the East Indies, by that participation of the trade of India, under certain limitations and restrictions, which was granted to individual traders of this country, by the lately renewed charter of the East India company: a wise and important measure, of which we shall have occasion to

take more particular notice when we come to mark its effects, and the progress of its operation, in our future volumes.

On the whole, the affairs of Great Britain in 1794, though unfortunate on the continent, flourished on her natural element. War was evaded with America; our government and possessions in the East lately enlarged, were now, by new and judicious regulations, improved, and our commerce everywhere prosperous.

But this splendid horizon was clouded by an apprehension that, if the French should retain possession of maritime Flanders, make peace with the continental powers, and bend all her efforts to the construction of a navy, the commerce of Great Britain would, at some future period, be diminished; that of France proportionably exalted on its ruin; and the political principles of the French prevail with their prevailing power over Europe. All the advantage, therefore, of a present good, and indeed infinitely more in the anticipation of national resources, was absorbed in plans for the prevention of contingent, but what were deemed but too probable evils.

CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

1st. *St. Petersburg*, **T**HE king
Nov. 19. O. S. of Great
Britain having been graciously pleased to nominate Charles Whitworth, Esq. his Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at this court, to be a Knight Companion of the most Noble Order of the Bath, and his majesty being desirous that he should be knighted, and invested with the ensigns of the said order in the most honourable and most distinguished manner, Mr. Whitworth applied to her imperial majesty, the empress of Russia, by order of the king his master, to desire she would be pleased to represent his majesty on this occasion: to which her imperial majesty very readily consented, expressing in the strongest terms her sentiments of friendship and affection towards his Britannic majesty, and was at the same time pleased to appoint Sunday, the 17th, immediately after divine service, for the performance of the ceremony, which was as follows:

Mr. Whitworth having at noon repaired to the palace, according to appointment, he was there received by the grand master of the ceremonies, who conducted him into the audience-room, where her imperial majesty was attended by count Ostermann, the vice-chancellor; the grand Duke and Duchess, and all the principal officers of the court,

being in an adjacent apartment, with the folding doors open. Mr. Whitworth, being introduced by the grand master of the ceremonies, made a low reverence on his entrance, a second in the middle of the room, and a third on his approaching her imperial majesty: and Mr. Whitworth then kneeling, her imperial majesty immediately invested him with the ribbon and badge of the order; and then taking from a table a gold-hilted sword, richly ornamented with diamonds, the empress touched his left shoulder three times with it, pronouncing these words, *Soyez bon et honorable chevalier, au nom de Dieu*; and on Sir Charles Whitworth's rising up, and kissing her imperial majesty's hand, the empress added, *Et pour vous prouver combien j'ai suis contente de vous, je vous fais présent de l'épée avec laquelle je vous ai fait chevalier*. Then sir Charles, after expressing to her imperial majesty his respectful and grateful sense of those most gracious and extraordinary marks of favour, withdrew from the empress's presence, observing the same ceremonies as at his entrance.

Last week arrived from Sierra Leone, the *Felicity*, captain Wenhams, with a cargo of wax, camwood, &c. The dispatches by this ship contain very flattering accounts of the health of this colony, and of its progress in commercial pursuits; but we are sorry to add, that they bring

also an account of the death of prince Naimbonna, who died, on the evening of his arrival at Sierra Leone, of a putrid fever, contracted by him on shipboard, in the course of his passage from this country. This amiable young man had been for some short time in England, under the protection of the Sierra Leone company. He possessed a very excellent understanding, a disposition earnest in the pursuit of knowledge, and great facility in receiving instruction. His mental acquirements, during his stay in this country, were the subject of much admiration, and his easy address and suavity of manners endeared him to all those to whom he was introduced. He had imbibed, and he professed to the last moment of his existence, the strongest attachment to the principles of the Protestant faith; and by his will (made in the beginning of his illness) he earnestly requested his relations to set their faces against the slave-trade, and to befriend the Sierra Leone company to the utmost of their power.

6th. Monday morning, at nine o'clock, came on before the high court of Justiciary, at Edinburgh, the trial of William Skirving, accused of different seditious practices. He conducted his defence without the assistance of agent or counsel, and after a long trial, which lasted till one o'clock this morning, he was found guilty of sedition, and sentenced to fourteen years transportation. After the verdict was recorded, and before sentence was passed, the pannel addressed the court. He said by an unlucky accident he had been deprived of counsel on his trial, but had this morning received, by post, what

he had expected, viz. the opinion of English counsel on his trial: and although it had arrived in some degree too late, yet even at this period it might not perhaps be altogether useless. He then stated the opinion of the English counsel to be, that the indictment was illegal in so far as it charged him to be guilty art or part of the crime libelled. On such a charge as this, he was informed, no legal trial could proceed. He also stated, that to this hour, although he had often asked, he had never yet been informed what sedition was. When their lordships delivered their opinions as to what punishment should be inflicted, they also took notice of the opinion of this English counsel, of whom they said that, however learned he might be in the law of England, he was grossly ignorant of the law of Scotland, else he would have known that there was a Special Act of Parliament authorising the charge of art and part. After sentence was pronounced, the pannel addressed the court, saying the sentence did not at all appal him, that he had long since learned to throw aside all fear of man; but this sentence would be rejudged, and that was all his comfort and all his hope.

9th. *Edinburgh.* This morning, about ten o'clock, a vast crowd assembled in front of the Black-Bull Inn, where Maurice Margarot, indicted for seditious practices, lodged. He shortly after came out, attended by three friends. When he got the length of the Register-Office the mob forced all the four into a chaise which they had provided, and from which they had previously taken the horses. This done, they immediately

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ately drew the carriage to the Parliament Close, where Mr. Margarot and his friends alighted, and walking into the Parliament-house, he assisted himself at the bar. On his way home, Mr. Margarot was again forced into a carriage by the mob, along with five of his friends, and the horses being taken from the coach, the mob drew him to his lodgings at the Black-Bull Inn.

11th. The king in council signed an order for the transportation of Messrs. Muir and Palmer to New South Wales for the term sentenced by the court of Justiciary.

13th. *Edinburgh.* Mr. Margarot was accused of different seditious practices. He conducted his own defence. After a long trial, the jury found him guilty, and the court sentenced him to fourteen years transportation beyond the seas.

In consequence of the proceedings on the 9th instant, while Mr. Margarot went to the justiciary Court, every precaution was taken this day by the lord provost, magistrates, and the sheriff, to prevent any breach of good order and police. A great crowd assembled at his lodgings in Leith-street about ten o'clock, and he was conducted with a wreath or arch held over him, with inscriptions of Reason, Liberty, &c. About the middle of the North Bridge, however, the cavalcade was met by the lord provost, sheriff, constable, peace-officers, &c. and immediately dispersed, the arch demolished, and its supporters taken into custody. A press-gang attended to assist the peace-officers. Mr. Margarot then walked to the court, escorted by the lord provost and sheriff, and no disturbance ensued.

16th. At the Old Bailey, John

Lyon stood indicted capitally for forging several receipts, purporting to be receipts for the payment of certain dividends, of a loan, to be raised under an act of parliament, for the service of the year 1793, with an intent to defraud the governor and company of the Bank of England. When the clerk of the arraigns put the usual question to the prisoner, "How say you, are you guilty or not guilty?" the prisoner replied, that he should beg leave to decline making any defence, on account of the nature of the evidence intended to be produced against him. He was recommended by the judges to plead not guilty, but he persisted, and the plea was recorded; but the judge's humanity, to prevent the prisoner from being in some degree the instrument of his own death, urged Mr. Wood, who was counsel for the prisoner, to try his influence with him: it occurred to Mr. Wood, that as the evidence of his sister was the ground of the prisoner's objection to plead, that he might demur to the indictment, which, by an admission of the facts, left it to be argued in point of law: after Mr. Wood had explained the nature of the demurrer, and that his sister would not then be called in evidence against him, he consented to demur to the indictment. The prisoner was also indicted for the same offence in another form, to which he also demurred. His counsel applied for copies of the indictments, which were not granted. The demurrer came on to be argued on the 20th instant, but the decision of it was postponed to a future day.

17th. This morning a fire broke out in the hot-house of Mr. Parker, of South Lambeth, which consumed

many valuable exotics, among which were several Botany-Bay plants.— The flames were very fierce, and threw the whole neighbourhood into the greatest consternation; providentially the damage was confined to Mr. Parker's premises.

28th. The following are some circumstances attending a late marriage between a branch of the royal family and a daughter of a northern earl. About eighteen months since, lady Dunmore, whose husband is now governor of the Bahama Islands, went with her two daughters into Italy, where they resided till very lately. His royal highness prince Augustus, being at Rome, met with those ladies, and very naturally courted their agreeable society: the consequence of which was, a mutual attachment between his royal highness and lady Augusta Murray, and they were there married. Lady Murray became pregnant, and returned to England. His royal highness did the same: and, at the instance of the lady and her friends, a second marriage took place. The parties were regularly asked in the church of St. George, Hanover-square, in the month of November last, and on the 5th of December they were again united, according to the ceremonies of the church of England, under the names of Augustus Frederick and Augusta Murray. The circumstances having come to the king's knowledge, his majesty instituted a suit of nullity in his own name, in the Arches Court of Canterbury, to set aside the validity of this marriage, on the ground of an act of parliament passed early in the reign of his present majesty, for the prevention of the marriage of any male branch of the royal family, without the previous consent of par-

liament. On the 8th instant Mr. Heseltine, the king's proctor served a citation on lady Murray to answer the charges of the suit: The privy council has been occupied, for two days, in the investigation of the circumstances attending the late marriage of his royal highness prince Augustus Frederick and lady Augusta Murray. The persons who have been examined on this business are, lady Dunmore, lady E. Murray, a coal-merchant and his wife who live in South Moulton-street, where the lodgings were taken, to complete the residence of one month in the parish of St. George, Hanover-square; the clergyman who married the parties; and a gentleman who resides at Twickenham. Lady Aug. Murray was brought to bed of a son on the 13th instant, who is likely to do well.

30th. *Dublin.* Came on the trial in the court of King's Bench of Archibald Hamilton Rowan, esq. on an information *ex officio* for publishing, on 16th December, 1792, a seditious libel, purporting to be an address from the United Irishmen of Dublin to the volunteers of Ireland. Mr. Curran made an admirable defence for the prisoner, but the evidence was so conclusive against him that the jury, in three minutes, returned a verdict of guilty.

10th. *DIED.* After a lingering illness, aged 84, Sir Clifton Winttringham, bart. M. D. fellow of the royal colleges of physicians in London and Paris, F. R. S. physician-general to the army, and physician in ordinary to his majesty; much esteemed by all who knew him as a man of amiable manners and extensive knowledge.

11th. Aged 65, Dr. Hinchcliff, bishop of Peterborough and dean of

of Durham. This learned prelate and eloquent orator, was born in 1731. His father kept a livery stable in Swallow-street. The son, after passing through the forms of Westminster School, went to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he had scarcely taken a degree before he was chosen to be companion of the duke of Grafton during a tour of Europe. He attended the duke of Devonshire also on his travels, and afterwards attended Mr. Crewe, of Crew-hall, Cheshire, whose sister he married. The duke of Grafton, during his administration, conferred on him the valuable vicarage of Greenwich, and by the same ministerial influence he obtained, in 1769, the bishopric of Peterborough. In 1788 he was promoted to the valuable deanery of Durham.

16th. In his 57th year, Edward Gibbon, Esq. the celebrated historian, whose posthumous works we understand will shortly be edited by lord Sheffield, with memoirs of the author's life, written by himself; with extracts from which we hope to enrich a future volume.

FEBRUARY.

3d. This evening a melancholy accident happened at the Haymarket theatre, at which their majesties had commanded "My Grandmother," "No Song no Supper," and "The Prize." It was occasioned in the following manner: In the crowd one of the deceased was thrown down; the people kept pushing forward, others were thrown down over him, and all were trampled upon by the crowd, who passed over their bodies into the house. The pit lies lower than the threshold of the door leading into it; those therefore who go in must go down steps. Here it was that the mis-

chief happened; for the people who were the unfortunatesufferers, either not knowing any thing of the steps, or being hurried on by the pressure of the crowd behind, fell down; while those who followed were immediately, by the same irresistible impulse, hurried over them. The scene that ensued may be easier conceived than described; the shouts and screams of the dying and the maimed were truly shocking; while those who were literally trampling their fellow creatures to death, had it not in their power to avoid the mischief they were doing. Seven bodies, completely lifeless, were carried into Mr. Wynch's, the druggist, next door to the theatre, some to the shops of other tradesmen, and the remainder to St. Martin's bone-house, to be owned. Medical aid was called in, and every thing done to restore animation, if it was only suspended; but we are sorry to say, that success attended the process in one case only, which was that of Mr. Brandram, of Tooley-street. The following is a list of the persons who were trampled to death: Mrs. Fisher, sister-in-law to Mr. Brandram of Tooley-street. Miss Brandram, niece of Mr. Brandram. Mr. Brandram, his nephew. Mr. Brandram himself was carried out apparently dead, but was recovered; he is since dead. Benjamin Pingo, esq. York herald, of the heralds' college. J. C. Brooke, esq. Somerset herald, of ditto. Mrs. and master Willis, wife and son of Mr. Willis, attorney, of Gray's inn. Mr. Garbutt, late master of the Three Sisters, of Whitby. Mrs. Gwatkin, wife of Mr. Gwatkin, dancing master, Bartlett's Buildings. Mrs. Spencer, St. James's Market. Miss Williams, Pall-mall, daughter of Mr. Williams, of Shoe-lane. Mr. Robinson, of Coleman-street, farrier.

Miss Pushnel, niece of Mr. Norton, of Berners-street. Mrs. Edgar and son, of Pall-mall. In all fifteen persons.

The inquest of the coroner is local. That of St. Martin's parish has returned a verdict of—"Accidental death by suffocation, and being trampled upon at the pit-door of the Hay-market theatre." Exclusive of these lamented victims, who were all respectable persons, near twenty others suffered material injuries, in bruises, broken legs, and arms, some of whom are since dead.

5th. This morning were executed before Newgate, pursuant to their sentence, John Rabbitts and William Brown (alias Bartlett), two very old offenders. They confessed several robberies, amongst which was that and the murder of Mr. Eaton, in Berwick-street, Soho; of Mr. Woodcock, who was knocked down and robbed of his watch in Bedford-row, &c. &c.

7th. This night, at eight o'clock, the duke of York arrived at Whitehall from the continent. His royal highness came passenger in the Vestal frigate, which conveyed prince Adolphus to Ostend, and landed at Ramsgate, after a short passage of fourteen hours. The duke of York, immediately upon his arrival in town, set off for Oatlands, where his duchess was. His royal highness was accompanied on his journey to England by colonel Hewgill of the guards, and captain Crawford, his royal highness's aide-de-camp.

9th. On Wednesday morning the arrival of the Swallow packet at Torbay, with the most noble marquis Cornwallis and part of his suite, was announced at the India-house. The Swallow left Madras the 10th of October, when all the presidencies and possessions of the

company were in an unexampled state of prosperity.

10th. This morning Messrs. Muir, Margarot, Skirving, and Palmer, were removed from Newgate, in a post-coach and four, attended by two king's messengers. We learn that they were taken on board vessels bound to Botany Bay.

By the court of King's Bench, in Ireland, it has been decided, that Mr. A. H. Rowan shall not have a new trial; and judgment has been pronounced, that he shall be imprisoned for two years, pay a fine of 500*l.* and find securities for his good behaviour, under a penalty of 4000*l.* for seven years.

11th. A fire this night broke out at the floor-cloth manufactory in Knightsbridge. By it no less than 20,000*l.* worth of property, with the buildings, was destroyed, and not a farthing of either insured. The above fire was occasioned by the neglect of a boy, who in heating some colour suffered it to boil over.

13th. *Cardiff.* The canal from Merthir Tidvil to this place being completed, a fleet of canal boats arrived from Merthir, laden with the produce of the iron-works there, to the great exultation of the town. This canal is 25 miles in length.

14th. This day was determined, in the court of King's Bench, an action of crim. con. Howard against Bingham, attended with circumstances so peculiar, that we shall give a fuller account of it in the appendix to the chronicle than we could do here.

22d. *Leicester.* Last night a boat belonging to Messrs Ella, Douglas, and Poynton, arrived at their wharf, in the Friars, freighted with merchandize from Gainsborough. The advantages of an immediate communication by water from this place to the coasts of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire,

Yorkshire, through the heart of the country and the whole southern district of Nottinghamshire, are obvious.

DIED. 3d. At Dublin, the honourable Richard Power, LL. D. second baron of his majesty's court of Exchequer in Ireland; he was drowned near the Pigeon-house, Dublin. The jury sat upon the body, and returned a verdict, accidental death. The baron's property in the English funds was estimated at upwards of 60,000l. The baron was usher and accountant-general of the court of Chancery. By virtue of the latter office, all moneys pending on suits in that court were lodged with him. A cause of the Chandos family, having been twenty years in that court, lately came to a decision; and, by virtue of a law, the claimant of the property demanded the interest which accrued upon the principal; this the baron refused, alleging that the principal only was adjudged. The party complained to the chancellor, and his lordship ordered the baron to appear personally in court to answer the complaint. This the baron's pride revolted at, having been a judge of many years standing, even when the chancellor was a barrister; but he was ready to account to the claimant, under his lordship's decree. The chancellor was inflexible, and allowed him five days to appear. On the third, the baron (after making his will, and leaving his papers in a regular manner) put a period to his existence, by drowning himself at the above place.

Liverpool, Feb. 11th. All the bells of this town are now ringing, to celebrate the capture of seven sail of French West Indiamen brought in here by only two of our

privateers: they could have taken two others, but from a deficiency of hands to put on board them. Five of the above ships are from St. Domingo. They are all fine and richly laden.

28th. *J. B. V. Guillotine*, M.D. formerly of Lyons, was among the multitude of persons who have lately been executed there. He was charged with having corresponded with persons at Turin. It is an extraordinary thing that he should die by an instrument of his own invention. He died with great reluctance, and declared, that, when he produced his instrument to the world, it was from motives of humanity alone.

MARCH.

1st. *Copenhagen*. On Wednesday evening, about five o'clock, a dreadful fire broke out in the royal palace of Christianbourg, which communicating from the hereditary prince's apartments, where it began, to the rest of the building, in the space of seven or eight hours reduced the whole to a heap of ashes. The royal family have happily escaped without accident, but the greater part of their valuable effects have been a prey to the flames. It is not yet known what number of lives have been lost, but it is to be hoped, considering the rapidity of the conflagration, which was increased by a very strong wind, that the number is not great. This palace, one of the most commodious and most sumptuously furnished in Europe, was built in the reign of Christian the sixth, and is said to have cost, in building only, considerably above a million sterling; it seems therefore

not an exorbitant calculation to suppose, that, with the loss sustained by the hundreds of individuals by whom it was inhabited, the whole damage may amount to two millions sterling. It is some consolation, in so great a disaster, that the royal library, consisting of between two and three hundred thousand volumes, which stood detached from the principal pile, has been fortunately saved.—During the whole of this distressful scene, the garrison and the citizens were under arms, and every effort was made, both by the military and the sailors, to prevent disorder and pillage. His Danish majesty is lodged for the present in an apartment at count Bernstorff's, and the rest of the royal family are dispersed in different quarters of the town, where they will remain till houses proper for their reception can be got ready.

4th. The right honourable W. B. Ponsonby introduced his promised bill on the subject of a parliamentary reform in the Irish commons, on which a debate took place. At twelve the house divided; on the motion of sir Hercules Langrishe, that the bill be read the second time the 1st of August—Ayes 142—Noes 44—Majority against the bill 98.

10th. *Edinburgh.* This day came on the trial of Joseph Gerald, esq. late of Bloomsbury-square, London. The accusation, at the instance of the lord-advocate of Scotland, charged him with being a member of a seditious association, called "The British convention," which met at Edinburgh in November and December last; and that, on the 21st and 28th of November, he made addresses of a seditious nature to the members of the said convention. The indictment also charged Mr. Gerald with being present in the convention

when the magistrates and sheriff went to disperse the members.—When the court met, before the libel was read over, Mr. Gerald objected to the lord justice Clerk sitting on the bench. Upon this, his lordship rose, and lord Henderland took the chair. Mr. Gerald then presented a written minute, containing the specific objections to his lordship's sitting on the bench, and the facts which he offered to prove in support of these objections: they were, that his lordship had prejudged his cause, inasmuch as, some time since, when in the house of Mr. Rochead of Innerleith, he said, "What would they think of sending Margarot to Botany-Bay, and giving him a whipping also?"—This minute he desired might be entered on the records of the court. Their lordships in general were of opinion that the objection was not well founded; for the words alluded to were merely part of a conversation at table; and could any man suppose that such language could have any influence upon a judicial procedure? Would it be proper to give force to such a charge, founded on a few loose words, and not at all connected with the proceedings of the court, nor delivered in the capacity of a judge? If such objections were to be tolerated, they might be attended with the most dangerous consequences. It was throwing an indignity upon the court, and was intended as a foul aspersion upon the character of that respectable and learned judge who was vice-president of the court, and who added honour to the bench. Suppose that such words really had been spoken, how could they tend to prejudice the cause of Mr. Gerald, when it remained with a jury to try him?

One of their lordships remarked that the charge against the defendant, if true, was highly aggravated by the ill-founded charge he had now made upon that respectable judge; and, if a verdict were found against him by the jury, he would not say but he might consider fourteen years transportation as too small a punishment to be inflicted. In the case of Mr. Margarot, he hesitated much whether fourteen years ought to be the punishment, or whether one more severe should be imposed: for he considered the conduct of that person, in the course of his trial, as highly reprehensible. The accusation which the defendant now made might originate in malice. Their lordships resumed the consideration of the objection, and were of opinion that it was irrelevant, and ought to be rejected. Upon this, lord chief justice Clerk was called to the chair. The indictment was then read over, to which the defendant pleaded, not guilty.

Mr. Gillies then addressed the court in defence of Mr. Gerald.

13th. The High Court of Justiciary met, agreeably to adjournment of Monday, on the trial of Joseph Gerald, for sedition. The pleadings on both sides continued till eleven o'clock at night, when the jury withdrew, and brought in a verdict next morning at eleven o'clock, unanimously finding the pannel guilty, when the lords passed sentence of banishment beyond seas for fourteen years, &c. The diet against Sinclair is deserted *pro loco et tempore*, on account of the imbecility of his mind.

24th. This evening a set of resurrectionists were apprehended at a house near the turnpike, Mile-End.

That morning a coach was observed to stop at the house, and an ill-looking fellow came out of it with a sack, containing, as was supposed, a body, which he carried into the house, and returned immediately with a large hamper;—they then drove off to a neighbouring public-house, when, after a short stay, they took up some others, and were traced to the Launch at Deptford. In the mean time the parish-officers were informed of the circumstance. About six in the evening, the coach again returned with a similar lading, which was deposited in the house. Some constables, accompanied by a number of people, surrounded the house, and, forcing an entrance, they found two men and a woman drinking tea on a bench, at one end of which lay the bodies of two children. They were secured; and on entering an adjoining room, the bodies of six adults were discovered unmutilated; besides which, the floor was strewed with limbs in a state too shocking for public description.

26th. The Brown Bear public-house, Upper Moorfields, was entirely destroyed by a dreadful fire, in which the landlord, his wife, and two children, perished. Two lodgers escaped by jumping out of a two-pair-of-stairs window.

Boston, North America. In the assembly of New York, on the 13th January, Mr. Willocks moved, "That the titles of excellency, honourable, esquire, and every other characteristic designation not warranted by the constitution, and which are unnecessary and inconsistent with the plainness and real dignity of republican manners, be abolished,"—which motion was negatived the 17th of the same month.

APRIL.

2d. *Bury, Suffolk.* This morning were executed, pursuant to their sentence, John and Nathan Nichols, father and son, for the wilful murder of Sarah Nichols, daughter to the one and sister to the other. The father and brother way-laid the helpless girl in the evening of the 14th of September last; the former drew a stake out of a hedge, and, giving it to his son, urged him with threats to commit the horrid deed; whereupon the boy, striking his sister on the head, knocked her down, and repeated his blows till he had deprived her of life: he afterwards, at his father's desire, went and tied one of her garters round her neck, and dragged her into a ditch, where she was found the next morning. Nathan Nichols was nineteen, and his unfortunate sister seventeen, years of age. On their arrival at the fatal tree, they both persisted in their innocence; and, notwithstanding the very ample confession of the boy, he then said his father was innocent, for all he knew, of the fact for which they were to suffer. The behaviour of the elder Nichols was very undaunted, declaring his innocence to the last moment. After hanging the usual time, the body of the elder Nichols was conveyed to Fakenham, to be hung in chains, and the younger one was taken for dissection at Bury. John Nichols was about sixty years of age, and had been many years employed as hedge carpenter to the Duke of Grafton.

5th. At two o'clock, the lord mayor, accompanied by a select committee of the corporation of London, proceeded from the Mansion-house to New Burlington-street, the residence of Marquis Cornwallis, attend-

ed by the city marshal on horseback, music, and colours, to present that nobleman with the freedom of the city, in a gold box of one hundred guineas value. When the gold box was delivered by the chamberlain, the lord mayor addressed his lordship in a handsome speech. The marquis returned his thanks to the lord mayor for the very flattering manner in which the freedom had been presented to him. The committee then returned, with the marquis and his friends, to a very elegant entertainment that had been prepared for them at the Mansion-house.

11th. *Brussels.* On Wednesday, about five o'clock in the afternoon, the emperor our king gratified the wishes of the Belgians, by honouring this city with his presence. The states, in a body, presented the keys to his majesty at the gate of Louvain, on which the following inscription was read:—

“ Caesar adest, tremant Galli.”

Young men, dressed in white scarfs, representing his people, drew slowly the coach. Some detachments of cavalry preceded and followed at a certain distance. The procession repaired to the church of St. Gudule, where the *Te Deum* was chaunted. His majesty passed afterwards through a part of this city, amidst immense crowds, who thronged on his passage, rending the air with the cries of *Vive l'Empereur! Vive le Roi!*

14th. At the assizes at Bristol, before Vickery Gibbs, esq. recorder, commenced the trial of Mr. R. V. Perry, charged with having forcibly, and without her consent, taken Miss C. Clarke from a boarding school in this city. The prosecution was opened in a very able speech, by Mr. Bond. Evidence was then examined, on the part of the prosecution,

secution, but interrupted by Mr. Erskine, who with his usual force and ability contended that Mrs. Perry was a legal evidence, and that by precluding her the court would be deprived of the only proper witness. This was warmly objected to by the counsel for the prosecution, and referred to the decision of the recorder, who admitted the evidence of Mrs. Perry. After a trial of more than eight hours, Mr. Perry was acquitted, the jury finding him "Not guilty," without going out of court.

14th. *Edinburgh.* The tragedy of Charles the First was performed this evening at our theatre. The house was much filled on the occasion. When the play began, several hisses were heard at any sentiment of loyalty uttered by the characters, and applauses attempted when contrary doctrines were inculcated; but this being still persisted in, the orchestra was desired, by some officers in the boxes, to play "God save the King," which was accordingly performed. It has been usual of late, when this tune is played, for the whole audience to rise, and the gentlemen to stand uncovered; upon this being done, about eight or ten were discovered, sitting in the pit, who neither rose nor took off their hats: it was immediately concluded that these were the persons who had disturbed the entertainment, and there was a loud cry of "off hats," to which the others paying no regard, it was soon changed into "out; out with them!" This still producing no effect, a general uproar took place; a few gentlemen, and several officers of the Argyleshire fencibles, who were in the boxes, rushed into the pit, and a scuffle ensued: at last, some refractory persons were returned out, and the rest compelled to take off their hats.

The play afterwards went on without any interruption; and, upon a second call for "God save the King," many respectable people, of their own accord, immediately retired from the pit. On Wednesday, the tragedy was performed again, when a renewal of the disturbance took place, which was, however, quieted without any bad consequences.

18th. The tumult has by no means subsided; the magistrates, last night, and their friends, nearly filled the house, insisted on the audience being uncovered at the playing of "God save the King:" they succeeded in their demands, for the opposite party, on the supposition that the transaction was at an end, had neglected to attend.

30th. New Drury theatre contains in the pit 800 persons, whole range of boxes 1828, two shilling gallery 675, one shilling gallery 308, total 3,611, amounting to 826l. 6s. There are eight private boxes on each side of the pit, twenty-nine all round the first tier, and eleven back front boxes; twenty-nine all round the second tier, of which eleven are six seats deep; ten on each side the gallery, three tier; boxes in the cove, nine each side. The diameter of the pit is 55 feet, opening of the curtain 43 feet wide, height of the curtain 38 feet, height of the house from the pit floor to the ceiling is 56 feet 6 inches.

DIED. 14th. At Mr. Welling's, engraver, Tavistock-street, of a mortification in his bowels, aged 60, that ingenious artist, Samuel Hieronimo Grimm; the exertions of whose pencil were not confined to his more immediate patrons, Mr. Rhodes, sir William Burrell, bart. and the rev. sir Richard Kaye, bart. dean of Lincoln, but will be remembered with regret

regret by all the lovers of our national antiquities. Mr. Grimm was a native of Switzerland; and to a niece, still resident there, he has bequeathed the little fortune which he had vested in the British funds, amounting to about 200*l.* or 300*l.* and whatever may arise from the sale of his drawings and other personals, by private contract, in which he has given, by will, a preference to Mr. Rhodes and sir William Burrell, with an apology to sir Richard Kaye, 'for whom (says he) I have made so many drawings, which I shall never have it in my power to finish.' His remains were interred in the church-yard of St. Paul, Covent-garden, the dean of Lincoln paying the last office to his departed friend. Those who have seen the almost innumerable subjects of Mr. Grimm's pencil, in Sussex, Derbyshire, and Nottinghamshire, will earnestly wish that they may be perpetuated by good engravings; at the expence of the respective proprietors under whose patronage they were taken, as the Maundy Celebration has been by the then sub-almoner. The last legacy to the public was the views of Cowdry-house, in its perfect state, purchased by the Society of Antiquaries for their "*Vetusta Monumenta*."—For them, Mr. Grimm, by anticipation, preserved the historical paintings on the walls of that noble mansion; and for them, he copied the funeral of John Islip, abbot of Westminster, from a roll ascribed to Holbein, in the possession of the dean and chapter of that church.

Lately, the celebrated traveller, Major Houghton, who, some years since, left England on a journey of discovery in the interior parts of Africa, and had proceeded a considerable way in the object of his

journey. He was discovered dead in his bed, and although without any visible signs of violence, there is much reason to fear he was murdered by those who attended him for the sake of the little property he had about him.

Aged 65, at his residence at Kindnaird, near Falkirk, in Scotland, James Bruce, esq. the well-known Abyssinian traveller; of whom some biographical notice will be taken in a subsequent part of this volume.

MAY.

1st. Hamilton Rowan made his escape from the prison in Dublin in which he was confined; and William Jackson, a divine of some notoriety in England, with some others, was apprehended for high treason.

3d. *Dublin*. Some circumstances of a most alarming tendency and treasonable nature, which have transpired relative to Mr. Rowan since the apprehension of Jackson, are supposed to have been the motives that urged the former to attempt a precipitate escape, in which he effectually succeeded. Matters, it is said, were so well preconcerted in this business, that Mr. Rowan had a horse in waiting, upon which he set off immediately for Rush, from whence he was directly conveyed on board an American vessel, which waited for him off that place; and sailed the instant he came on board. The charge made against Jackson we understand to be, that he has held a correspondence of a criminal nature with several persons who now belong to the existing government of France, in which treasonable information was given to the enemy respecting the force in Great Britain

Britain and this country, with the pretended opinion of the people as to the prosecution of the war.

4th. A mob of poor people met on Streatham common, and set the heath furze on fire; the conflagration was tremendous, but the neighbours rather promoted than lent any assistance for extinguishing it. It seems that the Duke of Bedford used formerly to let the poor have the furze, but this year he sold it for near 80l. On Saturday Mr. M'Namara, his agent, by his grace's order, took in some ground from the common which was formerly used for the poor people's cattle, and in the evening a hackney-coach drove to the spot, when six men, dressed in black, and crapes over their faces, got out of the carriage, and with carpenters implements cut down the palet inclosure, returned into the coach, and drove off.

A horrid murder has lately been committed on the body of Mr. Reed of Swanley, in Gloucestershire. Having been lately ill in health, his wife persuaded him to make his will in her favour of the whole of his property, amounting to 6000l. Soon after the execution of his will, there was reason to believe she had infused a dose of poison in some broth, as it was observed, after he had taken it, he began to be very sick, and vomited in a most violent manner. Mrs. Reed then persuaded him to go to bed, where he had not long been before one James Watkins came into the house, when she told him the job was not completed. No sooner had she spoken the word, than he took a broomstick in his hand, and said he would finish it; and, going up stairs, struck the unfortunate man several blows upon the head, one of which cut the flesh

down three inches over the forehead, and he repeated the blows till he was dead. Hearing, soon after the deed, that it had gone abroad, and that the coroner was determined to have an inquest, Watkins absconded, but the women has been taken and admitted to bail by the Gloucestershire magistrates. The voluntary narrative of Robert Edgar, a stripling of the Dorsetshire corps, led to the discovery of this murder, and the apprehension of Mrs. Reed, the surviving widow, by the vigilance of the Bow-street magistrates. Since her admission to bail, she has written to the brother of her murdered husband in London that the perpetrator of the horrid deed was her own brother—Watkins; and that the remorse and contrition impressed on his own mind “had led to the destruction of himself by a pistol.” The investigation of this circumstance remains to be unfolded; and the measures of the Bow-street magistrates are well arranged to develop this extraordinary mystery. Mrs. Reed, when at Poole, was enamoured of Edgar, who was bred a surgeon, and is yet a mere boy, to appearance not more than 15 years old; and according to his own narrative, was led to promise her marriage in case of her husband's death, and Watkins undertook to rid them of him on a promise of 200l.

An inquest has been taken, at Bishop-Frome, Herefordshire, on the body of Watkins, who had shot himself at his father's house in that parish, where he had been concealed since the murder of Mr. Reed. The jury brought in their verdict, *Felo de se*.

14th. London. Mr. Stone, a coal-merchant of Rutland-street, Thames-street,

street, was taken up on a charge of high-treason; and after various examinations, was committed to Newgate for trial.

Mr. D. Adams, formerly clerk in the Auditor's office and secretary to the society for Constitutional Information; and Mr. Hardy, who signs himself secretary to the London Corresponding Society, were taken into custody.

17th. The king having been pleased to order that the colours taken at Martinico, which were lately brought to the palace at St. James's, should be this day deposited in the cathedral of St. Paul; detachments of horse and foot guards were ordered to parade at St. James's at ten o'clock, and marched before his majesty, who was pleased to see them pass by in the following order:

A captain and forty life-guards.

A serjeant and twelve grenadiers.
Music of the first regiment of guards.

Twenty-nine serjeants with the French colours.

A field-officer and 100 life-guards.

In this manner they proceeded to the west gate of St. Paul's, where the colours were received by the dean and chapter, attended by the choir; about which time the guns at the Tower and Park were fired. The colours are since put up in the cathedral church, as a lasting memorial of the success of his majesty's arms in the reduction of the important island of Martinico.

20th. The rev. Jeremiah Joyce, private secretary to earl Stanhope, and tutor to lord Mahon his son, was last week arrested; as have been since, Mr. Thelwall, Mr. Bonney, Mr. Richter, Mr. Lovatt; and, on the 16th, Mr. Horne Tooke. On the 19th, after examinations be-

fore the privy council, these six were committed to the Tower, charged with high treason. The prisoners were conducted to separate apartments. The rev. Mr. Joyce is in the house of the head gaoler, Grauz, guarded by two wardens, and two soldiers outside the door, and no person on any account is suffered to have access to him. Mr. Tooke is in the house of the head gaoler, Kinghorn, with the same guard. Thelwall, whose restless conduct caused great uneasiness in the mind of Timms, the messenger, was sent to the apartments formerly occupied by the unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots. Lovatt and Richter were put into different strong apartments in the White Tower. Bonney was conducted to an apartment in the east wing, with the same orders and guard. The prisoners were conveyed in separate coaches and strongly guarded. They went by the route of the two bridges.

A few days since, as three carpenters were removing an old escutcheon, in Leeds castle, Kent, they found concealed there, in guineas, half-guineas, and other coins, nearly to the amount of 500*l.* which they restored to Dr. Fairfax, the present proprietor of that ancient mansion, who rewarded them with 10 guineas for their honesty. The money is of Queen Anne's reign, and is supposed to have been there ever since the beginning of this century.

10th. **DIED.** Guillotined at Paris, madame Elizabeth, sister of the late king of France. She was fetched from the Temple the day preceding, and taken to the Conciergerie the next day, where she was examined before the revolutionary tribunal; which examination, however,

ever, was very summary. The only questions put to her, were her name and quality. To the first she answered, that her name was Philippa Maria Elizabeth Helena, of France, and her quality, she said, was aunt to the king. This assertion was sufficient; she was immediately declared guilty of conspiring against the republic, and executed the same day.

10th. Lord Chatham carried the

JUNE.

4th. As Mr. Clarke's stage wagon was passing along the road near Burstall, Leicestershire, it was overturned, owing to the horses taking fright at a peacock, and three valuable horses were killed.

6th. A fire broke out in a room adjoining the laundry at Oatlands, the seat of the duke of York, which burnt with great fury for nearly an hour and a half, when it communicated to the grand armory, where arms to the amount of 20000l. were totally destroyed; and had it not been for the activity of the neighbouring inhabitants, the whole of the house had been levelled with the ground. The whole damage is estimated at 20000l. The duchess was at Oatlands at the time, and beheld the dreadful conflagration from her sleeping apartment, which is situated in the centre of the mansion, and from which the flames were prevented communicating by instantly hewing down a gateway, over which the winged joined to the house. His majesty visited her highness on Saturday morning, and gave the necessary orders for clearing the ruins, and rebuilding the wing of the house which had been destroyed.

10th. Lord Chatham carried the account of lord Howe's great naval victory (see Appendix to the Chronicle) to the Opera, and just after the second act it was made known to the house. A burst of transport interrupted the Opera, and never was any scene of emotion so rapturous as the audience exhibited, when the band struck up Rule Britannia. The joy continued for the whole night, and at intervals the acclamations of triumph drowned the performance. Morichelli joined in the general joy, and God Save the King was sung by her, Morelli, and Rovedino. Not content with this, the spectators seeing Banti in a box, she was called on by every voice to sing God save the King! She cheerfully obeyed the summons, came on the stage, and the transport of the night was crowned by her singing the song.

The duke of Clarence went to Covent-garden theatre, where he communicated the joyful intelligence to the manager, who ordered it to be announced to the house, which was accordingly done by Mr. Inledon. The music played God save the King! and Rule Britannia! which were loudly applauded.— Lord Mulgrave and colonel Phipps in the mean time went to Drury-lane house, and informed the manager of the glorious achievements of the British navy, which he ordered to be announced to the audience by Mr. Suett. The music and performers joined in the loyal sounds of God save the King! and Rule Britannia! which were loudly applauded by the whole house. The event was celebrated throughout the night by the ringing of bells, firing of cannon, &c. and this day at noon the Park and Tower guns.

13th. The

13th. The metropolis was illuminated for three successive evenings, and some windows were broken belonging to those who refused to exhibit this mark of satisfaction at the important victory obtained.— Among others, the house of earl Stanhope was damaged, in consequence of which, he next day inserted the following advertisement in the newspapers :

“ Outrage in Mansfield-street.

“ Whereas a hired band of ruffians attacked my house in Mansfield-street, in the dead of the night, between the 11th and 12th of June instant, and set it on fire at different times; and whereas a gentleman's carriage passed several times to and fro in front of my house, and the aristocrat, or other person, who was in the said carriage, gave money to the people in the street, to encourage them: this is to request the friends of liberty and good order to send me any authentic information they can procure, respecting the name and place of abode of the said aristocrat, or other person who was in the carriage above-mentioned, in order that they may be made amenable to the law.

June 12, 1794. STANHOPE.”

17th. *Naples.* On the 13th ult. at ten o'clock at night, all Naples was sensible of the shock of an earthquake, with a horizontal motion, which lasted about 30 seconds.— On Sunday last, the 15th, about the same hour, the earthquake was repeated, which was followed by a violent eruption of mount Vesuvius. The mountain opened in two places towards the centre of its line, when columns of black smoke, mixed with liquid inflamed matter, issued from each mouth; soon after other mouths were opened, and in a line towards

the sea. The explosions from all these mouths, louder than thunder, mixed with sharp reports, as from the heaviest pieces of artillery, accompanied by a hollow subterraneous rumour, like that of the sea in a storm, caused all the houses to shake to their very foundations. The lavas gushing from these mouths, after having run four miles in a few hours, destroyed the greatest part of the town of Torre del Greco, about a mile from Portici, and made a considerable progress into the sea, where it formed a promontory about ten feet above its surface, and near a quarter of a mile broad, having heated the water to such a degree that a hand could not be borne in it at the distance of one hundred yards from the lava. It cannot yet be ascertained how many lives have been lost in that city; many families are missing; but whether they have escaped, or are buried under the ruins of their own houses, is not known. Naples is covered with ashes, and every object is obscured as in a thick fog. But Vesuvius, though not visible, continues very turbulent, and more mischief may be expected, although the lavas are all stopped at this moment. The head of St. Januarius was carried in procession yesterday, and opposed to the mountain by the cardinal archbishop of Naples, attended by many thousands of the inhabitants of this city.

18th. The bishop of Lincoln this day consecrated the mausoleum which Mr. Pelham has erected to the memory of his late wife, near his seat at Brocklesby in Lincolnshire. It is esteemed the finest building of the kind in this kingdom, and is supposed to have cost nearly 30,000*l.*

30th. *Portsmouth.* His majesty arrived

arrived here on Thursday morning, in pursuance of the resolution he had announced of visiting the fleet, and was received by the governor and lord Howe, and conducted to the dock-yard, whence he proceeded to Spithead with the royal family. Lord Howe's flag was shifted to a frigate, and the royal Standard hoisted on board the Queen Charlotte, on board which his majesty and the royal family remained till six o'clock. The lords of the admiralty hoisted their flag on board the Queen, admiral Gardner's flag being removed on the occasion. The whole garrison was under arms; the concourse of people was immense. The king, with his own hand, carried a valuable diamond-hilted sword, from the commissioner's house down to the boat, which he presented to earl Howe, on board the Queen Charlotte, as a mark of his satisfaction and entire approbation of his conduct. His majesty also presented a gold chain, to which a medal is hereafter to be annexed, to admiral sir Alexander Hood and rear-admiral Gardner; the like honour was conferred on lord Howe's first captain, sir Roger Curtis. The wounded admirals, Bowyer and Pasley, who consequently could not attend, have been distinguished with similar marks of favour. The royal family, in the evening, on their return from Spithead, rowed up the harbour to view the six French prizes, which are at moorings there. On Friday, the king first gave audience to the officers of lord Howe, and afterwards indiscriminately to all the other naval and military officers. Some marks of distinction were conferred. On the levee being ended, the royal family returned to the commissioner's house in the Dock-yard to dinner, and in

the evening proceeded up the river to view the French prizes. The town was brilliantly illuminated in the evening, and every possible demonstration of joy manifested. On Saturday, the royal family attended the launching of the Prince of Wales, a fine second rate. Four flags were flying on board the Prince of Wales during this ceremony, the royal standard, the admiralty flag, Sir Peter Parker's white flag as port admiral, and the union flag. The cheering of the multitude, in honour of the royal visitants, wherever they appeared, made the air ring; and bands of music continued playing in the yard and on board the ships and yachts up the harbour. Immediately on the Prince of Wales being brought up to her moorings, their majesties, prince Ernest, and the princesses, embarked in order to go on board the Aquilon frigate, captain Stopford, at Spithead. As the barges approached the ships at Spithead, two guns from the Queen Charlotte were, as on a former marine trip, the signal for a general salute; every ship, in consequence, fired twenty-one guns, and the crews cheered as the barges passed. On their majesties going on board the Aquilon, and getting under sail, the like salute was fired; and the bands of the different ships played martial symphonies for the greatest part of the day. The Aquilon, after sailing round the fleet, stood away towards the Needles. Owing to there being very little wind, soon after the Aquilon frigate had got to the eastward of Cowes point, she, in going about, touched the ground, by which accident they were stopped an hour or two; and night coming on, their majesties and all the royal party took to their barges. The Aquilon, on

the rising of the tide, was got off without receiving damage. On Monday morning, their majesties, prince Ernest, and the princesses, went on board the Niger frigate, and sailed for Southampton, where they landed in the afternoon, and immediately proceeded in carriages for Windsor.

DIED. 24th. At his apartments in Westminster, Charles Pigott, esq. author of "The Jockey Club," in two parts; "The Female Jockey Club;" "Strictures upon Burke;" "Treachery no Crime;" and many other well-known publications. His remains were interred in the family vault at Chetwynd, Shropshire.

JULY.

2d. About four o'clock in the afternoon, the earl of Waldegrave, a youth about ten years of age, was unfortunately drowned as he was bathing in the Thames, near a field called the Brocas, in the parish of Eton. His lordship was educating at Eton school, and going out with two of his companions, the latter were induced, from the heat of the season, to bathe, but desired his lordship, as the water was deep, and he not an expert swimmer, not to venture in; lord Waldegrave, however, jumped into the river, and was never perceived to rise; it is supposed he got entangled among the weeds. The body was not found till Monday morning, and was taken up close by the place where he sunk.

6th. There was a violent storm of thunder and lightning at Malden, in Essex, which moved in a north-east direction. The lightning, which was awfully splendid, set fire to a barn,

upon the farm called Mountains, near Tiptree-heath, and intirely destroyed it.

At Hereford, the same afternoon, there was a very heavy fall of rain, attended by thunder and lightning. At Goodrich, in that county, was the most dreadful storm ever experienced by the oldest inhabitant; the rain fell in such torrents, and was accompanied with such thunder and lightning, as to occasion a general alarm. Three sheep, belonging to a farmer in the parish, were killed by the lightning, which shivered in pieces a large elm that grew near the church, and killed several small birds that had taken refuge in the tree at the commencement of the storm. Considerable damage has been done at various other places, particularly at Shrewsbury, and throughout the county of Salop, where the storm fell with awful violence. In the neighbourhood of Ludlow, a farmer had three horses killed by the lightning: numbers of sheep suffered a similar fate.

In the neighbourhood of Salisbury there was much thunder and lightning, attended with very heavy storms of rain. Great damage was done by the lightning, at many places; and at Albourne, in that county, a violent storm of hail fell, which was very destructive, particularly to all the glass that was opposed to its direction. Some of the stones measured five inches round.

The parish church of Beenham in Valence, Berks, of which a well-known writer, Mr. Stackhouse, was many years vicar, was consumed by lightning.

At Northill, Bedford, a large tree was shivered in a most extraordinary manner by the lightning, between six and seven o'clock on Monday morning,

morning, large splinters being driven to the distance of near thirty yards from the spot. Three men were standing under another tree, in the same field, one of whom was struck down, and appeared lifeless for a short time; in the course of about three or four hours he so far recovered as to be able to walk; but is still incapable of going about his business.

13th. This afternoon, at 5 o'clock, a fire broke out at the bakehouse and warehouse of Mr. Alderman Curtis, which was unfortunately burnt to the ground. A sugar-house, adjoining, likewise caught fire, but by the great exertions of the firemen a considerable part of it was preserved.

A dreadful fire broke out at Radcliffe, at three o'clock in the afternoon of this day, which consumed more houses than any one conflagration since the memorable fire of London. It began at Mr. Cloves's, barge-builder, at Cock-Hill, near Radcliffe, and was occasioned by the boiling over of a pitch-kettle, that stood under his warehouse, which was consumed in a very short time. It then communicated to a barge, it being low water, lying adjoining the premises, laden with saltpetre and other stores. This occasioned the conflagration to spread widely in a very short time. Several other vessels and small craft, lying near the barge, soon after took fire, without any possibility of getting them off. The blowing up of the saltpetre from the barge, occasioned large flakes of fire to fall on the warehouses belonging to the East-India company, whence the saltpetre was removing to the Tower (20 tons of which had been fortunately taken the preceding day). The flames soon caught the warehouses, and here the

scene became dreadful: the whole of these buildings were consumed, with all their contents, to a great amount. The wind blowing strong from the south, and the high-street of Radcliffe being narrow, both sides caught fire, which prevented the engines from being of any essential service; and, in the course of the evening, it extended itself to the premises of Mr. Joseph Hanks, timber-merchant, in London-street, where it again raged most furiously, and communicated to Butcher-row, the whole of the west, and part of the east side of which was consumed. The fire then took its course up Brook-street, Stepney causeway, caught the premises of Mr. Shakespierre, rope-maker, and burnt through to the fields on the one side, and the whole of the dwellings on the other; forming altogether a square of great extent. What is very remarkable, the dwelling-house of Mr. Bear, an extensive building, although surrounded by the flames, was fortunately preserved without the least injury.—Mr. Devaynes carried an account of this dreadful fire to the cabinet ministers, who were assembled at Lord Grenville's; and measures were immediately taken for giving every assistance in the power of government for extinguishing the flames, and preserving order and tranquillity in the midst of such dreadful a calamity.—A survey has been taken by the warden and other officers of the hamlet, whose report was, that out of 1200 houses, of which the hamlet consisted, not more than 570 were preserved from general conflagration; and, what is more to be regretted, the greater number were the principal contributors towards the support of the poor. It having been reported that the fire was maliciously

liciously occasioned, upon the most minute inquiry it is clearly ascertained it was intirely accidental, from the cause above mentioned. It raged with so much violence, that it was with the greatest difficulty Mr. Cloves and his servants escaped, one of whom was terribly burnt, and is now in the London-hospital; and Mr. Cloves himself had, unfortunately, his arm broke, and is otherwise much hurt. That some idea may be formed of the very great loss sustained by this unfortunate event, the warehouses of Mr. Whiting, contained sugars to the amount of upwards of 40,000*l.* which were intirely destroyed. The distress of the miserable inhabitants exceeded all description. In the surrounding fields were deposited the few goods, consisting chiefly of bedding, they were able to save. Stepney church was opened for their reception, and above a thousand people were obliged to remain all night in the fields watching the remnant of their property. Children crying for their lost parents, and parents lamenting the fate of their children, added to the horrors of a scene not equalled during the present century. At least 1400 people are thrown on the public benevolence. By the humanity of government, there were about 150 tents pitched in an inclosed piece of ground adjoining to Stepney churchyard, for the reception of the poor sufferers, and bread was distributed from the vestry for their relief. The tents being found insufficient to contain all those who had been thus so suddenly deprived of their habitations, a number of covered waggons were sent from the Tower, to accommodate the remainder of these distressed objects. The number of spectators to view the ruins of the fire, and the

encampment of the poor inhabitants whom this unusual conflagration had driven to live in tents, was wonderful.

26th. A meeting of the affluent inhabitants of the city was held at the court-house, Wellclose-square, this day, to take into consideration the most effectual means of alleviating the distress occasioned by the late fire; when a sum very little short of 1000*l.* was immediately subscribed; the East-India company gave 210*l.* On the same day the subject was taken into consideration at Lloyd's, and about 7000*l.* collected. Several humane gentlemen, who were at the Wellclose-square meeting, attended since at the different avenues leading to the desolated scene, for the purpose of soliciting the benevolence of those persons whose curiosity led them to witness the distresses of their fellow creatures.

The subscription, for the unfortunate sufferers by fire at this dreadful conflagration, discovers portraits of universal charity, peculiar to Englishmen; but the following, though of the humbler kind, deserves to be recorded: on one Sunday collection of the visitants who thronged to see this encampment of the wretched, 800*l.* was received; 426*l.* odd of this sum was collected in copper; and 38*l.* 14*s.* of it bestowed in farthings.

28th. As some workmen were undermining a lime-pit, in the liberty of Staunton Harold, a large stone, which was forced to a great height in the air, in descending, unfortunately fell upon William Smith, a young man who was passing along the top of the pit with a bundle of hay on his arm, and killed him instantly.

31st. A fire happended at Nassington, Northamptonshire, by which thirteen

thirteen dwelling-houses were destroyed, and a great number of hovels and other buildings adjoining, with nearly the whole of the property of the inhabitants, who were all uninsured. The loss is computed at from 3000*l.* to 4000*l.*; and the situation of most of the sufferers is rendered pitiable indeed.

A number of ingenious French emigrants have found employment in Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, and other adjacent counties, in the manufactory of lace; and it is expected that, through the means of these artificers, considerable improvements will be introduced into the methods of making English lace.

DIED. 28th. At Paris, aged 35, under the guillotine (with nearly seventy of his party, members of the convention), Maximilian Robespierre. This emulator of Cromwell was short in stature, being only five feet two or three inches in height. His step was firm, and his quick pace in walking announced great activity. By a kind of contraction of the nerves, he used often to fold and compress his hands in each other; and spasmodic contractions were perceived in his shoulders and neck, the latter of which he moved convulsively from side to side. In his dress he was neat and even elegant, never failing to have his hair in the best order. His features had nothing remarkable about them, unless that their general aspect was somewhat forbidding; his complexion was livid and bilious; his eyes dull, and sunk in their sockets. The constant blinking of the eye-lids seemed to arise from convulsive agitation; and he was never without a remedy in his pocket. He could soften his voice, which was naturally harsh and croaking, and could give grace to his pro-

vincial accent. It was remarked of him, that he could never look a man full in the face. He was master of the talent of declamation; and as a public speaker was not amiss at composition. In his harangues, he was extremely fond of the figure called *antithesis*; but failed, whenever he attempted irony. His diction was at times harsh, at others harmoniously modulated, frequently brilliant, but often trite, and was constantly blended with common-place digressions on virtue, crimes, and conspiracies. Even when prepared, he was but an indifferent orator. His logic was often replete with sophisms and subtleties; but he was in general sterile of ideas, with but a very limited scope of thought, as is almost always the case with those who are too much taken up with themselves. Pride formed the basis of his character; and he had a great thirst for literary, but a still greater for political, fame. He spoke with contempt of Mr. Pitt; and yet, above Mr. Pitt, he could see nobody unless himself. The reproaches of the English journalists were a high treat to his vanity:—whenever he denounced them, his accent and expression betrayed how much his self-love was flattered. It was delightful to him to hear the French armies named the “armies of Robespierre;” and he was charmed with being included in the list of tyrants. Daring and cowardly at the same time, he threw a veil over his manoeuvres, and was often imprudent in pointing out his victims. If one of the representatives made a motion which displeased him, he suddenly turned round towards him, with a menacing aspect, for some minutes. Weak and revengeful, sober and sensual, chaste by temperament, and a libertine by

the effect of the imagination, he was fond of attracting the notice of the women, and had them imprisoned, for the sole pleasure of restoring them their liberty. He made them shed tears, to wipe them from their cheeks. In practising his delusions, it was his particular aim to act on tender and weak minds. He spared the priests, because they could forward his plans; and the superstitious and devotees, because he could convert them into instruments to favour his power. His style and expression were in a manner mystical; and, next to pride, subtlety was the most marked feature of his character. He was surrounded by those only whose conduct had been highly criminal, because he could, with one word, deliver them over to the punishment of the law. He at once protected and terrified a part of the convention. He converted crimes into errors, and errors into crimes. He dreaded even the shades of the martyrs of liberty, whose influence he weakened by substituting his own. He was so extremely suspicious and distrustful, that he could have found it in his heart to guillotine the dead themselves. To enter into a strict analysis of his character, Robespierre, born without genius, could not create circumstances, but profited by them with address. To the profound hypocrisy of Cromwell, he joined the cruelty of Sylla, without possessing any of the great military and political qualities of either of these ambitious adventurers. His pride and his ambition, far above his means, exposed him to ridicule. To observe the emphasis with which he boasted of having proclaimed the existence of the supreme being, one might have said, that, according to his opinion, God would not have

existed without him. When, on the night of the 27th of July, he found himself abandoned by his friends, he discharged a pistol in his mouth, and, at the same time, a *gens-d'arme* wounded him by the discharge of another. Robespierre fell bathed in blood; and a *sans-culotte*, approaching him, very coolly pronounced these words in his ear, "There exists a Supreme Being." Previous to his execution, the bandage being taken off his head, his jaw fell down, in consequence of the wound which he had given himself.

AUGUST.

1st. The commissioners appointed by parliament for issuing Exchequer bills, for the relief of the commercial credit of the nation, have made their final report on the business entrusted to them, from which the following statement appears:

Amount of Exchequer bills granted under the act of parliament	£ 5,000,000
Lent upon different applications	2,202,200
There were applications for above	1,000,000
more; but they were withdrawn, and some few were refused for want of the security required.	
Profit arising from interest paid	13,033
Expence of executing the commission	8,685
Profit paid into the Exchequer	4,348

7th. The most violent storm of rain and hail, accompanied with thunder and lightning, took place in the

the metropolis, that has been known for many years. It commenced between three and four P. M. and was accompanied by long and livid flashes of lightning. The rain at the same time burst down from the clouds like cataracts. The oldest inhabitant of London, it is believed, never witnessed so awful an event. The thunder was so loud, that those who have faced the rage of the elements in all climes do not remember ever to have heard peals of such force. The lightning, attracted by an iron weather-cock, struck the roof of the examiner's office in Rolls-yard, Chancery-lane, and made a hole large enough for a man to creep through, shattering many tiles, bricks, &c. and just afterward a ball of fire fell near the lodge in the same yard, which felled two persons for a moment without hurting them, and, rising again, made its course through one of the windows, which was open, of the Crown-office in Chancery, and, it is apprehended, must have passed out at one of the back windows of that office, which was also open. From the clouds of smoke that immediately issued and continued for several minutes, it was feared the office was on fire; but, on opening the door, it was happily discovered to have received little or no injury. On examination it was found, that the nails and iron-work, which the lightning met with in its passage, had been melted, and partly vitrified by the intense heat. The Cock public-house, Temple-bar, received some damage; fortunately, however, it did not catch fire: the flash which hurt this house was seen to come down, in an immense body, a few yards east of Temple-bar; it wheeled about with great velocity, and struck the street with immense

force. Fortunately the heavy rain had driven every person from the street; and no coach was passing. The first effect observed was similar to that produced by an explosion of gun-powder; every particle of straw, mud, and even the water, was completely swept from the street; and the doors and windows of the houses, particularly on the north side of the street, were shaken, and some others driven open. The centre beam at Lloyd's coffee-room suddenly cracked during the storm, and a great part of the ceiling fell down: the torrent of rain was so great that in a few minutes the floor was covered with water; no accident, however, happened in consequence. In Great Windmill-street, two balls of fire fell within ten minutes of each other, the direction of which extended towards the south, of prodigious length, but without much injury.

Stb. A few days ago, at his majesty's suit, the cause respecting the marriage of prince Augustus Frederick and lady Augusta Murray, which had been solemnized at the parish church of St. George, Hanover-square, was finally determined in the Archescourt, Doctors Commons; when Sir William Wynne delivered the judgment of the court, that the said marriage was utterly null and void; and also declared, that a former marriage, pretended to have been had at Rome, was also, by the law of this country, invalid and illegal.

By a late decree of the court of Exchequer in a tithe cause, instituted by the rev. D. Collyer, vicar of Wroxham, against two of his parishioners, it is established, that no tithes are due for clover cut green, and given for want of other food to horses used in husbandry, and that

clover cut for hay is to be tithed by the swarth.

14th. At Maidstone assizes came on the trial of Thomas Purefoy, indicted for the wilful murder of colonel Roper, in a duel in December, 1788, since when Mr. Purefoy had chiefly been out of the kingdom. In the year 1787, major Roper was commander-in-chief at the island of St. Vincent, and Mr. Purefoy was ensign in the 66th regiment. The latter having obtained leave of absence, had a festive day, with some others of the junior officers, in which they committed such excesses as occasioned a complaint to major Roper, by whom the absence was recalled. The remonstrances of Mr. Purefoy were made in such a style as to induce major Roper to bring him to a court-martial. By their verdict he was declared to have forfeited his commission, and this verdict was afterwards confirmed by his majesty. This sentence was difficult, said the counsel, undoubtedly to be borne, as breaking in on all the pursuits of a young and ardent mind. Yet it was still the duty of Mr. Purefoy to have submitted. The witnesses were then examined, amongst whom were general Stanwix, the second to colonel Roper. The prisoner being called on for his defence, said, "that he entertained no malice against the deceased. He felt not the asperity of revenge. He was led by a call of honour, or, more properly speaking, driven by the tyranny of custom to an act, which in early life had embittered his existence, but without which, he was taught to believe, that he should lose all the consolations which society could afford. The last challenge, he observed, had come from colonel Roper; and, as some expia-

tion for his offence, he had already suffered near six years of exile, and nine months of close confinement. — [The latter part of his address was read from a written paper by Mr. Erskine, the feelings of Mr. Purefoy being such as to overpower his utterance.]

The prisoner called nine gentlemen to his character, most of whom had known him from early life. They all spoke to the general mildness of his character, and the good-humoured ease and aversion to quarrel which marked his general deportment. After a charge by the judge, Mr. Baron Hotham, which did equal honour to his justice and sensibility, the jury, without hesitation, returned their verdict "Not Guilty."

15th. About two o'clock, a melancholy accident happened in Johnson's court, Charing-cross. George Howe, a genteel young man, was taken to a recruiting-office there belonging to the East-India company, to be enlisted; and, upon attempting to make his escape, his hands were tied behind his back, and in that situation he was put into a garret, where he was not many minutes before he jumped from the window, and was killed upon the spot. This circumstance very naturally attracted the attention of passengers, and presently a crowd was collected, who, fired by indignation, pulled down the house. A detachment of the Guards was called in, and with difficulty the mob was dispersed.

16th. The populace seemed inclined to attack some other recruiting-houses in the neighbourhood of Charing-cross. The foot guards had remained upon the spot; and a detachment of the horse guards was

was added to them who patrolled during the night round Charing-cross, St. Martin's lane, and their vicinity. The coroner's inquest returned this evening, after a deliberation of eight hours, was, that George Howe, the deceased, had come by his death in consequence of endeavouring to escape from illegal confinement in a house of bad fame.

17th. This morning, between one and two, a fire broke out on the Surrey side of Westminster-bridge, at Astley's amphitheatre, which was soon in a general blaze, and totally destroyed, together with several houses in front of the Westminster-road; a public-house and some other small dwellings down Stangate-street; and it was with difficulty prevented communicating to the wheel manufactory, the boat-builders, and a timber-yard in the neighbourhood.

18th. Mrs. Hanau, the mistress of the house in Johnson's court, was brought to the public-office, Queen-square; but as no evidence was produced to criminate her, she was consequently discharged. — John Jacques, who kept a recruiting-office in the next house to that of Mr. Hanau, was also examined relative to a person found sick of the small-pox in his house, who, on the recommendation of Mr. Reynolds, a surgeon, had been subsequently removed to the work-house of St. Martin's parish, where he died the next morning. He also was discharged.

19th. The White-horse public-house, Whitcombe-street, Charing-cross, a recruiting-house, where in Edward Barrat, a mariner, had been ill-treated, was saved this evening from destruction by the intervention of the military.

22d. On this and the preceding days some riots took place in the city, in consequence of which the following hand-bill was posted up and circulated in the city next morning:

"The lord mayor sees, with inexpressible concern, that notwithstanding all the caution which has been given, and the endeavours of the good citizens to preserve peace and good order, that the same daring attempts to overpower the civil officers of this city, which were made on Wednesday night, were last night renewed in Shoe-lane. The inhabitants of this city must be convinced that the authors and actors in these tumults have no other view than that of overturning and destroying our laws, our constitution, and the liberties which through them we enjoy, in order to introduce among us the same bloody and ferocious government which France now groans under.

"The lord mayor, therefore, gives notice, that, if any farther riots or tumults shall be attempted, he shall feel himself obliged to use *the most effectual means* to suppress the same, and therefore enjoins you to keep your lodgers, servants, and all others of your family within doors as soon as it is dark, as you will answer for the consequences which may arise from any breach of the peace.

"*Mansion house, Aug. 22, 1794.*"

Plymouth county, New England.

This is become one of the most populous districts of the United States, notwithstanding the barren and late uncultivated part of this part of the country. The inhabitants are enlightened and virtuous: crimes apparently are unknown, or, at least, seldom if ever committed; for a capital execution has not taken place there for upwards of sixty years.

A dread-

A dreadful fire took place at Boston nearly at the the same time as the late shocking fire at Radcliffe, London; and, what is very remarkable, from the same cause (the boiling over a pitch-kettle), which burnt with such rapidity as to consume nearly one-fourth of the place, destroying several wharfs and stores in a few hours. The loss of property is estimated at 100,000*l.* sterling, and, it is believed, the whole is uninsured; if that is true, it will occasion the ruin of many very respectable families.

An action was tried at the last Shrewsbury assizes, before a special jury, brought by two young gentlemen of the name of Passingham, against a Mrs. Lloyd, of Chester, to recover estates of the value of 150,000*l.*, which she had enjoyed for 20 years. The plaintiffs produced 104 witnesses in support of their claim, which was clearly established; and the jury returned a verdict in their favour.

One hundred and five snakes, in one nest, were discovered and killed in a dunghill, at Halesbury, in Wilts.

Stanley, who was lately executed at Ilchester, was about three years since elected king of the Gypsies.—His wife and daughter attended at the place of execution, and were not more remarkable for the beauty of their persons than for the very costly appearance of their dress.

The Duchess of Marlborough has just built and endowed six almshouses at Blenheim for the residence of as many indigent females, who are to have an annuity of 10*l.* each, and linen and fuel, for life.

DIED. At Paddington, George Colman, esq. patentee of the theatre-royal Haymarket. Further particu-

lars of this gentleman will be given in a subsequent part of this volume.

In the Fleet prison, after an imprisonment of eleven years and three months, in his 67th year, Benjamin Pope, esq. He was nearly as remarkable a character as old Elwes, of penurious memory. He was originally a tanner in Southwark, and dealt so largely and extensively in this branch, that his stock in trade was for many years supposed to be worth 60 or 70,000*l.* In the latter part of his time in this trade, and when he was well known to be worth so much money as to be called Plumb Pope, he took to the lending of money, discounting, and buying annuities, mortgages, &c. In this branch of business, it appears, Mr. Pope was not so successful as in his former trade; for the name of Pope the usurer every now and then appears in the proceedings of our courts of law, when our sages in the law commonly differed widely from Mr. Pope in their opinion of his practices in this branch of business. The most remarkable and the last instance of this sort was, when he was cast in 10,000*l.* damages for some usurious or illegal practices in some money transactions with sir Alexander Leith. This was generally thought a smart sentence, and perhaps the well-known and well-scouted character of the man contributed not a little towards it. Mr. Pope himself thought it so oppressive and unjust, that he never, in all his life afterwards, left off complaining loudly of it, and even printed a case, setting forth the hardship and great loss he suffered. At first Mr. Pope, to be even with his plaintiff, went abroad to France with all his effects and property, where

where a man in his advanced years, ample fortune, and without any family but his wife, a most worthy and respected woman, might certainly have lived very comfortably. But Mr. Pope abroad was removed from his friends and customers, and his money being idle, which was always considered by him as a great misfortune, he resolved to come home; and to shew his resentment (as he said) to all this oppression, submitted to imprisonment rather than pay the money. This he did most heroically, and suffered the long imprisonment of eleven years and three months. In the course of this time Mr. Pope's affairs wore very different complexions; and at one time he might have got his liberty for a thousand pounds, but he remained inflexible, and sent them word that "this would be acknowledging the justness of their debt, which he would die sooner than do," and he kept his word. Mr. Pope, in prison, had many opportunities of indulging those propensities he had all his life been remarkable for. He looked always at the pint pot of small beer before he paid for it, to see that it was full; a precaution that in him was somewhat excusable, as the pint lasted him generally two days, water being his common drink; and as to strong beer, it used to be a note of admiration with his fellow-prisoners when he drank any with them at their apartments; but as for his sending for any for himself, of that he never was guilty. His three-farthling candle he always bought by weight, that is, had the heaviest of six, eight, or ten, for his money. In all this time, near twelve years, he has never had a joint of meat on his table; his greatest luxury was a groat plate from the cook

shop, and that generally served him for two meals. But in these points he was not much at a loss; for his family, though living at a great distance, knowing of his penurious disposition, sent to him very frequently a very comfortable and proper supply: and on these occasions he has even been known, sometimes, to give some leavings to his errand-girl, or else to some distressed object. To do justice to such an eccentric character as Mr. Pope, it is proper to state, that while in trade, he had early begun the benevolent practice of giving away, every week, a stone of meat, and often more, among his workmen and poor neighbours; and this practice he never left off, not even when he was every day weighing his candle, or looking after the measure of his small beer. In money transactions Mr. Pope suffered many frauds and impositions in prison, as he had not that scope of customers in his confined state, and always bent upon making the most of his money, was more easily imposed upon; so that he is supposed to have lost, by such means, more money than would have paid his debt and costs, large as they were.

SEPTEMBER.

1st. As the corpse of a gentleman was proceeding to the burial-ground, it was arrested by a sheriff's officer and his followers, under the usual warrant on a writ of *capias ad satisfaciendum*. The friends, who followed, immediately left their coaches, and told the officer, if he chose, he was welcome to take the body, but he should not have coffin, shroud, or any one particle in which the body was enveloped, as those things were

were the property of the executors ; and farther insisted, that, as the deceased had, by his will, bequeathed his body to them, no execution would hold good against the corpse. The bailiff, after attending to many literary and persuasive arguments, and having discussed the matter as fully as the time and place would admit of, was very properly convinced that the spirit of the law meant a living and not a dead body, and accordingly marched off without insisting farther on the legality of his capture. This, it is presumed, is the first and only instance of the kind that has happened since the arrest of the dead body of a sheriff of London, not many years since.

Among the vast number of persons liberated from the King's-bench prison, a now almost uninhabited place of confinement, under the late insolvent act, was a farmer, who had remained therein custody eleven years, for the costs of an action, in which he sailed, for having killed a hare on his own grounds.

3d. *Edinburgh.* On Wednesday came on, before the court of oyer and terminer in this city, the trial of Mr Robert Watt for high treason. The particulars of the charge were, that he belonged to certain committees of the Friends of the People in Scotland, called the committee of union, and the committee of ways and means, whose professed aim was, in conjunction with certain societies in England, to form, at a certain time and place not specified, a convention of persons, whose avowed aim was to usurp the powers of government, to compel the king and parliament by force to make laws, altering the mode and duration of parliament, and thereby

to subvert the constitution ; with having, to effect this purpose, caused certain pikes and battle-axes to be fabricated ; with having formed a design to seize the castle, the bank, the judges, &c. and with having attempted to seduce the soldiery from their allegiance, by causing a number of printed handbills, addressed to a regiment of fencibles, to be distributed at Dalkeith. After evidence had been adduced in support of the facts, Mr. William Erskine, counsel for the prisoner, said, that he would rest his defence on the correspondence carried on between the right hon. Henry Dundas, the lord-advocate, and the prisoner, by which it would appear, that he had attended the meetings of the Friends of the people with no other view than to give information of their proceedings. A letter from the prisoner to Mr. secretary Dundas was read, which stated, that, as he did not approve of the dangerous principles which then prevailed in Scotland, and was a friend to the constitution, he thought it his duty to communicate to him, as a good subject, what information he could procure of the proceedings of those who styled themselves Friends of the People. From an acquaintance with several of the leading men among them, he flattered himself he had this in his power ; and he then went on to mention some of the names of those leading men in Perth, Dundee, and Edinburgh. It concluded with enjoining secrecy. To this letter an answer was returned, which was also read. It acknowledged the receipt of Watt's letter, and, after expressing a hope that things were not so bad as he had represented, desired him to go on, and he might depend upon his communications

munications being kept perfectly secret. Another letter from Mr. Dundas to Mr. M'Ritchie, the prisoner's agent, was next read, in answer to one from Mr. M'Ritchie, requesting to know of Mr. Dundas what letters he had of the prisoner's. The answer was, that all the letters he had received from Mr. Watt had been delivered to the lord-advocate. The lord-advocate then gave an account of this business. He had conversed with the prisoner several times at his own lodgings, and he had at one time given him some information which he thought of importance; this was respecting the disaffection of some dragoons of Perth, which, upon inquiry, turned out to be ill founded. In March, 1793, an offer had been made to him to disclose some important secrets, provided he would give the prisoner one thousand pounds: this he absolutely refused; however, some time after, the prisoner having informed him that he was much pressed for money, to discharge a bill of thirty pounds, his lordship (who was then in London), not wishing he should be distressed for such a small sum, sent an order for the payment of it. All this happened previously to the meeting of the convention; since which time, at least since October last, he did not recollect seeing or having any connection with Mr. Watt.

Mr. Hambleton, counsel for the prisoner, dwelt long on the correspondence between Mr. Dundas and Mr. Watt. He said, the prisoner had not deserted the service in which he had engaged, but had not had an opportunity of exercising it, till the very time he was apprehended. He was a spy for government; and it was well known, that a spy was

obliged to assume, not only the appearance of those whose secrets he meant to reveal, but even to take part in their proceedings, in order to prevent a discovery. A spy in an army, he said, was obliged, not only to assume the uniform of the enemy, but even to appear in arms; and it would be exceedingly hard, indeed, if taken in a conflict, that he should be punished for discharging his duty.

After the lord president had summed up the evidence, the jury retired at half past five in the morning, and, in about five minutes, returned with a verdict—guilty.

The trial lasted nearly twenty-two hours.

6th. Yesterday came on the trial of Mr. David Downie, on the same charge; and, nearly the same evidence being produced, he was found guilty: but the jury unanimously recommended him to mercy, on account of some favourable circumstances in his case.—And this day, the prisoners being placed at the bar, the following awful sentence was passed on them:—"Robert Watt and David Downie, you have been found guilty of high treason, by your peers; the sentence of the court is, therefore, that you be taken to the place from whence you came, from thence you shall be drawn on a sledge to the place of execution, on Wednesday, the 15th of October, there to hang by your necks until you are both dead, your bowels to be taken out and cast in your face, and each of your bodies to be cut in four quarters, to be at the disposal of his majesty; and the Lord have mercy upon your souls!"

18th. An alarming fire broke out in the new corn-mills and drying kiln, situate at Wigan, belonging to Messrs. Bevan, Chapman, and co.—

The

The buildings, (which cost 12,000*l*. were very large and extensive, being seven stories in height, and were entirely consumed, as the fire commenced in nearly the attic story, whereby there was no possibility of saving it. Fortunately, it was a very calm morning; of the greater part of the lower end of the town must inevitably have been destroyed. The fire was not extinguished the next evening.

14th. This day (Sunday) Saffron-Walden church was robbed of about thirty prayer-books; the thief made choice of all the most valuable.

16th. A fire broke out at Wincanton, Somersetshire, which burned about eight houses in the front of the street, and some tenements behind. It is supposed to have been occasioned by a sack of lime being put against a faggot pile.

18th. The roof of part of Battle Abbey, in Sussex, which has been used for some time as a town-hall, was by the violence of the wind and rain driven in, one part of that noble building totally destroyed, and the inhabitants of the town thrown into a dreadful consternation.

19th. About 9 o'clock this night, as the Stourbridge waggon was going from Oxford to Woodstock, it was overturned in passing King's bridge, across the Oxford canal, in the parish of Woolvercott, by which accident two men were killed on the spot, and a boy so much hurt that his life is despaired of.

23d. The chapel of the new house of correction for the county of Middlesex was opened for divine service this day with great solemnity. Mr. Mainwaring, the chairman of the sessions, and a great number of magistrates, and other respectable gentlemen, attended on the occasion.

Nearly seventy prisoners were present, who were thoroughly cleansed and new clothed, and made a very decent appearance; and their behaviour was extremely proper and serious. The service was performed by two reverend magistrates for the county, at the request of the court. The prayers were read by Dr. Gabriel; and a sermon, suited to the affecting situation of the prisoners, was preached by Dr. Glasse, from Matthew, xxv. 26, "I was in prison, and ye came unto me." The prisoners were fed, on their return from the chapel, with a mess of good broth; one only excepted, who, for misbehaviour within the prison, was in close confinement, on the ordinary prison allowance.

29th. A melancholy accident happened at Stradishall, in Suffolk, where a chimney-sweeper's boy, named John Brewster, between thirteen and fourteen years of age, stuck fast in the tunnel of a chimney; and, although every endeavour was used to extricate him, it proved fruitless, till too late, as he was suffocated; and all the means used to restore him, proved ineffectual.

The privy council was convened, for the examination of a plot said to have been entered into by some insignificant young men for the purpose of taking away the life of our gracious sovereign, while at the theatre, by means of an air gun.

At the close of the sessions, eleven unfortunate men, capitally convicted at the Old Bailey, were brought up to receive sentence of death: they are, Anthony Purchan and Richard Warbeck, for being concerned in the late crimping riots; Thomas Bigott and Thomas Sturt, also rioters; Henry Cranmer, an old man, nearly eighty, for personating and receiving seamen's wages; Samuel Roy l, a black

blackman, for stealing six guineas in a dwelling-house; Patrick Murphy, for a rape; Francis Rose and James Catapodi, for forgery; Thomas Borley, for robbery; and William Molyneux, for setting a dwelling-house on fire.

Dispatches were received at the Sierra-Leone house, from that settlement dated the 13th of June, the 2d of July, and the fifth of August, by the company's ships, the Ocean and the Amy, which have both arrived at Plymouth with African produce. It appears that the colony were advancing, and the affairs of the company improving in every respect, when a temporary interruption was given to the peace and order of the settlement by the turbulence of several disaffected Nova Scotia settlers, who endeavoured to rescue some refractory persons of their own body that had been arrested for a breach of the peace. Both the individuals whose rescue was demanded, and the ringleaders in the succeeding tumult, have been either taken up and sent to England, or obliged to quit the colony. The rains had been severe; no death, however, had happened among the whites for many months, though several were indisposed. An expedition, of about 450 miles in circuit, had been made to the interior country, by two of the company's servants, one of whom, accompanied by another company's servant, encouraged by the success of this adventure, was preparing to set out on a journey to Tombuctoo, in the hope of being able to penetrate through the continent of Africa. The last dispatches are dated about three weeks subsequent to the tumult which has been mentioned, when the peace of the colony seemed to have been fully restored. All

the company's ships which were expected to have reached Sierra Leone had arrived.

DIED. 12th. At Warsaw, prince Michael Poniatowsky, brother to the king of Poland, archbishop of Gnesna, primate of Poland and Lithuania, sovereign of the principality of Lowitz, abbot of Czerwin, and knight of the orders of the white eagle, saint Stanislaus, and Malta; born October 12, 1736. This truly benevolent prince was in London in the year 1791, and, during his residence here, was elected a fellow of the Royal Antiquarian Societies, and assisted at several of their meetings.

At Pinner, Middlesex, Daniel Dancer, esq. a man not more remarkable for his riches, than for his having lived in a state of apparent extreme poverty. Though scarcely allowing himself the common necessities of life, he has left landed property, to the amount of 500l. a year, to dame Maria Tempest (daughter of ——— Holmes, esq. of Wigton, Leicestershire, and widow of sir Henry Tempest, bart. of Tong, Yorkshire, and, after her death, to her only son, sir Henry Tempest, of Stoke End, Hereford. During Dancer's last sickness, lady Tempest accidentally called upon him, and, finding him lying up to the neck in an old sack, without even a shirt, remonstrated against the impropriety of his situation; when he replied, that, having come into the world without a shirt, he was determined to go out of it in the same manner. Requesting him to have a pillow to raise his head, he ordered his old servant to bring him a truss of hay for that purpose. His house, of which captain Holmes (formerly of the royal navy) has taken possession for his sister, lady Tempest, is a most miserable building, and has not been repaired for half a century. Though

Though poor in external appearance, it has been recently discovered to be immensely rich within; captain Holmes having, at different times, found large bowls filled with guineas and half-guineas, and parcels of bank-notes stuffed under the covers of old chairs. Mr. Dancer generally had his body girt with a hay-band, to keep together his tattered garments; and the stockings he usually wore had been so frequently darned and patched, that scarcely any of the original could be seen; but in dirty or cold weather they were thickly covered with ropes of hay, which served as substitutes for boots; his whole garb much resembled that of a miserable mendicant. Notwithstanding his extreme penury, Mr. Dancer possessed many praise-worthy qualities. He observed the most rigid integrity in every transaction, and was never averse to assist those of whom he entertained a good opinion, and whose embarrassments required a temporary aid; although, at the same time, it must be confessed, he did not lend his money without expecting the usual interest. We have not heard whether he has left any legacy to his faithful and old domestic, old Griffiths, who, however, has for many years past fared much better than his master, having been indulged with whatever he chose to eat and drink, besides a good and comfortable bed to sleep upon. The latter Mr. Dancer always deemed an unnecessary luxury. Mr. Dancer seems to have been the principal branch of a thrifty tree, every scion of which was of a similar texture. He inherited a considerable property by the death of a sister, who exactly resembled him in temper. She seldom quitted her obscure residence,

except on being roused by the noise of hunters and their hounds, when she would sally forth, armed with a pitch-fork, in order to check the progress of the intruders on her brother's grounds; on which occasion she had very much the appearance of a mere bundle of rags.—A brother is still alive, very rich, and said to be (if possible) more penurious than the deceased.

Drowned, in crossing the Thames, at Chiswick, Benjamin Vandergucht, the famous picture-dealer and collector. He was the only son of Mr. John Vandergucht, picture-dealer, in Lower Brook-street, and was one of the first students at the Royal Academy on its institution in 1769. He was returning from Chiswick, where he was employed in cleaning and arranging the duke of Devonshire's pictures. A barge, by the carelessness of the boy who was guiding the horse in the towing-path, ran foul of the boat, which overset. As Mr. Vandergucht could swim, it is imagined he was drowned by the clinging of a woman passenger, who sunk with him, and had in her arms a child a few months old, which was providentially saved by the humane exertions of another of the passengers. After two hours search, his body was found and taken home. His fate is the more to be deplored, as he has left a worthy and amiable widow, and eleven children, to lament their great loss. Mr. Vandergucht was one of the first connoisseurs in painting; he had indeed more experience in the art than any of his contemporaries. He was a temperate, placid, unoffending man, and very much attached to his family.

OCTOBER.

1st. A curious fraud was put in practice at the Stock-Exchange by Benjamin Lara, a stock-jobber, who purchased 300 Irish lottery tickets of Mr. Dacosta, and gave him a draft for the amount on Ladbroke and co. who said that Mr. Lara never kept cash with them. It was soon afterwards discovered that he had borrowed 2,600l. of a friend, for which he had left the tickets as a collateral security, and then got the bank notes he received from him changed into smaller ones. The affair being immediately discovered, the injured party went to his house at Peckham, where a post-chaise and four was waiting at the door; but Lara some short time before having been seen and spoke to concerning the business, by Mr. Dacosta's son, who was not then apprized of its being a fraud, he had taken an opportunity of escaping by the back way of his house. One of the notes of 50l. was found in the house. He was afterwards apprehended by Miller and Kennedy, belonging to the Public-Office, Bow-street, owing to the following circumstance:—The above officers, thinking that some information might be gained by going to Mrs. Lara's house, in Aliff-street, Goodman's fields (the mother of the prisoner), set out for that purpose. When they had got near the house, they met a person whom they supposed, from a description they had previously received of him, to be the offender's brother, and took him into custody. On searching his pockets, they found a letter, which, though signed with the name of Christopher Jennings, from its contents and direction, convinced them that it came from Benjamin Lara;

on which Miller immediately went, to the Golden-Cross, Charing-cross, the place mentioned in the letter, where, on inquiring for Mr. Jennings, he was introduced to the prisoner, on whom he found bank notes and money for the whole of the sum received for the tickets, except about 40l. which he had expended since the affair took place. Some other letters were also found on his brother; by which it appeared, that, when Lara left his house, near Kensington, he proceeded to Portsmouth, but, being disappointed in getting an immediate conveyance to the continent, returned; by cross roads, to London, and put up at the Golden-cross, from whence he sent the letter that caused his apprehension. He was taken before Mr. Justice Addington, for examination, who, on learning that the offence had been committed in the city, ordered the officers to conduct him to the lord-mayor.

Brighthelmstone. A dreadful accident happened yesterday at Hove, in consequence of the inadvertency of a boy who was attempting to blow up flies with gunpowder, at a public-house. He had formed a train, for this purpose, across the side of the room, at the end of which stood a closet containing a great quantity of powder. A spark of the former unfortunately got among the latter, and such were the dreadful consequences of the explosion, that the boy had one of his eyes blown out, and his face most shockingly mangled. Two soldiers have likewise suffered so much by the same, that their lives are despaired of. There were several more in the apartment who escaped unhurt. That part of the room, however, where the gunpowder stood, was intirely knocked down by the violence of

the shock, and the house considerably damaged.

7th. *Brighton.* The tempest this evening was the most tremendous that has been known here for some years. The sea came nearly upon the Steyne, whilst the wind was so violent as to take away several parts of the adjoining houses. The most distressing event that occurred, took place about three in the morning: a ship was driven near half a league from the town; she fired signals of distress, and hoisted out the lights; the fishermen crowded to the sea-side, and, finding every relief impracticable, they soon afterwards became melancholy witnesses of the ship's sinking; and what renders the tale more lamentable, is, that we have not since heard of a single life being saved.

A boat, with eight people on board, was upset at Sandgate, when three of the passengers were unfortunately drowned.

Harwich. Inured as the inhabitants of a sea-port town are to the distresses incident to tempestuous weather, yet the calamitous effects of a dreadful storm, of twenty hours duration, have been so great as to amaze even those most familiar with such unhappy scenes. The tempest commenced about eight o'clock on Sunday evening, and, by eleven o'clock on the next morning, there were thirty-five vessels wrecked within twenty miles of Harwich harbour. At one o'clock on Monday, the crew of the *Restoration*, captain Walker, a fine new ship in the Norway trade, and the people from a North Shields collier, in three boats, with the utmost peril and difficulty, made the harbour. They had been in their boats from eleven o'clock the night before, and

when they at length happily reached the shore, were reduced, by fatigue and the inclemency of the weather, to the greatest weakness. Captain Walker reports, that in the morning of Monday he saw upwards of seventy sail of vessels making signals of distress. The wrecks of several vessels are plainly to be seen from the town, and many lives must inevitably have been lost. A boat, with four men and two women, in attempting to cross at Landguard fort, on Monday, was driven out to sea, where the unhappy people must doubtless have all perished.

18th. This evening a dreadful fire broke out in a stack of warehouses near Joiners hall, Upper Thames-street, containing cotton, coffee, indigo, and other goods, which burnt with great fury, and resisted every effort of the firemen and engines; but, as with the assistance of a number of others they succeeded in their exertions to save Mr. Bell's sugar-house, in which an immense quantity of sugars were under process, and which, being distant only a few feet, caught fire several times, its farther progress was happily stopped, after destroying only the warehouses where it began, and their valuable contents.

19th. Robert Watt convicted of high treason, was executed at the west end of the Luckenbooths, at Edinburgh, pursuant to his sentence. About half past two o'clock, the two junior magistrates, and the reverend principal Baird, walked from the council-chamber to the Castlehill, preceded by the city constables and town officers, the city guard forming a hollow square. When they reached the Water house (the limits of the burgh), they were met by the procession from the Castle, in the following

following order :—the two head officers of the Shire of Edinburgh, in black, with batons; two country constables with batons; the sheriff-depute, and sheriff-substitute, dressed in black, with white gloves, and white rods; six county constables, two on a two, with batons; the hurdle, painted black (drawn by a white horse), in which were seated the executioner dressed in black, with the axe in his hand, and the criminal drawn backwards, and tied to the hurdle; six under-constables on each side of the hurdle, twelve on the outside of them, and twenty in the rear; two hundred of the Argyllshire fencibles keeping off the mob, walking the dead march from the castle to the Waterhouse. Here the soldiers went back to the castle, and the procession came down escorted by the city guard, the magistrates, constables, &c. going first. Having entered the Tolbooth, the criminal soon after, attended by the sheriff and magistrates, came out upon the scaffold, where he was assisted in his devotions by principal Baird. About a quarter before three he ascended the platform; but, craving some longer indulgence, he came down, and, kneeling, prayed with much fervency for a short time, when he again mounted, and, having dropped a handkerchief as the signal, the platform dropped about 3 o'clock. When the body had hung about 32 minutes, it was cut down, completely lifeless, and placed on a table. The executioner then came forward with a large axe, and, at two strokes, severed the head from the body. The head, having been received in a basket prepared for the purpose, was afterwards, in the usual form, held up by the executioner, who pronounced, "This is the head of a traitor!" The remains were then put into a coffin and con-

veyed away. This execution was conducted with much regularity, and the procession was solemn and impressive. Watt himself exhibited a picture of the most abject dejection. He was wrapt up in a great coat, a red night-cap (which on the platform he exchanged for a white one), with a round hat, his stockings hanging loose, and his whole appearance wretched in the extreme. During the procession, his countenance was fixed, his body motionless, and he seemed altogether regardless of the multitude that surrounded him. On the scaffold he assumed a little more animation, and after finishing his devotions, took leave of the clergyman very collectedly; and on the platform conversed with the executioner with much apparent composure. He appeared very penitent, acknowledging in general terms the justice of his sentence; but made no particular confession. It is said he has given an account of some circumstances of his life in writing. The crowd on this occasion was slow in collecting, and, though numerous at last, scarcely amounted to what has appeared on former remarkable executions. When the platform dropped, little agitation was perceptible amongst the spectators; there was evidently a becoming acquiescence in the justice of the sentence, accompanied with that silent sympathy, which even the most atrocious criminal never fails to excite. But the appearance of the axe, a sight to which they were totally unaccustomed, produced a shock instantaneous as electricity; and when it was uplifted, sent a general shriek or shout of horror burst forth as made the executioner delay his blow, while numbers rushed off in all directions to avoid the sight.

20th. This morning, about half past 9, a fire broke out at a wax-chandler's, in Dean-street, Soho, which consumed the whole of the premises, and burnt very furiously backwards, towards the square, into which it made a complete opening. In the whole, four houses and the workshops of a coach-maker were totally destroyed.

25th. The judges, under the special commission, at the Old Bailey, proceeded to an arraignment of the several persons charged with high treason. On an application from the counsel for the prisoners, the time of trial was extended to Tuesday: one of the ten clear days, allowed by law, having been last week lost by the removal from the Tower to Newgate.

28th. The trial of Thomas Hardy began at 8 this morning, and continued till 12 at night; when the court adjourned. The jury were accommodated (but very inconveniently) with beds and mattresses in the Sessions-house.

29th. The court was resumed at 8 A. M. and sat till 12 at night; when, the counsel for the crown having not quite ended, the court again adjourned; and the jury were permitted to retire altogether (attended by proper officers) to the Hummums, Covent-garden.

The sum total of the subscription (originally begun at Lloyd's coffee-house, and promoted with great zeal in various parts, for the benefit of the sufferers in the late fire, at Radcliffe-highway, amounts to 16,000*l.* and upwards; which, the committee inform the public, will, they conceive, be sufficient to answer their benevolent views.

DIED: In an apoplectic fit, James Adam, esq. of Albemarle-street, architect. Before the reform of the

Board of Works, by Mr. Burke's bill, Mr. Adam held the office of architect to his majesty. The Adelphi-buildings and Portland-place are monuments of his taste and abilities in his profession. Besides his excellent treatise on agriculture, published some year ago, Mr. Adam was preparing for the press a history of architecture, which all lovers of the art have reason to lament he did not live to finish. Several numbers of the works of the two brothers have been occasionally published.

NOVEMBER.

5th. The interesting trial of Mr. Hardy was this day terminated. When the lord-president had concluded an excellent charge, the jury were asked whether they wished for a slight refreshment before they proceeded to their own chamber to deliberate, as they could have none after they were inclosed. This offer they respectfully declined. The jury retired at half past twelve. The judges remained on the bench till three, when they retired with the lord mayor and sheriffs to partake of some refreshment. In less than half an hour after, the jury returned into court, having been inclosed nearly three hours. When they were empaneled with the usual forms, and the judges had taken their places on the bench, the clerk of the arraigns asked—"if they were agreed in their verdict?"—Foreman of the jury, "Yes."—"How say ye—is Thomas Hardy guilty of the high treason charged in the indictment, or not guilty?"—Foreman of the jury, "Not Guilty."—Mr. Hardy bowed modestly to the jury, and, with a voice scarcely audible, said, "Fellow countrymen, I thank you." The

The lord president expressed his sense and that of the bench, respecting the attention and patience of the jury in discharging the laborious task allotted to them, for which they were entitled to the utmost commendation. The prisoner was then discharged; and the court adjourned to Monday the 16th.

7th. A dreadful accident happened in the narrow part of St. John's street: a loaded waggon was overturned, which, falling on two children passing by, crushed them both to death on the foot-pavement.

16th. The judges under the special commission, met this morning at 8; when, after a jury had been with some difficulty obtained, the trial of the rev. John Horne Tooke commenced; and continued till 9 in the evening, when the court adjourned till the next morning, and the jury attended by proper officers, were lodged in Surgeons-hall. Mr. Tooke assisted his counsel, by pleading his own cause with much animation.

22d. The lord president having concluded his charge; the jury, after withdrawing a very few minutes, pronounced their verdict *not guilty*. Mr. Tooke was accordingly discharged; and the court adjourned to Monday, Dec. 1.

23d. *Edinburgh.* This morning, about one, a dreadful fire broke out in Mr. Bell's great brewery, in the Pleasance, which, in a very few hours, was intirely consumed, together with the valuable stock of grain and utensils therein. Upon the first alarm, the lord provost and magistrates, a great number of the Edinburgh volunteers, firemen, city-guard, and two companies of the Argyleshire fencibles, at present in the castle, attended, together with fire engines, by whose exertion the fire was confined within the walls of

the buildings, and prevented from stretching to Mr. Bell's dwelling-house, and other adjacent tenements. The Edinburgh volunteers rendered essential service, by keeping off the mob, and accompanying the property that was removed to a place of safety. The flames were so great that the whole city was illuminated, as well as Arthur's seat, and Salisbury-rocks; a person could have seen to have picked up a pin, on the pavement, or read the smallest print in streets. Happily the premises were insured, but not nearly to the amount of the loss. Fortunately the ale-vaults were not touched, but it is not known if the liquor is soured. Bell's ale has been famous all over the world for these 30 years past, and he was always very careful to guard against fire in his premises. This, it is said, began in one of the kilns where the malt was drying.

25th. This evening, about 8, a new-built house, not quite finished, belonging to Mr. Godfall, coach-maker, in Long-acre, fell to the ground. The workmen having previously left off work for the night, no lives were lost; and the wooden fence, placed in the front of the building; prevented any misfortune happening to the people who chanced to be passing at the moment.

26th. In the court of King's Bench, the application made by Mr. Friend's counsel for a mandamus, to re-admit him into the university of Cambridge, was rejected. Lord Kenyon said, the university had acted according to precedent; and in this opinion the other judges agreed.

Archangel. The navigation here never experienced greater activity; 207 vessels have been cleared outwards, 135 of which were English, which exported planks, &c. but no ship-timber,

ship-timber, the lading of which the empress has strictly forbidden.

The prince-bishop of Passau, in Bavaria, has ordered the mode of teaching used by the ancient jesuits, to be reintroduced in the schools of the circle. Several professors, adverse to this measure, have been dismissed from their offices, and banished the principality.

The papal staff, and other insignia, have lately been burnt by the populace at Antwerp. All coaches, three excepted, have been sent to France, and the horses marked with the republican signature; and so great has been the want of provisions, that three persons, unable to bear their sufferings any longer, killed each other by mutual consent. Bread is only to be procured in the inns, and at Bois-le-Duc a pound of butter costs forty stivers.

The accounts received by the American packet are replete with the most distressing intelligence of the renewed havoc of the yellow fever at Philadelphia.—At the house of Mr. Clifford, in Water-street, several persons had died in consequence of it, and in the two adjoining streets the mortality had been alarming. At Baltimore and Newhaven, in Connecticut, it had been fatal to great numbers. It is some consolation to hear, that it is not so contagious as the fever that raged on that continent last year; and the coolness of the weather, it was hoped, would check its ravages.

The legislature of Pennsylvania, with a view to soften the rigour of penal law, have passed an act, declaring that no crime, except murder of the first degree, shall be punished with death. Murder in the first degree is defined to be killing by means of poison, by lying in wait, or with other kind of wilful delibe-

rate, premeditated intention, or which shall be committed in the perpetration or attempt to perpetrate any arson, rape, robbery, or burglary. All other kinds of killing shall be deemed murder in the second degree. The kind of murder to be ascertained by a jury. Persons liable to be prosecuted for petit treason shall be proceeded against and punished as in other cases of murder. High treason is punished with confinement in the prison and the penitentiary house, not less than six nor more than twelve years; rape not less than ten nor more than twenty-one years; murder of the second degree, not less than five nor more than eighteen years; forgery not less than four nor more than fifteen years, with payment of a fine not to exceed 1000 dollars; manslaughter not less than two nor more than ten years, and giving security for good behaviour during life; maiming not less than two nor more than ten years, with a fine not exceeding 1000 dollars. Persons being charged with involuntary manslaughter, the attorney-general, with leave of the court, may waive the felony, and proceed against them as for a misdemeanor, and give in evidence any act of manslaughter; or the attorney may charge both offences in the same indictment, and the jury may acquit the person of one or both. The benefit of clergy is for ever abolished.

DIED. At Bengal, sir William Jones, one of the judges of the supreme court there. His death is a great loss to the republic of letters, for he had made profound researches into the literature of the East, and with great success. He was himself a very good poet; and to his translations we are indebted for many beautiful effusions of the Persian muse. Sir William, however, amidst
his

his attachment to the muses, did not wholly disregard the god of riches, and is supposed to have left a very considerable fortune to his family, for, contrary to the usual turn of poets, he was severely economical.

17th. At his prebendal house in the college at Ely, at the advanced age of eighty-six, the rev. James Bentham, M. A. F. A. S. prebendary in that cathedral, and rector of Bow-Brickhill, in the county of Buckingham; well known in the learned world as the author of "The History and Antiquities of the Conventual and Cathedral Church of Ely;" and universally respected in the society of that place, where he constantly resided, for his piety and humility, for the gentleness and amiable simplicity of his manners, and his unwearied endeavours to promote the interest and welfare of his native city and isle, through the whole course of his life.

At Rome, after a long illness, aged 79 years and five months, cardinal de Bernis. He was one of the most remarkable men in the reign of Louis XV. whether as a courtier, a man of letters, a poet, or a negotiator. He has left 300,000 crowns in effects, money, jewels, &c. particularly 80,000 crowns in plate; all which he has, by will, put into the hands of the chevalier d'Azara, the Spanish minister, to whom he has recommended his family in the order in which they would be entitled as heirs.

DECEMBER.

1st. The judges under the special commission met at the Old Bailey, when John Augustus Bonney, Jere-

miah Joyce, Steward Kyd, and Thomas Holcroft, were brought to the bar; and the jury being sworn in, and the prisoners arraigned in due form, the attorney-general said, "that when he, on the last trials, had the honour to stand there in the discharge of his official duty, he had addressed the jury on those occasions in order to state the grounds of the prosecution; and that the juries on those trials had found a verdict of Not Guilty. It then became his duty to consider what was proper for him to do in respect to the public and the prisoners at the bar. The result of the consideration was that as the evidence adduced on those trials, and that which applied to the prisoners, were the same, and as, after the best consideration, the persons had been acquitted, he would submit to the jury and the court, whether the prisoners should not be acquitted, and for that purpose would not trouble them by going into evidence." The lord chief-justice then said to the jury — "Gentlemen, as there is no evidence, you must of course find the prisoners not guilty." The jury then pronounced a verdict of "Not Guilty;" and, by direction of the court, the prisoners were discharged.

The mails from Scotland, Yorkshire, the whole of the North, Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire, &c. were nearly lost on Cheshunt Wash this morning about four o'clock; they were obliged to return to Hoddesdon to get a chaise, and cross the country to Hatfield, and by Barnet. They arrived at the General Post-office about nine o'clock, which is about four hours after their usual time. The exertions of the guards on this occasion are very commendable.

5th. This day the trial of Mr. Thelwall, before the high commission court in the Old Bailey, was ended; and the jury, after retiring for three quarters of an hour, gave in their verdict "Not Guilty."

The event of the late important trials, it is hoped, will have the good effect of conciliating the mind of every Briton to a constitution, in which the laws are with such purity administered. And to the inhabitants of the metropolis, in particular, it must have been highly gratifying to behold the pre-eminent dignity and splendour of the city of London; her magistrates assessors with the greatest number of judges perhaps ever in one commission, in a matter the most critical and important to the very existence of religion and law, to government, liberty, and property.

6th. Lord Abingdon was this day convicted of a libel on Mr. Sermon, a respectable attorney of Gray's inn, being a parliamentary speech of the noble lord, conveyed by him to the public through the channel of a public newspaper.

7th. A fire broke out at the Crown and Shuttle public-house, Shore-ditch; owing, it was supposed, to the carelessness of a man who went to bed drunk. The fire raged with great violence for some time, but was happily got under by the assistance of the engines. The man perished in the flames; and, what is most surprising, a woman and boy, supposed to be his wife and son, left him in bed with an infant, by whose cries the fire was discovered.

10th. At Gunby, county of Lincoln, was shot, by Edmund Frost, jun. game-keeper to sir Peter Burrel, bart. an eagle, whose wings, when extended, measured nine feet,

and from the beak to the end of the tail, three feet four inches, and the talons are very thick and long.

A statement has lately appeared concerning the house of industry at Shrewsbury, for the last ten years; by which the gentlemen who superintend this excellent institution prove, that the reduction of the expence of maintaining the poor of that place, in that period, is upwards of 16,000*l.* besides a balance of 2475*l.* now in hand in favour of the house. Before this new system of management was adopted, the poor's rates of the united parishes in Shrewsbury amounted to 4605*l.* per annum. On its establishment they were immediately reduced to 2992*l.* at which sum they have continued ever since. But another benefit has arisen, of infinitely greater importance than the pecuniary savings; which is the wise plan adopted for improving the morals of the poor, by training up the children in habits of cleanliness, industry, and virtue. The best families are now solicitous to obtain servants from the house of industry; and as soon as the children grow up fit for places, they find a preference to any other servants that are to be hired.

13th. Early this morning a fire broke out at Cefn, the residence of Roger Kenyon, esq. which extended so rapidly through the interior parts of the house, that the family, who were all in bed, had scarcely time to escape the dreadful ravages of the flames. The alarm being given, a great number of persons soon collected, by whose exertions, assisted by the Wrexham engines, the fire was prevented from communicating to any of the adjacent buildings, which in all probability would have been demolished. The inside of the house

house suffered considerably, and a great part of the furniture is destroyed; fortunately no lives were lost, nor have we heard of any one being materially hurt. The fire was pretty well got under by day-break.

15. The court under the special commission was this morning again opened at the Old Bailey, at nine o'clock; a jury was impannelled *pro forma*, when Richter and Baxter were put to the bar, and acquitted; no evidence against them being produced on the part of the crown. The court then adjourned to the 26th.

17th. The merchants trading to North America gave a splendid entertainment to Mr. Jay, envoy extraordinary from the United States at Freemasons tavern. The company was numerous and respectable: the lord chancellor, Mr. Pitt, the duke of Portland, lord Grenville, Mr. Dundas, Mr. Pinkney, Mr. Hope of Amsterdam, &c. &c. Mr. Samson, chairman of the committee president. The toasts were received with loud acclamation. Among others, "the King and Constitution;" "Prince of Wales;" "Queen and Royal Family;" "President of the United States;" "May the Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation between Great Britain and the United States of America, be the Basis of permanent Friendship between the two Countries!" "May Britons and Americans never forget that they are of one Family!" And Mr. Jay having given "An honourable peace to the Belligerent Powers of Europe; the following was given in return: "May the united exertions of England and America induce the Indian Nations to bury the Hatchet for ever!" Many excellent songs were sung; and every person seemed to

feel high satisfaction from the consideration that so friendly a meeting should have taken place at so short a period from the time when apprehensions were entertained that the two countries would be involved in all the horrors of war.

20th. About six o'clock a fire broke out in Buckingham-street, York-buildings, near the Adelphi, by which two large houses were totally consumed and burnt to the shell in about three hours, notwithstanding every exertion on the part of the firemen. The fire broke out in the house of Mr. Saunders, a tailor, and was occasioned by the snuffings of the tailors' candles having caught among the shreds of cloth in the second floor, and continuing to spread unperceived during the whole of the night. The flames communicated so rapidly, that it was impossible to save any of the furniture; but, happily, no lives were lost.

26th. Mr. justice Lawrence was the only judge who this day appeared on the bench, under the special commission. The court opened a few minutes after nine o'clock, and then adjourned to Wednesday, Jan. 14, the day on which the usual goal delivery is to commence. James Martin the attorney, whose trial was expected to take place, was not liberated, as being detained also on an attachment for contempt of the court of King's Bench issued against him on the motion of Mr. Bearcroft previously to the prosecution for high treason.

Particulars of a late murder in Norfolk.

It was not till after a week's search that the body of Mr. John Filbee,

a re-

a reputable farmer at West Dereham in the above county, was discovered buried in his own ground. Various were the conjectures respecting what was become of him; by some it was thought he had left his home in consequence of words between him and his wife; by others, that he was either murdered, or some accident had befallen him. A most diligent search was made, not only in the parish, but throughout the neighbourhood; and when they had almost despaired of finding him, some fresh mould was observed in the stack yard, within a hundred yards of his house, which being removed, the body was discovered, and upon inspection it was found that he had received violent blows upon the head and other parts of the body, which had occasioned his death. Suspicion fell upon his own man servant, who was immediately taken into custody, and after a short time confessed himself to be the murderer, that he had formed the dreadful resolution of destroying his master about four days previous to his accomplishing it; that he had thought of doing it the night before, but his heart failed him; but after words had arisen between his master and mistress, he resolved to dispatch him: and unfortunately the deceased went into the stable about six o'clock on Saturday evening, the 8th instant, with this servant, and as soon as he got out of the door, the hardened wretch struck him on the side of the head with a fork, which instantly deprived him of life; he repeated the blow, and then dragged the body into a stable, took the body on his back and buried it, covering the earth with straw, all of which he effected in the space of an hour. Throughout the whole of this dreadful business, there appears such a degree of

unparalleled wickedness, as is scarce to be conceived; nor does it appear that any symptoms of remorse in the perpetrator were discovered until after the corpse was found, since which he has made a most ample confession, not only of the murder, but of his motives for committing it, which being of a delicate nature charity induces us to draw a veil over them, until the whole affair be publicly investigated in a Court of Justice. The deceased has left a wife and two children, was a very industrious man, and had been a very kind master to the culprit, who had been in his service about three years.

BIRTHS for the Year 1794.

- Jan. 4. Lady of James Bland Burgess, esq. under-secretary of state, a daughter.
 Mar. 3. Lady of sir John Dryden, bart. a son.
 9. Countess of Beverley, a son.
 10. Her Catholic Majesty, a prince.
 14. Lady Arden, a son.
 May 10. Lady Bruce, two daughters.
 24. Lady Susan Thorpe, a son and heir.
 June 8. Empress of Germany, an arch-duchess.
 17. Lady of sir John Sinclair, a son.
 July 3. Lady Deerhurst, a daughter.
 22. Countess Camden, a daughter.
 27. Lady Strathaven, a son.
 Aug. 25. Viscountess Mountstuart, a son.
 Lady of sir Alex. Grant, bart. a daughter.
 Sept. 20. Lady of sir John Doyley, bart. a son.
 Oct. 3. Lady Cosby, a daughter.
 8. Lady

8. Lady of sir Alex. Munro, a daughter.
 10. Countess of Northesk, a daughter.
 15. Countess of Hardwicke, a daughter.
 24. Lady Napier, a son.
 26. Lady Clifden, a daughter.
 Lady of sir James Tylney Long, bart. a son and heir.
 Nov. 3. Lady Helen Hall, a daughter.
 8. Lady Calthorp, a daughter.
 26. Lady of sir Wm. Manners, a son.
 Dec. 10. Marchioness of Blandford, a daughter.
 21. Lady of sir Thos. Whichcote, a son.

MARRIAGES, 1794.

- Jan. 6. Sir John Ord, to miss Frere.
 13. Lady Betty Delme, to Geo. Garnier, esq.
 Mar. 3. Edward, earl of Oxford and Mortimer, to miss Scott.
 11. Duke of Athol, to lady Macleod, relict of lord Macleod.
 Lord Baltimore, to miss Caldwell.
 29. Sir Charles Style, bart. to miss Whatman.
 April 24. Viscount Weymouth, to hon. miss Byng.
 28. Viscount Belgrave, to hon. miss Egerton.
 May 27. Hon. Mr. Bingham, to lady Elizabeth Bellasyse, the divorced wife of Mr. Howard.
 June 9. Hon. Mr. Steward, to lady Amelia Hobart.
 July 5. Viscount Conyngham, to miss Denison.
 23. Sir James Murray, bart. M. P. to the right. hon.

Henrietta Laura, baroness Bath, only daughter of Wm. Pultney, esq. M. P. Sir James has taken the name and arms of Pultney.

- Aug. 8. Sir Archibald Grant, bart. to miss Macleod.
 28. Earl of Ilchester, to miss Maria Digby.
 Sept. 8. Lord Say and Sele, to the hon. Miss Eardley.
 23. Captain Williams, of the foot-guards, to the countess of Barrymore.
 Oct. 13. Captain Gill, of the life guards, to lady Harriet Fleming.
 Lieut. Nicolas Tomlinson, of the royal navy, to miss Eliz. Ward, second daughter of Ralph Ward, esq. of Wimpole-street.
 20. Lord Dynevor, to the hon. Harriet Townshend.
 Nov. 1. Sir Montagu Burgoyne, bart. to miss Burton.
 Sir Archibald Dunbar, bart. to miss Cunning.
 29. Earl of Mornington, to madame Roan.
 Dec. 26. John, lord Sheffield, to the hon. miss Lucy Pelham.
 Lord Gormanstown, to the hon. miss Southwell.

PROMOTIONS for the Year 1794.

- Jan. 1. Viscount Mountgarret to be earl of Kilkenny in Ireland.
 Viscount Valentia to be earl Mountmorris of Ireland.
 Viscount Desart to be earl of Desart in Ireland.
 Viscountess dowager Wicklow to be countess of Wicklow in Ireland.
 Viscount Clonmell to be earl of Clonmell in Ireland.
 Lord Castlestewart to be viscount Castlestewart in Ireland.

Lord

Lord Landaff to be viscount Landaff in Ireland.

Lord de Montalt to be viscount Hawarden in Ireland.

Lord Fitzgibbon to be viscount Fitzgibbon in Ireland.

11. Sir John Dick and J. M. Leake, esq. to be comptrollers of the army accounts.

25. Richard Byron, esq. to be gentleman usher of the privy chamber.

Edmund Armstrong, esq. to be groom of the privy chamber.

Hon. William Frederic Wyndham to be envoy extraordinary to the court of Florence.

William Jackson, esq. to be commissioner of excise.

26. George earl of Pembroke, to be lord-lieutenant of Wilts.

30. Major-general Goldsworthy to be colonel of the first regiment of dragoon guards.

General sir William Augustus Pitt, K. B. to be gov. of Portsmouth.

Feb. 6. Dr. Spencer Madan bishop of Bristol, to be bishop of Peterborough.

Dr. Charles Manners Sutton, bishop of Norwich, to be dean of Windsor.

8. Dr. James Cornwallis, bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, to be dean of Durham.

John Hunter, esq. to be captain-general and governor of New South Wales.

Lieut-colonel his royal highness prince William to be a colonel in the army.

March 1. John Atkinson, esq. to be Somerset earl.

5. Vicount Macartney to be earl of Macartney in Ireland.

Viscount Loftus to be earl of Ely in Ireland.

12. Soukden Laurenee, esq. to be justice of the Common Pleas, and knighted.

15. George Naylor, esq. to be York herald.

Lord St. Helen's to be ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the States-general of the United Provinces.

Sir Morton Eden, K. B. to be ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to his Catholic Majesty.

April 8. Rev. Reginald Courtenay, L. L. D. to be bishop of Bristol.

30. Duke of Newcastle to be lord-lieut. of Nottinghamshire.

May 2. Col. his royal highness prince Wm. of Gloucester to be colonel of infantry.

12. Earl of Euston to be ranger and keeper of St. James and Hyde Park.

23. Henry Hamilton, esq. to be governor of Jamaica.

27. Joseph Smith, esq. to be agent and paymaster to the out-pensioners of Chelsea Hospital.

29. Duke of Buccleugh to be knight of the garter.

Hon. rear admiral sir Keith Elphinston, and captain sir John Borlase Warren, bart. to be knights of the bath.

Earl Poulett to be knight of the thistle.

June 23. Captain Henry Wilson, of the first regiment of life guards, knighted.

27. Earl of Carhampton to be lieutenant-general of the staff of Ireland.

28. Dr. William Bennet, bishop of Cork and Ross, to be bishop of Cloyne.

Hon. and rev. Thos. Stopford, dean of Fernes, to be bishop of Cork and Ross.

July 4. Herbert Sawyer, esq. sir Richard King, bart. Jonathan Faulkner, esq. and Philip Affleck, esq. vic.

vice-admirals of the white, to be vice-admirals of the red.

Thomas Fitzherbert, Samuel Cornish, John Brisbane, Charles Wolseley, Samuel Cranston Goodhall, esqs. Hon. Keith Stewart, and the duke of Clarence, to be vice-admirals of the blue.

Richard Onslow, and Robert Kingsmill, esqs. rear-admirals of the red, to be vice-admirals of the white.

Sir George Collier, knt. George Bowyer, esq. sir Hyde Parker, knt. Rowland Cotton, and Benjamin Caldwell, esqs. hon. William Cornwallis, Wm. Allen, John Macbride, and George Vandeput, esqs. rear-admirals of the red, to be vice-admirals of the blue.

Charles Buckner, John Gell, William Dickson, and Allan Gardner, esqs. rear-admirals of the white, to be vice-admirals of the blue.

John Lewis Gidom, George Gayton, George Murray, and Robert Linzee, esqs. sir James Wallace, knt. Wm. Peere Williams, and Thomas Palley, esqs. rear-admirals of the white, to be rear-admirals of the red.

John Symons, esq. and sir Thomas Rich, bart. rear-admirals of the blue, to be rear-admirals of the red.

Charles Thomson, James Cumming, Jn. Ford, Jn. Colpoys, Skeffington Lutwidge, Archibald Dickson, George Montagu, and Thomas Dumaresq, esqs. and hon. sir George Keith Elphinstone, K. B. rear-admirals of the blue, to be rear-admirals of the white.

Captains James Pigott, hon. William Waldegrave, Thomas Mackenzie, Thomas Pringle, hon. William Clement Finch, sir Roger Curtis, knt. Henry Harvey, Robert Mann,

and William Parker, to be rear-admirals of the blue.

William Young, and James Gambier, esqs. and lord Hugh Seymour, to be colonels of his majesty's marine forces.

11. William earl Fitzwilliam to be lord president of the council.

Duke of Portland to be one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state.

Right hon. William Windham to be secretary at war.

Duke of Gordon, to be keeper of the seal appointed by the treaty of union to be made use of in Scotland.

Earl Spencer to be keeper of the privy-seal.

Evan Nepean, Stephen Cotterell, and James Bland Burges, esqs. appointed commissioners for the custody of the privy seal in the absence of earl Spencer, gone on an embassy to the court of Vienna.

His royal highness prince Wm. of Gloucester, and his grace the duke of Portland, elected knights of the garter.

19. Charles Saxton, esq. of Cirkow, Berks, created a baronet.

Gen. George, marquis Townshend, appointed governor of Hull.

Gen. sir Henry Clinton, K. B. appointed governor of Gibraltar.

Right. hon. William Windham to be a privy counsellor.

26. Henry Strachey, esq. to be master of his majesty's household.

Aug. Marquis of Titchfield to be lord lieutenant of Middlesex.

12. John, earl of upper Ossory, of the kingdom of Ireland, to be baron Upper Ossory, of Amptill, co. Bedford.

Edmund, lord Clive, of the kingdom of Ireland. to be baron Clive, of Walcot, co. Salop.

Henry

Henry lord Mulgrave, of the kingdom of Ireland, to be baron Mulgrave, of Mulgrave, co. York.

William Henry Lyttleton, lord Westcote, of the kingdom of Ireland, to be lord Lyttleton, baron of Frankley, co. Worcester.

Right hon. Welbore Ellis to be baron Mendip of Mendip, co. Somerset; with remainders severally and successively to Henry Welbore Agar, viscount Clifden, of the kingdom of Ireland, hon. and rev. John Ellis Agar, second son, and hon. Charles Bagnal Agar, third son, of James late viscount Clifden, deceased; Welbore Ellis Agar, esq. one of the commissioners of his majesty's customs; and Dr. Charles Agar, archbishop of Cashel, and their respective heirs male.

Sir Henry Bridgeman, bart. to be baron Bradford, of Bradford, co. Salop.

Sir James Peachey, bart. to be baron Selsey, of Selsey, co. Sussex.

Sir Thomas Dundas, bart. to be baron Dundas, of Aske, co. York.

Assheton Curzon, esq. of Pennhouse, co. Buckingham, to be baron Curzon of Penn, in the said county.

Charles Anderson Pelham, esq. of Brocklesby, co. Lincoln, to be baron Yarborough, of Yarborough, in the said county.

Major-general Charles Leigh to be captain-general and governor in chief over the islands of Nevis, St. Christopher, Montserrat, Antigua, Barbuda, and Anguilla.

James Cranfield, esq. to be governor and commander in chief over the Bermudas or Summer Islands.

16. Vice-admirals George Bowyer, vice-admiral Alan Gardner, rear-admiral Thomas Pasley, and rear-admiral sir Roger Curtis, knt. to be baronets.

Sept. 8. Earl of Chesterfield, and earl of Leicester, to be postmaster-general.

Major-general Lake, to be governor of Limerick.

26. William Lindsay, esq. to be governor of Jamaica.

Oct. 4. Colonels Edmund Fanning; Francis R. Humphreys, of the late 79th foot; John Hughes, Horatio Spry, William Souter, and Harry Innes, of the marines; William Fawcett, inspector general of recruits in Ireland; Robert Donkin, of the late garrison battalion; James Balfour, of the 77th foot; James Francis Perkins, of the marines; Norman Macleod, of the 73d foot; Alexander Campbell, of the late 95th foot; Francis D'Oyly, of the 1st foot guards; William Crosbie, of the 89th foot; sir James Duff, knt. of the 1st foot-guards; Henry lord Mulgrave, of the 31st foot; Grace Blackeney, of the 14th dragoons; Paulus A. Irving, of the 47th foot; John Small, lieutenant-governor of Guernsey; George Harris, of the 76th foot; Richard Vyse, of the 1st dragoon guards; William lord Cathcart, of the 29th foot; Maurice Wemyss, of the marines; Robert Mason Lewis, captain of Carisbrooke-castle; Banastre Tarleton, of the late American dragoons; sir Hew Dalrymple, knt. of the 1st foot-guards; Gordon Forbes, of the 105th foot; Andrew Gordon, of the 26th foot; John Floyd, of the 19th dragoons; Oliver de Laity, barrack master-general; John Graves Simcoe, of the queen's rangers; Robert Johnstone, of the 3d foot-guards; and James Henry Craig, of the 16th foot, to be major-generals.

23. Captains Charles Holmes, Everitt Calmady, John Bourmaster, sir

sir George Young, knt. John Henry, and Richard Rodney Bligh, to be rear-admirals of the blue.

24. Major-general Adam Williamson, to be knight of the bath.

Earl of Balcarras, to be lieutenant-governor of Jamaica.

Nov. 12. Sir Morton Eden, K. B. to be a privy counsellor.

14. Admiral Thomas Graves, to be lord Graves of Ireland.

Admiral sir Alexander Hood, K. B. to be lord Bridport, of Ireland.

18. Major-general Adam Williamson, to be governor of that part of St. Domingo which belongs to his majesty.

25. Sir Morton Eden, K. B. to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Vienna.

28. Sir James Sanderson, knt. of London; Charles Willoughby, esq. of Baldon House, Oxfordshire; and George William Prescott, esq. of Theobald's Park, Herts, to be baronets.

Dec. 10. William earl Fitzwilliam to be lord lieutenant of Ireland.

Major-general Charles Leight to be governor of the Leeward Caribbee Islands.

17. David earl of Mansfield to be lord president of the council.

John earl of Chatham, to be lord privy seal.

George, viscount Milton, to be a privy counsellor.

20. George John, earl Spencer, Samuel lord Hood, sir Alan Gardner, knt. Charles Small Pybus, esq. vice-admiral Philip Affleck, and vice-admiral sir Charles Middleton, bart. to be lords of the admiralty.

DEATHS, 1794.

Jan. 1. At Edinburgh, Mr. Robert Alves, author of several ingenious poems, &c.

Dr. Russel, author of the history of Modern and Ancient Europe.

10. Sir Clifton Wintringham, bart. M. D. F. R. S. at the advanced age of 90 years.

The right hon. Hugh Hume Campbell, earl of Marchmont, in his 87th year.

Caroline, baroness of Greenwich, daughter of the duke of Argyle, widow of Charles Townsend, chancellor of the exchequer, who died in 1767, and of the earl of Dalkeith.

25. Sir Charles Hotham, bart. a general of his majesty's forces, and knight of the bath.

Sir Edward Boughton, bart. of Torton-court, Herefordshire.

26. Of a complaint in her stomach, at Rycote, in Oxfordshire, Charlotte, countess of Abingdon, daughter of the late admiral sir Peter Warren. She was married 7th July, 1768, and has left several children.

Lady Elizabeth King, eldest daughter of the earl of Erne.

27. The right hon. Henry Herbert, earl of Pembroke, lord lieutenant of the county of Wilts, governor of Portsmouth, high-steward of Salisbury, a general in the army, and colonel of the first regiment of dragoons. He married, 13th March, 1756, lady Elizabeth Spencer, daughter of the late duke of Marlborough.

Benjamin Bond Hopkins, esq. of Painshill, in Surry, member of parliament for Malmsbury.

At Lambeth palace, lady Eden, relict of Sir John Eden, and mother to lord Auckland, Sir John Eden, and Mrs. Moore.

31. Marriott Arbuthnot, esq. admiral of the blue, in his 83d year.

Feb. 5. Hon. captain Seymour Finch.

3. Francis Burdett, esq. only son of Sir Robert Burdett, bart.

18. Sir John Fenn, knt.

22. Henry, duke of Newcastle.

Sir Francis Drake, bart.

At Woolwich, in his 96th year, Dr. Irwin, surgeon general to the ordnance.

At St. Martin's, Stamford Baron, aged 84, the rev. Michael Tyson, dean of Stamford, archdeacon of Huntingdon, rector of Gretford in Lincolnshire, and of Wittering, in Northamptonshire.

Sir Edward Hughes, K. B. admiral of the blue.

23. Sir John Sebright, of Beachwood Herts, a general in the army, and colonel of the 13th regiment of foot.

Charles Ambler, esq. attorney general to the queen. He published a volume of reports.

26. The right hon. countess of Digby.

March 1. At Eardley-house, the right hon. Maria, wife of lord Eardley.

Mr. Rowland Lickbarrow, of the Inner Temple, attorney at law.

5. Sir Henry Gould, knt. aged 85, one of his majesty's justices of the court of Common Pleas.

Lady Jane Buller, in her 75th year, daughter of the late earl Bathurst, and mother of judge Buller.

12. At Bath, lady Charlotte Madan, wife of the bishop of Peterborough, and sister of the marquis Cornwallis.

19. At Lisbon, the hon. Henry Fitzroy.

Sir William Johnston, bart. of Caskieb.

G. A. Sinclair, M. D. author of the Medical Grammar, Blind Philosopher, &c. He died suddenly in a bookseller's shop at Birmingham.

Sir James Nugent, bart. at Donore, Westmeath, in Ireland.

21. At Durham, general Lambton.

25. The right hon. Hercules Langford Rowley, knight of the shire for the county of Meath, Ireland.

April. The dowager lady Vernon.

At Aston Hall, near Birmingham, lady Holt, relict of sir Lister Holt.

12. At Camberwell, the noted Mr. Flockton, possessed of 5,000l. He had been an attendant at Bartholomew and other fairs near half a century.

At Sydenham, Devonshire, in his 94th year, Arthur Tremaine, esq. He served the office of sheriff in 1789.

13. Lady Grose, wife of Mr. justice Grose.

14. At Little Chelsea, in the 100th year of his age, Mr. Plaudaloe, a native of North Wales.

17. John Stephenson, esq. member of parliament for Tregony.

16. Charles Pratt, earl Camden, president of the council.

In the Mediterranean, sir John Collins, knt. captain of his majesty's ship the Berwick.

19. Mr. James Nelson, apothecary, in Red Lion-street, Holborn, author of "An Essay on the Government of Children, under three general Heads, viz. health, manners, and education," 8vo. 1753; and "The Affectionate Father," a sentimental comedy; together with Essays on various subjects, 8vo 1788. He was 84 years old within three days.

At Bath, aged 34, Marie Josephine Charlotte de Morand, countess of Gonidee, in Brittany.

23. The right honourable countess of Guildford.

Lately, at the castle of Tralee, in Ireland, Sir Barry Denny, bart. knight of the shire for the county of Kerry, and major of the Kerry militia.

30. At Great Yarmouth, lady Caroline Home, sister of the present earl of Home.

At York House in the Strand, Pierce Sinnott, esq. formerly lieutenant-governor of Niagara, in North America.

Sir Thomas Hay, bart. of Park, in Scotland.

May 2. At Haveningham in Suffolk, sir Thomas Allin, bart. of Somerley-hall.

3. In his road to London, lord George Cavendish, uncle to the duke of Devonshire, and member for Derbyshire.

Sir John Guise, bart. at Highham, in Gloucestershire.

6. Nathaniel Smith, esq. one of the directors of the East-India company, and member for Rochester. He was author of several valuable tracts on East-India affairs, particularly the following: 1. "Observations on the present state of the East-India company, and on the Measures to be pursued for the insuring the Permanency and augmenting its commerce." 8vo. 1771.

2. "The Measures to be pursued in India for insuring the Permanency and augmentation of the Commerce of the Company farther considered; with the Heads for carrying those Measures into Execution." 8vo. 1772.

3. "General Remarks on the System of Government in India;

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with farther Considerations on the present State of the Company at Home and Abroad." 8vo. 1773.

Lady Crawford, in Clarges-street.

7. At lord Rodney's, Hanover-square, David Murray, esq. brother to lord Elibank, and member of parliament for New Radnor.

28. John Martin, esq. of Hamcourt, in Overbury, Worcestershire, many years M. P. for Tewkesbury.

At Gibraltar, sir Robert Boyd, K. B. governor-general of that fortress, and colonel of the 39th regiment of foot. It is reported, much to his honour, that this brave soldier, by merit only, raised himself from a private in the ranks.

At his house, in Duke-street, Dublin, sir William Mayne, lord Newhaven, a younger son of William Mayne, esq. of Powis Lodge, Clackmananshire, descended of the ancient house of Mayne, of Lockwood, in Clydesdale. He was early bred a merchant in the family-house of business at Lisbon, where it has subsisted above one hundred years. He retired from Portugal, 1757, and, 1758, married Frances Allen, fifth daughter and co-heiress of Joshua, viscount Allen, of the kingdom of Ireland, by whom he had one son, who died soon after his birth, and in right of her he enjoyed considerable possessions in that kingdom. In April, 1763, he was advanced to the dignity of a baronet of Great Britain; in March, 1766, created a privy-counsellor of Ireland. In the first octennial parliament there, as before, at the accession of his present majesty, he represented the borough of Carysfort. In 1764, he was returned representative, in the British parliament, for Canterbury, and afterwards in 1774, for Gatton, where

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his estate, with the borough; was sold to Mr. Ladbroke, in 1789, for 80,000*l.* as was his seat at Arno's Vale, Southgate, to Isaac Walker, esq. some years before. He was created baron Newhaven, of Carrickmayne, July 18, 1776.

At Monastereven, near Edenderry, in his 118th year, a man of the name of Conolly, who perfectly remembered the landing of king James and the prince of Orange, the sieges of Derry and Limerick, the battles of the Boyne and Aughrim, and every other memorable occurrence of those times.

At Knightsbridge, lady Browne, relict of the late sir James Browne. Her son, sir William, in the guards, and nephew of general Browne, having long been insane, and living in the house with her, in the absence of his keeper took up a coal-scuttle and dashed his mother's brains out.

At her house in Dover-street, Piccadilly, Alicia Maria, countess-dowager Egremont, only daughter of George, lord Carpenter, and sister to George, earl of Tyrconnel. She was born in 1729; married, March 12, 1751, to Charles, late earl of Egremont, who died in 1763, by whom she had four sons and three daughters. She was, at the establishment of the present queen's household, 1761, appointed one of the ladies of the bed-chamber; and re-married, 1767, to count Bruhl, a Saxon nobleman, envoy-extraordinary from the court of Saxony.

June 2d. Aged 56, Adolphus Frederic IV. duke of Mecklenburgh-Strelitz; born May 5, 1738; brother to the queen. He is succeeded in his ducal sovereignty by his next brother, Charles Lewis Frederic, born October 10th, 1740, who has several children.

3d. Mrs. Vernor, wife of John Vernor, esq. of Lincoln's Inn.

Of a mortification in her bowels, occasioned by cold caught in coming out of the Opera-house, a few days before, in her 44th year, Dorothy, duchess of Portland. She was daughter of William, late duke, and sister to the present duke, of Devonshire; was born August 27th, 1750; married November 8th, 1766, and had four sons and two daughters.

12th. At her house in St. James's Square, the right honourable Anne, lady Ravensworth, in the 82d year of her age. She was only daughter of sir Peter Delme, knight, alderman, and some time lord-mayor of London; married, 1735, to sir Henry Lyddel, bart. who, in 1747, was created lord Ravensworth (from his attachment to the royal cause in the preceding troubles, and by pointing out disaffected persons near him), by whom she had one daughter, married, 1756, to the present duke of Grafton, from whom she was divorced, 1769, and married to John, earl of Upper Ossory. She has survived her lord more than ten years; he died in 1784.

At Petersburg, count Anhalt, adjutant-general of the empress, lieutenant-general of the army, and chief of the corps of cadets.

Of a mortification, in consequence of a slight hurt he received in riding, aged 75, the most noble Francis Seymour Conway, marquis of Hertford, earl of Yarmouth, viscount Beauchamp, lord Conway, baron of Ragley, also baron Conway of Kiltullagh in Ireland, knight of the most noble order of the garter, lord-lieutenant and custos rotulorum of the county of Warwick and of the city

city of Coventry, recorder of Coventry and Thetford, president of the Magdalen hospital, and a vice president of St. George's hospital. He succeeded his father as earl of Hertford in 1730; was created earl of Hertford and viscount Beauchamp, 1750; was appointed a lord of the bed-chamber, 1751; lieutenant and custos rotulorum of the county of Warwick, and installed knight of the garter, 1757: continued in all his offices on the accession of his present majesty, of whose privy council he was sworn 1763, and soon after went ambassador-extraordinary to France, when he resigned the place of lord of the bed-chamber. He was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, 1765; master of the horse to the king, 1766, and lord-chamberlain of the household, which last office he resigned, 1766. He was created earl of Yarmouth, 1794. He married, 1741, Isabella, youngest daughter of Charles, second duke of Grafton, by whom he had seven sons and six daughters. His lordship is succeeded in his titles and estates by his eldest son, Francis, earl of Yarmouth, who is serving in the capacity of envoy from this court to the king of Prussia.

23. At his house, in Mortimer-street, Cavendish-square, aged 68, sir Archibald Murray, bart. His title devolves to his son, John Murray, of the 46th regiment, at Cork, in Ireland.

At her lodgings in Poland-street, the marchioness de Marnesia, an emigrant, who enjoyed a distinguished rank and affluence in France before the late revolution. This lady possessed very great talents in painting, and has left some beautiful specimens of her skill. She painted a

finelikeness of the queen of France shortly before her execution, which was engraved for Mrs. Robinson's monody to the memory of that unfortunate princess. The marchioness was one of those elegant females who perished in oblivion rather than court the eye of vulgar commiseration. The delicacy of her frame, sgitated by the sad change in the state of her country, was too much for her feelings, which, after a lingering struggle, overcame her.

July 1st. In her 76th year, Gertrude, duchess dowager of Bedford, eldest daughter of John, earl Gower, by his first wife, daughter of Evelyn, duke of Kingston. She was second wife of John, fourth duke of Bedford, to whom she was married in 1737, and by whom she had issue, Francis, marquis of Tavistock, died 1767; John, died an infant; and Caroline, married to George, duke of Marlborough. She was left a widow in 1771, and has been ever since distinguished by a remarkable goodness of heart, attended by a cheerfulness not very common at so advanced a period of life.

10th. At Pinkie-house, in Scotland, sir Archibald Hope, bart. of Craig-hall. He was secretary to the Board of Police, in Scotland, for life, and received a compensation on the abolition of that board. His ancestor, sir Thomas Hope, of Craig-hall, was king's advocate in the reign of Charles I. who had the privilege of pleading before the court of Session with his hat on; which privilege his successors have enjoyed ever since. Sir Thomas left four sons (three of whom were lords of session at one time), who all married, and had issue, viz. sir John Hope, of Craig-hall; sir Thomas Hope, of

Kerle; sir Alexander Hope, of Cran-toun; and sir James Hope, of Hopetoun.

August 6th. Henry, earl Bathurst.

At the palace of Tuam, in Ireland, the right honourable and right reverend Dr. Joseph Dean Bourke, archbishop of Tuam, primate of Connaught, bishop of Ardagh, and earl of Mayo. He was the second son of John Bourke, created lord Naas, of Naas in the county of Kildare, August 1, 1776: advanced to the dignity of a viscount on the 13th of January, 1781, by the title of viscount Mayo, of Monycrower, in that county, and earl of the county of Mayo, 24th June, 1785. Embracing the clerical function, he was dean of the diocese of Dro-more, whence he was translated, 1772, to the see of Leighlin and Ferns, and to the archbishopric of Tuam, with the united bishoprics of Enachdoen and Ardagh, in 1782. His grace succeeded his brother as earl of Mayo, and took his seat as such, January 20th, 1791; and was married to Elizabeth, sister of earl Clanwilliam, in October, 1772. The archiepiscopal see is now vacant; but he is succeeded as earl of Mayo by his son John, viscount Naas, M. P. for the borough of Naas.

At Cornwell-house, aged 36, Richard Burke, esq. M. P. for the borough of Malton, and only son of the right honourable Edmund Burke, esq.

In the Middlesex-hospital, Mr. Courtenay, the celebrated performer on the bagpipes. He died of a dropsy, which he is supposed to have contracted by hard drinking.

September. Princess Christiana of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, sister to our most gracious queen.

5th. Right honourable John Hely Hutchinson; being at one and the same time a privy-counsellor, rever-sionary secretary of state, major of the 4th regiment of horse, provost of Trinity-college, Dublin, and searcher, packer, and gauger of the port of Strangford. The late earl Guildford made the following remark on him: "If England and Ireland were given to this man, he would solicit the isle of Man for a potatoe garden."

At Padua, the countess Ernestina Durazzo, daughter to the count de Weissemwolf, by the countess de Marianna de Palfy. This lady possessed, in an eminent degree, every accomplishment, external and internal, and was, at the age of sixteen, appointed maid of honour and lady of the bed-chamber to her Imperial majesty, Maria Theresa, who decorated her with the order of the starry cross, in consequence of her rare merit, and in testimony of her royal esteem. In the year 1752, she was married to his excellency count James Durazzo, a noble Genoese, at that time envoy-extraordinary from the S. R. of Genoa to the Imperial court of Vienna, and who was afterwards appointed ambassador from the latter court to the S. R. of Venice, in which capacity he resided upwards of twenty years.

At Frankfort, in his 26th year, universally regretted, for his amiable endowments and military talents, count Furstenburg. He was buried there on the 26th, with all the military honours. He began his career

as a soldier in the French service, and served afterwards in Russia, where, by his bravery, he obtained the order of St. George. He made all the recent campaigns in the Prussian service, and owing to his gallant conduct in the action of Hockleim, obtained the order *pour le mérite*. He was wounded, September 20, at the capture of Kaiserslautern, and died, on the 24th, the death of a hero, and a victim to his humanity, in consequence of four wounds. He gave quarter to a Frenchman, but, on turning round, the Frenchman took up his musquet and killed the count in a dastardly and cowardly manner. General Blücher shewed himself equally humane, but had the good fortune to be missed by the man to whom he had just given quarter.

At Clifton, near Bristol, in his 85th year, the most reverend Richard Robinson, D. D. lord bishop of Armagh, primate of all Ireland, and baron Rokeby. He was admitted a king's scholar at Westminster in 1722; elected to Christ Church, Oxford, 1728; obtained a prebend at York, 17...; and, in 1751, attended the duke of Dorset, lord lieutenant of Ireland, as his first chaplain, and was the same year promoted to the bishoprick of Killala. When the duke of Bedford was lord-lieutenant of Ireland, he was translated (in 1759) to the united sees of Leighlin and Ferns, and (in 1761) to Kildare. In 1765, when the duke of Northumberland was lord-lieutenant, he was advanced to the primacy of Ireland, and constituted lord-almoner; and, by the duke of Cumberland (then chancellor of the university of Dublin), was appointed vice-chancellor, in which office he was continued by the dukes of Bed-

ford and Gloucester, successive chancellors of that university, in 1777, when earl Harcourt was lord-lieutenant of Ireland, the king was pleased, February 26, to create him baron Rokeby of Armagh in the kingdom of Ireland, with remainder to Matthew Robinson, of West Layton, Yorkshire, esq.; and, in 1783, he was appointed prelate of the most illustrious order of St. Patrick. In 1787, he was appointed one of the lords-justices of Ireland, with the lord-chancellor and the speaker of the house of commons. He succeeded to the title of baronet, on the death of his brother, sir William, in 1785. He was the last survivor, in the male line, of the ancient family of Robinson of Rokeby, where the family had resided before the conquest. His grace's real estates, and the title of baron Rokeby, descend to Matthew Montague, esq. M. P. To each of the Mrs. Robinsons, his nephew, his grace has left 10,000l. He has willed his seat at Rokeby-Lodge, in the county of Louth, and whatever landed property he possessed in that county, to his nephew, the reverend archdeacon Robinson (whom he has appointed one of his executors), on condition that he resides in that kingdom.

October 17th. At her house, in Portman-street, Portman-square, lady Helen Douglas, relict of admiral sir James Douglas, bart. and aunt to the earl of Glasgow.

18th. At Southampton, lady King, wife of vice-admiral sir Rich. King, bart.

21st. At his lordship's house, in the Grove, Bath, the countess of Howth, wife of the earl of Howth, of the kingdom of Ireland.

24th. Honourable Miss Cathcart,
E 3. sister

sister to lord Cathcart and to the countess of Mansfield, and one of her majesty's maids of honour.

At Axwell, near Newcastle, sir Thomas Clavering, bart. LL. D. formerly many years M. P. for the county of Durham. He succeeded his father, sir James, 1748. His lady died August 16, 1792.

At Vienna, field-marshal Browne, who lately commanded the Austrian army on the Rhine.

At Caxton, Cambridgeshire, the reverend Thomas Barnard, vicar of that place.

At her seat, at Bourton-on-the-Water, Gloucestershire, dame Elizabeth Harrington, relict of sir James Harrington, bart. grandfather of the present sir John. She was daughter of Henry Wight, esq. of Blakesly-ball, Northamptonshire.

At Vienna, of a dropsy in the lungs, the princess de Colloredo, consort to the vice-chancellor of the empire.

At the parsonage-house, at Eltham, Kent, Martha, lady-dowager Shaw, second wife, and widow, of sir John Shaw, bart. who died 1779, and mother of the present sir John Shaw, bart.

Lately, on his way to the island of Maderai, for the recovery of his health, in the 29th year of his age, Basil William, lord Daer, eldest son of the earl of Selkirk, and late a member of the Edinburgh convention.

November 6th. At her house at Isleworth, in her 77th year, Mary Wortley Montague Stewart, countess of Bute, and, in her own right, baroness Mountstewart, only daughter of the late Edward Wortley Montague, esq. and sister of the late traveller, Edward Wortley Montague, esq. She survived her lord (by whom

she had five sons and six daughters) not three years, and her eldest son not ten months; and, by her death, the honourable James Wortley Montague obtains possession of his grandfather's fortune, 20,000l per ann.

20th. At his house, in Charlotte Street, Mr. Baddely, comedian, of Drury-lane theatre.

In Stratford-place, aged 89, Juliana, duchess-dowager of Leeds, third wife of Peregrine Hyde (third duke of Leeds) who succeeded his father in 1729, and died in 1731; grandfather of the present duke. Her grace was daughter and co-heiress of Roger Hele, esq. of Halewell, Devonshire, and married, 1732, to Charles, earl of Portmore, who died 1785, by whom she had David, lord Milsington, who died 1755; a daughter, Caroline, born 1733, married, 1750, the present lord Scarsdale; another daughter, Juliana, born 1735, married to Henry Dawkins, esq. of Stoddlych, Wiltshire; and another son, Charles William, married, 1770, to Miss Lascelles, who succeeded his father.

At Olivit, near Orleans, in his 72d year, the famous French physician Petit. His merits and writings are known to the scientific of all Europe.

At his seat, at Draycot-house, near Chippenham, Wiltshire, in his 58th year, sir James Tylney Long, bart. representative in parliament for the county of Wilts, and hereditary chief warden of the forest of Waltham, in the county of Essex. He married, first, 1775, the honourable Harriet Bouverie, fourth daughter of Jacob viscount Folkstone, and sister to the late earl of Radnor, by whom he had no children; secondly, 1785, the right honourable lady Catharine Windsor, eldest daughter of the late earl

earl of Plymouth, by whom he had three daughters, and one son, an infant of three months old.

John, second lord Coleraine, of the kingdom of Ireland, eldest son of Gabriel Hanger, esq. who was so created by privy seal, at St. James's, in 1761, and by patent, at Dublin, in 1762, and was grandson of Geo. Hanger, esq. of Duffield, Gloucestershire, whose eldest daughter married Henry Hare, lord Coleraine, which title became extinct. The deceased lord succeeded his father in 1773, and is himself succeeded by his brother William.

At his seat at Hackwood, Hants, in his 75th year, the most noble Harry, sixth duke of Bolton, seventh marquis of Winchester and premier marquis of England, vice-admiral of Hampshire and Dorsetshire, and vice-admiral of the white, 1760; M. P. for Lymington, 1754, and, in the succeeding parliament, for Winchester. He married, first, 1752, Henrietta, daughter of — Nunn, of Eltham, Kent, esq.; and by this lady, who died 1761, and is buried at Eltham, had a daughter, Mary, born 1753, and married 1772, to the present earl of Sandwich. His grace succeeded to the title and estates on the 5th of July, 1765; and, in April, the same year, intermarried with Catharine Lowther, sister to the earl of Lonsdale, the present duchess, by whom he had only two daughters, Catharine, now countess of Darlington, and lady Amelia Powlet. His grace having died without male issue, the title of duke of Bolton is extinct; that of marquis of Winchester devolves on George Powlet, esq.—By his death, a pension on the Irish establishment, of 1700l. a year to the right hon. Thomas Orde, ceases, it having been

granted only during life of the duke. Mrs. Orde, however, who was related to the duke's family, from the same circumstance comes into the instant possession of 17,000l. per annum. These estates were left by the duke immediately preceding the last to his lately deceased grace and his male issue; but, in default of such issue, to his daughter, since married to the right hon. Thomas Orde, who has since taken the name of Powlet.—Sir William Powlet, ancestor of the duke of Bolton, which title is now extinct, was thirty years lord-high treasurer of England, during three successive reigns. He was created lord St. John by Henry VIII. and earl of Wiltshire and marquis of Winchester by Edward VI. and died at the advanced age of 97. The family being instrumental in forwarding the revolution, the then marquis was created duke of Bolton by William III. The barony of St. John is in abeyance between his grace's daughters; the marquise goes to another branch of the family.

At his house, in St. Andrew's Square, Edinburgh, in his 35th year, Geo. Gordon, 4th earl of Aboyne. His lordship succeeded to the title and family estate in 1732.

SHERIFFS appointed by his Majesty in Council, for the Year 1794.

Berkshire. Edward Stephenson, of Barley Hill, esq.

Hedfordshire. Edward Nicholl, of Studham, esq.

Pucks. Charles Clowes, of Iver, esq.

Cumberland. William Henry Milbourne, of Armthwaite-Castle, esq.

Cheshire. Dumville Poole, of Lymm, esq.

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Cambridgeshire.

- Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire.* John Richards, of Brampton, esq.
Devonshire. John Spurrell Pode, of Stoke Damerell, esq.
Dorsetshire. Edward Buckley Batson, of Sixpenny-Handley, esq.
Derbyshire. Sir Henry Harpur, of Caulk, bart.
Essex. James Hatch, of Claybury, esq.
Gloucestershire. Isaac Elton, of Stapleton, esq.
Hertfordshire. Samuel Leighton-house, of Orford house, esq.
Herefordshire. John Miles, of Ledbury, esq.
Kent. Richard Carew, of Orpington, esq.
Leicestershire. George Moore, of Appleby, esq.
Lincolnshire. Sir Joseph Banks, bart.
Monmouthshire. John Rose, of Duffrain, esq.
Northumberland. Charles John Clavering, of Bitchfield, esq.
Northamptonshire. Richard Booth, of Glendon, esq.
Norfolk. John Richard Dashwood, of Cocklay Clay, esq.
Nottinghamshire. John Simpson, of Babworth, esq.
Oxfordshire. Samuel Gardner, of Hardwick, esq.
Rutlandshire. Thomas Forsyth, of Empingham, esq.
Shropshire. William Yelverton Davenport, of Davenport House, esq.
Somersetshire. Charles Knatchbull, of Babington, esq.
Staffordshire. Matthew Boulton, of Soho, esq.
Suffolk. Charles Purvis, of Darsham, esq.
Southampton. Henry Bopham, of Petersfield, esq.
Surrey. Charles Bowles, of East Sheen, esq.
- Sussex.* Samuel Twyford, of Trotton, esq.
Warwickshire. Richard Hill, of Kineton, esq.
Worcestershire. Thomas Farley, of Halton, esq.
Wiltshire. Richard Long, of West Ashton, esq.
Yorkshire. Thomas Lister, of Guisbourn Park, esq.

SOUTH WALES.

- Carmarthen.* William Clayton, of Alltycadno, esq.
Pembroke. John Phelps, of Withy-bush House, esq.
Cardigan. William Owen Brigstock, of Blaenypant, esq.
Glamorgan. Henry Knight, of Tythegstone, esq.
Brecon. Richard Wellington, of Hay-Castle, esq.
Radnor. Richard Price, of Knighton, esq.

NORTH WALES.

- Anglesea.* Hugh Jones, of Carrog, esq.
Carnarvon. Richard Lloyd, of Trefbedlig, esq.
Merioneth. Owen Ormsby, of Glynn, esq.
Montgomery. John James, of Castle Caerinion, esq.
Denbighshire. Bryan Cooke, of Havydwyern, esq.
Flint. Daniel Leo, of Gwasaney, esq.

SHERIFF appointed by his royal highness the prince of Wales in Council, for the Year 1794.

County of Cornwall. Edward Archer, of Trelask, esq.

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY, FRIDAY, JAN. 17, 1794.

Whitehall, Jan. 15.

CAPTAIN HILL, aid-de-camp to major-general Dundas, arrived, on the 13th instant, at the office of the right hon. Henry Dundas, his majesty's principal secretary of state for the home department, with dispatches from vice-admiral lord Hood and the major-general, of which the following are copies and extracts.

Victory, Toulon Road, Dec. 13, 1793.

SIR,

Nothing very material has happened here since the 30th of last month, when I had the honour of writing to you, except that the enemy has made approaches nearer to us by some new erected batteries; one against the Malbousquet, another against Le Brun, and a third against the Hauteur de Grasse. The shells from two of them did us some mischief on the 9th and 10th, since which they have been perfectly silent.

The enemy is reported to be 50,000, but I cannot credit their being much beyond half that number. By various deserters that have come in, which in this respect perfectly agree, we are soon to be attacked on all sides at once. From the numerous

and important posts we have to occupy, the troops are at very hard duty, and without relief some way or other, we shall soon have more men in the hospital, than are fit for service.

I have the honour to be, &c.

HOOD.

*Right hon. Henry Dundas,
&c. &c. &c.*

SIR, *Toulon, Dec. 12, 1793.*

Since the affair of the 30th ult. no considerable event has taken place. By the repeated accounts of deserters, the enemy are very much increased in numbers: none state them lower than 30 or 40,000 men.

They have fired of late little from the battery we were in possession of; Four of its guns are certainly disabled. They have increased the number of their mortars, which have much annoyed our two posts of Cape Brun and Fort Mulgrave, on the heights of Balaguier. We have lost some men at each, from the effect of shells, which, in such temporary exposed situations, cannot be sufficiently guarded from.—Against each of these posts they have opened a new battery of cannon and mortars, but at the other points they have worked little. We continue strengthening our position, though we cannot expect to give it any much more substantial form.

We

We have in all 11,000 men bearing muskets, and 4000 sick. Deserters all report the intention of a speedy general attack.

This will be delivered by captain Hill, a very deserving young man, who had been aid-de-camp to lord Mulgrave, lieutenant-general O'Hara, and myself. The opportunity of his departure is sudden, and therefore I am to beg you will excuse the shortness of this letter. I am, &c.

DAVID DUNDAS.

Right hon. Henry Dundas,

&c. &c. &c.

Whitehall, January 15, 1794.

This morning sir Sydney Smith and major Moncrieff arrived at the office of the right hon. Henry Dundas, his majesty's principal secretary of state for the home department, with dispatches from vice-admiral lord Hood and major-general David Dundas, of which the following are copies and extracts.

Victory, Hieres Bay, Dec. 20, 1793.

SIR,

It is my duty to acquaint you, that I have been obliged to evacuate Toulon, and retire from the harbour to this anchorage.

It became unavoidably necessary that the retreat should not be deferred beyond that night, as the enemy commanded the town and ships by their shot and shells; I therefore, agreeable to the governor's plan, directed the boats of the fleet to assemble by eleven o'clock, near fort la Malgue, and am happy to say the whole of the troops were brought off, to the number of near 9000, without the loss of a man; and, in the execution of this service, I have infinite pleasure in acknowledging my very great obligations to captain

Elphinstone, for his unremitting zeal and exertion, who saw the last man off; and it is a very comfortable satisfaction to me, that several thousands of the meritorious inhabitants of Toulon are sheltered in his majesty's ships.

I propose sending the vice-admirals Hotham and Cosby, with some other ships, to Leghorn or Porto Ferrara, to complete their wine and provisions, which run very short, having many mouths to feed, and to remain with the rest to block up the ports of Toulon and Marseilles. Circumstances which had taken place made the retreat absolutely necessary to be effected as soon as possible, and prevented the execution of a settled arrangement for destroying the French ships and arsenal. I ordered the Vulcan fire-ship to be primed; and sir Sydney Smith, who joined me from Smyrna about a fortnight ago, having offered his service to burn the ships, I put captain Hare under his orders, with the lieutenants Tupper and Gore of the Victory, lieutenant Pater of the Britannia, and lieutenant R. W. Miller of the Windsor Castle. Ten of the enemy's ships of the line in the arsenal, with the mast-house, great store-house, hemp-house, and other buildings, were totally destroyed, and before daylight all his majesty's ships, with those of Spain and the Two Sicilies, were out of the reach of the enemy's shot and shells, except the Robust, which was to receive captain Elphinstone, and she followed very soon after, without a shot striking her. I have under my orders rear-admiral Trogoff, in the Commerce de Marseilles, Puissant, and Pompee, of the line; the Pearl, Arethusa, and Topaze, frigates, and several large

large corvettes, which I have manned, and employed in collecting wine and provisions from the different ports in Spain and Italy, having been constantly in want of some species or another, and am now at short allowance.

Don Langara undertook to destroy the ships in the bason, but I am informed, found it not practicable; and as the Spanish troops had the guarding the powder vessels, which contained the powder of the ships I ordered into the bason and arsenal on my coming here, as well as that from the distant magazines within the enemy's reach, I requested the Spanish admiral would be pleased to give orders for their being scuttled and sunk; but, instead of doing that, the officer to whom that duty was intrusted blew them up, by which two fine gun-boats which I had ordered to attend sir Sydney Smith, were shook to pieces. The lieutenant commanding one of them was killed, and several seamen badly wounded. I am sorry to add, that lieutenant Goddard of the Victory, who commanded the seamen upon the heights of Grasse, was wounded, but I hope and trust not dangerously.

I beg to refer you for farther particulars to general Dundas respecting the evacuation of Toulon; and to sir Sydney Smith as to the burning the enemy's ships, &c. on which service the very much distinguished himself; and he gives great praise to captain Hare, of the fire-ship, as well as to all the lieutenants employed under him.

It is with peculiar satisfaction I have the honour to acquaint you, that the utmost harmony, and most cordial understanding, has happily subsisted in his majesty's army and

fleet, not only between the officers of all ranks, but between the seamen and soldiers also.

I herewith transmit a copy of sir Sydney Smith's letter to me, with a list of the officers employed under him, and also a return of officers and seamen killed and wounded at Fort Mulgrave on the 17th.

I have the honour, &c.

HOOD.

P. S. The list of the ships at Toulon that were burnt, and those remaining, has been received since writing my letter.

Right hon. Henry Dundas.

Toulon, Dec. 18, 1793.

MY LORD,

Agreeably to your lordship's order, I proceeded with the Swallow tender, three English and three Spanish gun-boats, to the arsenal, and immediately began making the necessary preparations for burning the French ships and stores therein. We found the dock-gates well secured by the judicious arrangements of the governor, although the dock-yard people had already substituted the three-coloured cockade for the white one. I did not think it safe to attempt the securing any of them, considering the small force I had with me, and considering that contest of any kind would occupy our whole attention, and prevent us from accomplishing our purpose.

The galley-slaves, to the number of at least 600, shewed themselves jealous spectators of our operations: their disposition to oppose us, was evident; and being unchained, which was unusual, rendered it necessary to keep a watchful eye on them on board the galleys, by pointing the guns of the Swallow tender and one of the gun-boats on them, in such a manner

a manner as to enflame the quay on which they must have landed to come to us, and assuring them, at the same time, that no harm should happen to them, if they remained quiet. The enemy kept up a cross-fire of shot and shells on the spot, from Malbousquet and the neighbouring hills, which contributed to keep the galley slaves in subjection, and operated in every respect favourably for us, by keeping the republican party in the town within their houses, while it occasioned little interruption to our work of preparing and placing combustible matter in the different store-houses, and on board the ships; such was the steadiness of the few brave seamen I had under my command. A great multitude of the enemy continued to draw down the hill towards the dock-yard wall; and as the night closed in, they came near enough to pour in an irregular though quick fire of musquetry on us from the Boulangerie, and of cannon from the height which overlooks it. We kept them at bay by discharges of grape-shot, from time to time, which prevented their coming so near as to discover the insufficiency of our force to repel a closer attack. A gun-boat was stationed to flank the wall on the outside, and two field-pieces were placed within against the wicket usually frequented by the workmen, of whom we were particularly apprehensive. About eight o'clock I had the satisfaction of seeing lieut. Gore towing in the Vulcan fireship. Captain Hare, her commander, placed her, agreeably to my directions, in a most masterly manner, across the tier of men of war, and the additional force of her guns and men diminished my apprehensions of the galley-slaves rising

on us, as their manner and occasional tumultuous debates ceased entirely on her appearance. The only noise heard among them was the hammer knocking off their fetters, which humanity forbade my opposing, as they might thereby be more at liberty to save themselves on the conflagration taking place around them. In this situation we continued to wait most anxiously for the hour concerted with the governor for the inflammation of the trains. The moment the signal was made, we had the satisfaction to see the flames rise in every quarter. Lieutenant Tupper was charged with the burning of the general magazine, the pitch, tar, tallow, and oil store-houses, and succeeded most perfectly: the hemp magazine was included in this blaze: its being nearly calm was unfortunate to the spreading of the flames, but 250 barrels of tar divided among the deals and other timber, insured the rapid ignition of that whole quarter which lieutenant Tupper had undertaken.

The mast-house was equally well set on fire by lieutenant Middleton, of the *Britannia*. Lieutenant Pater, of the *Britannia*, continued in a most daring manner to brave the flames, in order to complete the work where the fire seemed to have caught imperfectly. I was obliged to call him off, lest his retreat should become impracticable: his situation was the more perilous, as the enemy's fire redoubled as soon as the amazing blaze of light rendered us distinct objects of their aim. Lieutenant Ironmonger, of the *Royals*, remained with the guard at the gate till the last, long after the Spanish guard was withdrawn, and was brought safely off by captain Edge,

Edge, of the Alert, to whom I had confided the important service of closing our retreat, and bringing off our detached parties, which were saved to a man. I was sorry to find myself deprived of the farther services of captain Hare: he had performed that of placing his fireship to admiration, but was blown into the water, and much scorched, by the explosion of her priming, when in the act of putting the match to it. Lieutenant Gore was also much burnt, and I was consequently deprived of him also, which I regretted the more, from the recollection of his bravery and activity in the warm service of Fort Mulgrave. Mr. Eales, midshipman, who was also with him on this occasion, deserves my praise for his conduct throughout this service. The guns of the fireship going off on both sides as they heated, in the direction that was given them, towards those quarters from whence we were most apprehensive of the enemy forcing their way in upon us, checked their career. Their shouts and republican songs, which we could hear distinctly, continued till they, as well as ourselves, were in a manner thunderstruck by the explosion of some thousand barrels of powder, on board the Iris frigate, lying in the inner road, without us, and which had been unjudiciously set on fire by the Spanish boats, in going off, instead of being sunk as ordered. The concussion of air, and the shower of falling timber on fire, was such as nearly to destroy the whole of us. Lieutenant Patey, of the Terrible, with his whole boat's crew, nearly perished: the boat was blown to pieces, but the men were picked up alive. The Union gun-boat, which was nearest to the Iris, suf-

fered considerably, Mr. Young being killed, with three men, and the vessel shaken to pieces. I had given it in charge to the Spanish officers, to fire the ships in the bason before the town; but they returned, and reported that various obstacles had prevented their entering it. We attempted it together, as soon as we had completed the business in the arsenal, but were repulsed in our attempt to cut the boom, by repeated volleys of musquetry from the flag ship and the wall of the battery Royale. The cannon of this battery had been spiked by the judicious precaution taken by the governor previously to the evacuation of the town.

The failure of our attempt on the ships in the bason before the town, owing to the insufficiency of our force, made me regret that the Spanish gun-boats had been withdrawn from me to perform other service. The adjutant don Pedro Cotiella, don Francisco Riguielme, and don Francisco Truxillo, remained with me to the last; and I feel bound to bear testimony of the zeal and activity with which they performed the most essential services, during the whole of this business as far as the insufficiency of their force allowed it, being reduced, by the retreat of the gun-boats, to a single felucca, and a mortar-boat, which had expended its ammunition, but contained 30 men with cutlasses.

We now proceeded to burn the Hero and Themistocles, two 74 gun ships, lying in the inner road. Our approach to them had hitherto been impracticable in boats, as the French prisoners, who had been left in the latter ship, were still in possession of her, and had shewn a determination

to resist our attempt to come on board. The scene of conflagration around them, heightened by the late tremendous explosion, had, however, awakened their fears for their lives. Thinking this to be the case, I addressed them, expressing my readiness to land them in a place of safety, if they would submit; and they thankfully accepted the offer, shewing themselves to be completely intimidated, and very grateful for our humane intentions towards them, in not attempting to burn them with the ship. It was necessary to proceed with precaution, as they were more numerous than ourselves. We at length completed their disembarkation, and then set her on fire. On this occasion, I had nearly lost my valuable friend and assistant, lieutenant Miller, of the Windsor-Castle, who had staid so long on board to insure the fire taking, that it gained on him suddenly, and it was not without being very much scorched, and the risk of being suffocated, that we could approach the ship to take him in. The loss to the service would have been very great, had we not succeeded in our endeavours to save him. Mr. Knight, midshipman of the Windsor-Castle, who was in the boat with me, shewed much activity and address on the occasion, as well as firmness, throughout the day.

The explosion of a second powder-vessel, equally unexpected, and with a shock even greater than the first, again put us in the most imminent danger of perishing; and, when it is considered that we were within the sphere of the falling timber, it is next to miraculous that no one piece, of the many which made the water foam around us, happened to touch either the Swallow or the three boats with me.

Having now set fire to every thing within our reach, exhausted our combustible preparations and our strength to such a degree that the men absolutely dropped on the oars, we directed our course to join the fleet, running the gauntlet under a few ill-directed shot from the forts of Balaguier and Aiguillette, now occupied by the enemy; but fortunately, without loss of any kind, we proceeded to the place appointed for the embarkation of the troops, and took off as many as we could carry. It would be injustice to those officers whom I have omitted to name, for their not having been so immediately under my eye, if I did not acknowledge myself indebted to them all for their extraordinary exertions in the execution of this great national object. The quickness with which the inflammation took effect on my signal, its extent and duration, are the best evidences that every officer and man was ready at his post, and firm under most perilous circumstances.

We can ascertain that the fire extended to at least ten sail of the line; how much farther we cannot say. The loss of the general magazine, and of the quantity of pitch, tar, rosin, hemp, timber, cordage, and gunpowder, must considerably impede the equipment of the few ships that remain. I am sorry to have been obliged to leave any, but I hope your lordship will be satisfied that we did as much as our circumscribed means enabled us to do in limited time, pressed as we were by a force so much superior to us.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. SYDNEY SMITH.

Right hon. lord Hood,

&c. &c. &c.

[Here

[Here follows a list of the officers employed, and of the killed and wounded]

List of ships of the line, frigates and sloops of the department of Toulon.

In the road where the English fleet entered Toulon.

SHIPS of the LINE

Now with the English fleet.

guns.

Le Commerce de Marseilles 120

Le Pompée — 74

Burnt at Toulon.

Le Tonnant — 80

L'Heureux — 74

Le Centaure — 74

Le Commerce de Bourdeaux 74

Le Destin — 74

Le Lys — 74

Le Héros — 74

Le Thémistocle — 74

Le Dugay Trouin — 77

Sent into the French ports on the Atlantic, with French seamen, &c.

Le Patriote — 74

L'Apollon — 74

L'Orion — 74

L'Entreprenant — 74

Burnt at Leghorn.

Le Scipion — 74

Remaining at Toulon.

Le Généreux — 74

FRIGATES

Now with the English fleet.

Le Perle — 40

L'Aréthuse — 40

Fitted out by the English.

L'Aurora — 32

Put into commission by order of Lord Hood.

La Topaze — 32

Remaining in the power of the Sardinians.

L'Alceste — 32

SLOOPs

Now with the English fleet.

La Poulette — 20

Le Tarleton — 14

Burnt at Toulon.

La Caroline — 20 guns.

L'Auguste — 20

Fitted out by the English.

La Bellette — 26

La Prosélyte — 24

La Sincere — 20

Le Mulet — 20

La Mozelles — 20

Fitted out by the Neapolitans.

L'Employe — 20

Fitted out by the Spaniards.

La Petite Aurore — 18

Sent to Bourdeaux.

Le Pluvier — 20

Fitting out when the English fleet entered Toulon.

SHIPS of the LINE

Burnt at Toulon.

Le Triomphant — 80

Le Suffisant — 74

Now with the English fleet.

Le Puissant —

Remaining at Toulon.

Le Dauphin Royal — 120

FRIGATE

Burnt at Toulon.

La Sérieuse — 32

In the harbour, in want of repair.

SHIPS

Burnt at Toulon.

Le Mercure — 74

La Couronne — 80

Le Conquérant — 74

Le Dictateur — 74

Remaining at Toulon.

Le Languedoc — 80

Le Censeur — 74

Le Guerrier — 74

Le Souverain — 74

Unfit for service.

L'Alcide — 74

FRIGATES

Burnt at Toulon.

Le Courageaux — 32

L'Iphigénie — 32

L'Alerte — 16

Having

Having on board the powder magazines, burnt at Toulon.

	guns.	
L'Iris	—	32
Le Montreal	—	32
<i>Fitted out by the English as a bomb-ketch.</i>		
La Lutine	—	32
<i>Remaining at Toulon.</i>		
La Bretonne	—	18
<i>In commission before the English fleet at Toulon.</i>		

SHIP

In the Levant.

La Duquesne	—	74
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FRIGATES and SLOOPS

In the Levant.

La Sibile	—	40
La Sensible	—	32
La Melpomene	—	40
La Minerve	—	40
La Fortunée	—	32
La Flèche	—	24
La Fauvette	—	24

Taken by the English.

L'Impérieuse	—	40
La Modestie	—	32
L'Eclair	—	20

At Ville Franche.

La Vestale	—	36
La Badine	—	24
————— Le Hazard	—	30

At Corsica.

La Mignon	—	32
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At Cette.

La Brune	—	24
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In ordinary at Toulon.

La Junon	—	40
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Building.

One ship of	—	74
Two frigates	—	40

On board the Victory, Hieres Bay, Dec. 21, 1793.

SIR,

In my letter of the 12th instant I had the honour to acquaint you, that from the 30th of November to

that time no particular event had taken place, and that the fire of the enemy was less frequent. During this period they were daily receiving reinforcements from every quarter, and both sides were busily employed, we in strengthening our posts, and the enemy in establishing new batteries against cape Brun and Malbousquet, but principally against Fort Mulgrave, on the Heights of Balaguier.

From all concurring accounts of deserters, and others, the enemy's army was now between 30,000 and 40,000 men, and an attack upon our posts was to be daily expected. These, from their essential though detached situations, had been severally strengthened, in the proportion their circumstances required, having such central force in the town as was deemed necessary for its immediate guard, and for affording a degree of succour to any point that might be more particularly attacked.

For the complete defence of the town and its extensive harbour, we had long been obliged to occupy a circumference of at least fifteen miles, by eight principal posts, with their several intermediate dependent ones; the greatest part of these were merely of a temporary nature, such as our means allowed us to construct; and of our force, which never exceeded 12,000 men bearing firelocks, and composed of five different nations and languages, near 9000 were placed in or supporting those posts, and about 3000 remained in the town.

On the 16th, at half past two o'clock in the morning, the enemy, who had before fired from three batteries on Fort Mulgrave, now opened two new ones, and continued a very heavy cannonade and bombard-

bombardment on that post till next morning. The works suffered much. The number of men killed and disabled was considerable. The weather was rainy, and the consequent fatigue great.

At two o'clock in the morning of the 17th the enemy, who had every advantage in assembling and suddenly advancing, attacked the fort in great force. Although no part of this temporary post was such as could well resist determined troops, yet, for a considerable time, it was defended; but, on the enemy entering on the Spanish side, the British quarter, commanded by captain Conolly, of the 18th regiment, could not be much longer maintained, notwithstanding several gallant efforts were made for that purpose. It was therefore at last carried, and the remains of the garrison of 700 men retired towards the shore of Balaguier under the protection of the other posts established on those heights, and which continued to be faintly attacked by the enemy. As this position of Balaguier was a most essential one for the preservation of the harbour, and as we had no communication with it but by water, 2200 men had been placed there for some time past. On the night preceding the attack, 300 more men had been sent over, and on the morning of the 17th 400 were embarked still farther to support it.

When the firing at Balaguier ceased, we remained in anxious suspense as to the event till a little before day-light, when a new scene opened, by an attack on all our posts on the mountain of Pharon. The enemy were repulsed on the east side, where was our principal force of about 700 men commanded by a most distinguished officer, the Pied-

montese colonel de Jermagnan, whose loss we deeply lament; but on the back of the mountain, near 1800 feet high, steep, rocky, deamed almost inaccessible, and which he had laboured much to make so, they found means, once more, to penetrate between our posts, which occupied an extent of above two miles, guarded by 450 men, and, in a very short space of time, we saw that with great numbers of men, they crowded all that side of the mountain which overlooks Toulon. The particulars of this event I am not yet enabled to ascertain, but I have every reason to think that they did not enter a British post.

Our line of defence, which, as I have mentioned, occupied a circumference of at least 15 miles, and with points of which we had only a water communication, being thus broken in upon in its two most essential posts, it became necessary to adopt decisive measures, arising from the knowledge of the whole of our actual situation. A council of the flag and general officers assembled. They determined on the impracticability of restoring the posts we had lost, and on the consequent propriety of the speedy evacuation of the town, evidently, and by the report of the engineers and artillery officers, declared untenable. Measures of execution were taken from that moment. The troops were withdrawn from the heights of Balaguier without much interruption from the enemy, and in the evening such posts as necessarily depended on the possession of Pharon were successively evacuated, and the troops drawn in towards Toulon. The forts D'Artigues and St. Catherine still remained, together with the posts of Sabiettes, Cape Brun, and

and Malbousquet, from which last the Spaniards withdrew in the night, in consequence of the supporting post of Neapolitans at Micissey having left the battery there established, and abandoned it without orders. Every attention was also given to ensure the tranquillity of the town. In the night the combined fleets took a new station in the outer road.

Early in the morning of the 18th the sick and wounded, and the British field artillery were sent off. In the course of the day the post of Cape Brun was withdrawn into La Malue, the post of Sablettes was also retired, and the men were put on board. Measures were arranged for the final embarkation, during the night, of the British, Piedmontese, and Spaniards, who occupied the town, and of the troops of the same nations who were now at La Malue, amounting in all to about 7000 men; for the Neapolitans had, by midnight, embarked.

Having determined with lieutenant-general Gravina, commanding the Spanish troops, that, instead of embarking at the quays and in the arsenal of the town, our whole force should assemble near fort La Malue, and form on the peninsula which from thence extends into the harbour, every previous disposition was made, and every care taken to conceal our intention. The arsenal and dock-yard were strictly guarded. The troops were ranged accordingly on the ramparts, and the tranquillity of the town was much ensured from the time the enemy began to throw shells and shot into it; which they did from our late batteries at Micissey and Malbousquet.

About ten o'clock at night fire was set to the ships and arsenal.

We immediately began our march and the evacuation of the town, which it was necessary should be made with secrecy and expedition. The fort of St. Catherine having, without orders, been quitted in the course of the day, and possessed by the enemy, the consequent early knowledge of our march, had we taken the common route, through the gate of Italy, and within musquet-shot of that fort, might have produced great inconvenience; we therefore, by a sally post, gained an advanced part of the road, and without accident were enabled to quit the town, arrive at Fort La Malue, and form on the rising ground immediately above the shore. The boats were ready, the weather and the sea in the highest degree favourable. The embarkation began about eleven o'clock, and by day-break on the 19th the whole, without interruption or the loss of a man, were on board ship.

The great fire in the arsenal, the blowing up of the powder ships, and other similar events which took place in the night, certainly tended to keep the enemy in a state of suspense and uncertainty.

As the security of this operation depended much on the protection afforded from the happy situation of Fort La Malue, which so effectually commands the neck of the peninsula, and the judicious use that should be made of its artillery, this important service was allotted to major Kochler, with 200 men, who after seeing the last man off the shore, and spiking all the guns, effected, from his activity and intelligence, his own retreat without loss.

Captains Elphinstone, Hallowell, and Mathews, superintended the embarkation,

barkation, and to their indefatigable attention and good dispositions, we are indebted for the happy success of so important an operation. Captain Elphinstone, as governor of Fort La Malgue, has ably afforded me the most essential assistance, in his command and arrangement of the several important posts included in that district.

It is impossible for me to express but in general terms, the approbation that is due to the conduct and merits of the several commanding officers, and indeed of every officer in every rank and situation. Troops have seldom experienced for so long a time a service more harrassing, distressing, and severe; and the officers and men of the regiments and marines have gone through it with that exertion, spirit, and good-will, which peculiarly distinguish the British soldier. At Fort Mulgrave, lieutenant Duncan, of the royal artillery, was so essentially useful, that to his exertions and abilities, that post was much indebted for its preservation for so long a time.

The general service has been carried on with the most perfect harmony and zeal of the navy and army. From our deficiency in artillery-men, many of our batteries were worked by seamen: They, in part, guarded some of our posts, and their aid was particularly useful in duties of fatigue and labour. In all these we found the influence of the superior activity and exertions of the British sailors.

It was the constant attention of lord Hood to relieve our wants and alleviate our difficulties.

The Sardinian troops we have always considered as a part of ourselves. We have experienced their attachment and good behaviour, and I have found much assistance from

the ability and conduct of the chevalier de Revel, and from brigadier-general Richler, who commands them.

Notwithstanding the undefined situation of command, I found every disposition and acquiescence in lieutenant-general Gravina, commanding the Spanish troops, to execute every proposed measure which the common cause required.

The loss of the British on the 17th, at Fort Mulgrave, and on the heights of Pharon, amounts to about 300 men, of which, during the last four days, no exact account could be procured: and as the troops in embarking were put on board the nearest and most convenient ships, till they are again united in corps, I cannot have the honour of transmitting particular returns, nor even knowing the detail of circumstances that attended the attack of those posts.

It is now about three weeks that, from the unfortunate accident of general O'Hara being made prisoner, the government of Toulon devolved on me; my best exertions have not been wanting in that situation, and I humbly hope that his majesty may be pleased to look upon them in a favourable light.

I beg leave to add, that the royal battalion of Louis and two independent companies of French Chasseurs, raised at Toulon, have behaved, on every occasion, with fidelity and spirit. They embarked at La Malgue, to the number of about 600 men, and are now with us.

I have the honour to be,

With the most profound respect,

SIR,

Your most faithful and obedient humble seryant,

DAVID DUNDAS, Lieut. Gen.

Right hon. Gen. Dundas, &c.

THE LONDON GAZETTE EXTRA-ORDINARY, APRIL 22.

Whitehall, April 21.

MAJOR GREY arrived this morning at the office of the right hon. Henry Dundas, his majesty's principal secretary of state for the home department, with dispatches from sir Charles Grey, K. B. of which the following is a copy.

*Fort Royal Martinico, March 25,
1794.*

SIR,

I have the happiness to acquaint you of the complete conquest of this very valuable island, the last and most important fortress of Fort Bourbon, having surrendered to his majesty's arms, at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 23d instant, at which time his royal highness prince Edward, major-general of his majesty's forces, took possession of both gates with the first and third battalions of grenadiers, and the first and third light infantry: and I have the honour to transmit to you the articles of capitulation, together with a list of the killed and wounded, and a return of the ordnance, &c. taken since my dispatch of the 16th instant, in which I communicated the transactions and progress of this army to that period.

The return of ordnance taken in Fort Royal is signed by the commanding officer of British artillery; but that of Fort Bourbon is the French account of it, as there is not time to make an exact return at present, which shall be sent by the next opportunity.

Having concerted measures with the admiral for a combined attack by the naval and land forces upon the fort and town of Fort Royal, and the batteries of my second parallel

being ready, those on Morne Tortenson and Carriere kept up an incessant fire upon Fort Royal, and all the other batteries on Fort Bourbon, during the day and night of the 19th instant, and on the morning of the 20th following, till the ships destined for this service had taken their stations.—The Asia of 64 guns, captain Browne, and the Zebra sloop of 16 guns, captain Faulkner, with captain Rogers, and a body of seamen in flat boats, the whole under commodore Thompson, composed the naval force; and the land force consisted of the first battalion of grenadiers, under lieutenant-colonel Stewart and the third light infantry, under lieutenant-colonel Close, from prince Edward's camp at La Coste: with the third grenadiers, under lieutenant-colonel Buckeridge, and the first light infantry, under lieutenant-colonel Coote, from lieutenant-general Prescott's camp at Sourierre.

The navy acquitted themselves with their usual gallantry, (particularly captain Faulkner, whose conduct justly gained him the admiration of the whole army) carrying the fort by escalade about twelve o'clock of the 20th instant, under the able conduct of commodore Thompson, whose judicious disposition of the gun and flat boats, assisted by that spirited and active officer captain Rogers, contributed materially to our success; at the same time that the land forces, commanded by that excellent officer colonel Symes, critically advancing with equal ardour, forced and entered the town triumphantly, hoisting the British colours, and changing the name to Fort Edward.

Immediately after this, general Rochambeau, who commanded in Fort Bourbon, sent his aid-de-camp with

with a flag, offering to surrender on capitulation, and the terms were finally adjusted and agreed to on the 22d instant, by three commissioners on each side, the ratifications thereof being signed by the commanders in chief, on the 23d following; and the garrison, amounting to 900 men, marched out this morning prisoners of war, lying down their arms on the parade of Fort Royal, and were embarked for France immediately. His majesty's troops having marched in, struck the French and hoisted the British colours, and changed the name from Bourbon to that of Fort George.

I consider myself under great obligations to lieutenant-general Prescott for the zeal and ability with which he has assisted me throughout this arduous service, now brought to so fortunate a conclusion, and to all the general and other officers.

Colonel Durnford, with the corps of engineers, and lieutenant-colonels Paterson and Sowerby and major Manly, with the royal artillery, have also a claim to my warmest approbation, for their exertions in placing and constructing of the batteries, and the well-directed fire of the artillery. The bravery, regularity, and good behaviour of the troops on every occasion has been most meritorious and exemplary.

Forts Bourbon and Royal have suffered greatly from our fire during the siege, and we are diligently employed to put them in a proper state of defence, effectually to secure this important acquisition of territory to the crown of Great Britain. I am restoring order as fast as possible, from the confusion naturally occasioned by a siege, and have the pleasure to observe that

every thing in the forts is as tranquil and well-regulated as could be expected in the time.

I shall not lose a moment in embarking ordnance and ordnance stores, with troops, &c. to prosecute with vigour the execution of such other objects and services as his majesty has been pleased to intrust to me; and hope to be enabled to proceed before much time can elapse, after regulating the garrisons of these forts, and all such other matters as require immediate attention. Major Grey, deputy quartermaster-general, will have the honour to deliver this dispatch, and can communicate any other particulars or information you may wish to have.

I have the honour, &c.
CHARLES GREY

P. S. At the commencement of the siege, the garrison of Fort Bourbon consisted of about 1200.

I send five stand of colours, laid down by the garrison, together with the two colours of Fort Bourbon, to be presented to his majesty.

The gallant defence made by general Rochambeau and his garrison, was strongly manifested on entering Fort Bourbon, as there was scarce an inch of ground untouched by our shot and shells; and it is but justice to say that it does them the highest honour.

Articles of capitulation of Fort Bourbon.

On the 21st of March, 1794, by order of their excellencies sir Charles Grey, K. B. general and commander-in-chief of his Britannic majesty's forces in the West Indies, &c. &c. &c. and vice-admiral sir John Jervis, E. B. commanding his majesty's

F 3

fleet

fleet, &c. &c. &c. commodore C. Thompson, colonel R. Symes, and captain J. Conyngham, met at Dillon's house, to receive proposals of capitulation for Fort Bourbon, from colonel D'Aucourt, captain Dupriret, and Gaschet Dumaine, jun. nominated commissioners for that purpose by general Rochambeau.

The following articles were proposed, discussed, and modified, at a second conference held at Fort Royal on the 22d of March, 1794.

Article I. The garrison, composed of the troops of the line, artillery, gunners of the marine, and national guard, shall march out with colours flying, 30 rounds a man, and two field pieces, with 12 rounds.

Answer. The colony of Martinique being already reduced by the arms of his Britannic majesty, and the forts and towns of St. Pierre and Fort Royal taken with sword in hand, general Rochambeau can only capitulate for Fort Bourbon, and what it contains.

Granted. But they are to lay down their arms at a place appointed, and not to serve against his Britannic majesty or his allies during the present war.

Art. II. Three months pay to be allowed to the troops of the line.

Ans. No pay will be given. All their effects will be allowed them; and they will be provided with whatever may be necessary for their voyage to France.

Art. III. The 37th regiment, formerly marshal Turenne's, shall keep their colours and arms.

Ans. Refused, being contrary to all customs of war. The officers may keep their swords.

Art. IV. They shall be furnished with ships to carry them to France.

Ans. Granted.

Art. V. The emigrants, who have returned to Martinique, shall not be present where the garrison lay down their arms or embark.

Ans. Granted.

Art. VI. Such persons of the national guard, who can give proofs of their property, shall be permitted to remain in the island, giving that property, as security for their conduct.

Ans. Those of the national guard in Fort Bourbon who have affairs to settle, and whose sojourn may not be deemed dangerous to the colony, may remain according to the declaration of the general, dated January 1, 1794.

Such as wish to go to France shall be allowed, leaving their agents here.

Ans. Granted.

Art. VII. Persons not included in the above article, who are compelled to return to France, shall be allowed a certain time to settle their affairs.

Ans. A proper time shall be allowed, fifteen days at least.

Art. VIII. Persons belonging to the garrison of Fort Convention, possessing no landed property, but who exercised some profession or trade previous to the present capitulation, shall be allowed to continue their trade or calling; nor sent to France, provided their future conduct should not make such a measure necessary.

Ans. They are regarded in the same predicament with those in article VI.

Art. IX. The legal regulations of the constituted authorities shall be confirmed.

Ans. Refused.

Art. X. The code of civil judicature in force through the island shall be

be continued for the space of two years.

Ans. Granted, till his Britannic majesty's pleasure be known.

Art. XI. The property of owners and captains of ships shall be secured to them on board and on shore.

Ans. Granted, as to their property in Fort Bourbon.

Art. XII. The inhabitants of St. Pierre, embarked on English ships, shall be set at liberty, and their property under seal, secured to them.

Ans. This article cannot come within the present capitulation. The claimants may apply to the commanders of the fleet and army.

Art. XIII. The ordonateur and officers of administration shall have permission and time to regulate their accounts, and to take with them the papers relative to that end.

Ans. Granted.

Art. XIV. There shall be an entire and absolute oblivion of the past, and an end to all animosities.

Ans. Granted, according to the proclamations.

Art. XV. The rights of free citizens inrolled in the national guard shall be preserved.

Ans. Refused.

Art. XVI. The liberty of individuals composing the companies of l'Enclume, d'Octavius, de la Croire, and de Pontour, shall be confirmed.

Ans. Refused. The slaves must be restored to their owners.

Art. XVII. A period shall be fixed for the taking possession of the fort, and the necessary time allowed for the garrison to take out their effects.

Ans. The two gates of Fort Bourbon to be delivered up to the troops of his Britannic majesty immediately after the exchange of the present articles. The garrison will march

out at the great gate, and be conducted to the place appointed for each corps by the commissioners who have managed the present capitulation, and will lay down their arms at the place of their embarkation. Three days will be allowed for the evacuation of the fort, and the commissaries of artillery and stores will remain in the fort to take inventories of all the magazines.

Art. XVIII. The greatest attention shall be paid to the sick and wounded; and they shall be furnished with ships to carry them to France as they recover.

Ans. Granted; but at the expense of the French government, and to be attended by their own surgeons; if not sufficient for the purpose, surgeons shall be furnished.

Art. XIX. General Rochambeau, immediately upon the surrender of the fort, shall be at liberty to take his measures for his return to France. A frigate to be furnished him, his aides-de-camp, secretary, and suite.

Ans. A commodious vessel shall be allowed to general Rochambeau, with the necessary passports, for his safe return to France.

Art. XX. The effects, trunks, chests, private papers, and all that general Rochambeau shall declare to belong to himself and his suite, shall be put under the protection of an English guard, when the troops of that nation shall have taken possession of Fort Convention, and shall be embarked with them.

Ans. Granted.

Art. XXI. The civil ordonateur, or intendant of the colony, shall have liberty also, with the officers of administration, comptroller, and treasurer, with those employed in

the public offices at St. Pierre and Fort Royal, to return to France.

Ans. Granted.

Art. XXII. The same demands made by general Rochambeau in article XX. shall be granted to the intendant and those under him.

Ans. Granted.

Art. XXIII. All papers of accounts in the forts or town shall be carefully collected by the principals of each department to which they belong, and embarked in the same ship with the ordonateur.

Ans. All papers, not essential to be left in the colony shall be given, and free access to take authentic copies of such as it may be thought necessary to retain.

Art. XXIV. Captains and officers of merchant ships, who have not settled their affairs, shall be allowed time to do so. The former the space of four months, and the latter of two months, under the protection of the commander of his Britannic majesty's forces, that they may recover their debts; after which they will procure the readiest passage to whatever place may be expedient for their affairs, with passports from the English commanders.

Ans. Granted.

Additional Art. Fort Bourbon to be delivered up to his Britannic majesty in its present state, with no deterioration of its batteries, mines, magazines of artillery, or provisions, and every thing it contains which is not the private property of the garrison.

Fort Royal, March 22, 1794.

(Signed)

D'AUCOURT,
GASCHET, sils,
DUPIRET,

C. THOMPSON,
RICH. SYMES,
JOHN CONYNGHAM.

Approved by me,

DTE. ROCHAMBEAU,
*Commander-in-chief of the French
West-India Islands.*

Approved by us,

CHARLES GREY,
JOHN JERVIS.

[Here follows a return of officers, &c. killed, wounded, and missing, and also an account of the ordnance and stores found at Forts Royal, Louis, and Bourbon.]

Admiralty-Office, April 21, 1794.

Captain Henry Powlet arrived this morning, with dispatches from vice-admiral sir John Jervis, K. B. commander-in-chief of his majesty's ships and vessels at Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, to Mr. Stephens, of which the following are extracts and copy.

*Boyne, Fort-Royal Bay. Martinique,
March 25, 1794.*

SIR,

My letter to you of the 16th, by the Roebuck packet, a duplicate of which is inclosed, has made the lords commissioners of the admiralty acquainted with the operations of the siege until that date; I have the pleasure to communicate, for their lordships farther information, that the battery on Point-Carriere, which forms the east side of the entrance of the Carcenage, opened at daylight on the 17th, and with the gun-boats kept an incessant fire on fort St. Louis, while the gun and mortar batteries on the heights played on Fort Bourbon; lieutenant Bowen of the Boyne, who had commanded the night

night-guard and gun-boats for a considerable time, perceiving a favourable moment, pushed into the Carcenage with the rowing boats of the guard, boarded the *Bien Venu*, French frigate, and brought off the captain, lieutenant, and about 20 men, who were onboard her, under a smart fire of grape-shot and musquetry from the ramparts and parapet of the fort. The success of this gallant action determined the general and me to attempt the fort and town of Fort Royal by assault, and I directed forty scaling ladders to be made of bamboo and small stretched cordage, from twenty to thirty-six feet long, and ordered the *Asia* and *Zebra* to be held in readiness to enter the Carcenage, in order to batter the fort and to cover the flat-boats, barges and pinnaces, under the command of commodore Thompson, supported by captains Nugent and Riou, while the grenadiers and light-infantry from the camp at Sourierre advanced with field-pieces along the side of the hill under Fort Bourbon, towards the bridge, over the canal, at the back of fort Royal. This combination succeeded in every part except the entrance of the *Asia*, which failed from the want of precision in the ancient lieutenant of the port, Monsieur de Tonnelles, who had undertaken to pilot the *Asia*. Captain Faulkner observing that ship baffled in her attempts, and the *Zebra* having been under a shower of grape-shot for a great length of time (which he, his officers, and sloop's company, stood with a firmness not to be described), he determined to undertake the service alone, and he executed it with matchless intrepidity and conduct, running the *Zebra* close to the wall of the fort, and leaping overboard,

at the head of his sloop's company, assailed and took this important post before the boats could get on shore, although they rowed with all the force and animation which characterizes English seamen in the face of an enemy. No language of mine can express the merit of captain Faulkner upon this occasion; but as every officer and man in the army and squadron bears testimony to it, this incomparable action cannot fail of being recorded in the page of history. The grenadiers and light-infantry made good use of their field pieces and musquets, and soon after the surrender of the fort, took possession of the town by the bridge over the canal at the back of it, while a strong detachment from the naval battalions at Point Negro, under the command of captains Rogers, Scott, and Bayntun, in flat-boats, barges, and pinnaces, approached the breach in front. Monsieur Rochambeau did not lose a moment in requesting that commissioners might be appointed to consider of terms of surrender; and the general and I named commodore Thompson, colonel Symes, and captain Conyngham, to meet three persons named by him at Dillon's plantation, at nine o'clock on the 21st, and on the 22d the terms were concluded.

The rapid success of his majesty's arms has been produced by the high courage and perseverance of his officers, soldiers, and seamen, in the most difficult and toilsome labours, which nothing short of the perfect unanimity and affection between them and their chiefs could have surmounted.

Commodore Thompson conducted the enterprize on the side of la Trinité like an able and judicious officer.

cer. Captain Henry carried on the business at Anced'Arlett with great energy, and has been indefatigable in forwarding all the operations he has had a share in. To captains Brown, Nugent, Harvey, Markham, Faulkener, Sawyer, Carpenter, and Scott. I am greatly indebted for the manner in which they conducted the attack against St. Pierre. Captains Harvey, Kelly, Rogers, Salisbury, Inledon, Riou, lord Gallies, Carpenter, Scott, and Bayntun, have gained great reputation in the army by the conduct of the naval battalions, and working parties under their command. Captain Berkeley (since the arrival of the Assurance) has furnished a powerful reinforcement of men from that ship. Captain Pierrepont has been very active in the services allotted to the Sea-flower. In captain Grey I have found the experience of age joined to the vigour of youth. The captains of the forty-four gun-ships armed en flute, of the store-ship, and hospital-ship, have done well.

For other particulars I beg leave to refer their lordships to captain Powlet, who carries this dispatch, and to captain Markham, of the Blonde, who conveys him. They served with commodore Thompson, at La Trinité, and arrived on the south side of the island in time to have a share in most of the transactions there.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. JERVIS.

Fort-Royal, March, 20, 1794.
SIR,

I have the pleasure to acquaint you, that the only loss we have sustained in the capture of Fort-Royal, is the pilot of the Zebra killed, and four seamen, belonging to the same

ship wounded. So soon as I perceived she could fetch in, I gave orders to captains Nugent and Riou, who commanded the flat-boats, which, with the men embarked in them, were laying upon their oars, to push in and mount the walls; when every exertion was made, and the boats seemed to fly towards the fort. Captain Faulkener, in the mean time, in a most spirited and gallant manner, entered the harbour through the fire of all their batteries, and laid his sloop along side the walls, there being deep water close to; when the enemy, terrified at his audacity, the flat-boats full of seamen pulling towards them, and the appearance of the troops from all quarters, struck their colours to the Zebra. A well-directed and steady fire from the gun-boats under lieutenant Bowen, as also from our batteries, was of great service. The alacrity and steadiness of the officers and seamen in general under my command, was such, that I had not the least doubt of success against the whole force of the enemy, had they disputed our entrance.

The fort is full of ammunition and stores of all sorts, but the buildings are in a miserable condition from the effects of our bombs, the gun-boats, and batteries.

I have the honour to be, &c.

C. THOMPSON.

Vice-admiral sir JOHN JERVIS, K.B.
commander in-chief, &c.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY, APRIL 30.

Whitehall, April 30.

A Letter, of which the following is a copy, dated Cateau, April 25, 1794, was last night received by the

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

the right hon. Henry Dundas, his majesty's principal secretary of state for the home department, from his royal highness the duke of York.

SIR, *Cateau, April 25, 1794.*

In consequence of a request from the prince of Cobourg, I sent, the day before yesterday, a detachment of cavalry to reconnoitre the enemy, who were reported to have assembled at the Camp de Cæsar, near Cambrai.

This patrol, with which general Otto went himself, found the enemy in great force, and so strongly posted at the village of Villiers en Cauchie, that he sent back for a reinforcement, which I immediately detached, it consisted of two squadrons of Zetchwitz curassiers, major-general Mansel's brigade of heavy cavalry, and the eleventh regiment of light dragoons. As they could not arrive till it was dark, General Otto was obliged to delay the attack till the next morning, when it took place soon after day-break.

He then ordered two squadrons of hussars, and two squadrons of the fifteenth regiment of light dragoons to charge the enemy, which they did with the greatest success; and finding a line of infantry in the rear of the cavalry, they continued the charge without hesitation, and broke them likewise. Had they been properly supported, the entire destruction of the enemy must have been the consequence, but, by some mistake, general Mansel's brigade did not arrive in time for that purpose. The enemy, however, were completely driven back, and obliged to retreat in great confusion into Cambrai, with the loss of twelve hundred men killed in the field, and three pieces of cannon.

The gallantry displayed by these troops, but particularly by the 15th regiment of light dragoons, does them the highest honour; and, considering the danger of their situation, when left without support, the loss they experienced is not considerable.

The only officer wounded was captain Aylett, of the 15th regiment, who had the misfortune to be severely wounded by a bayonet in the body.

Enclosed I transmit a return of the killed, wounded, and missing, upon the occasion.

The first parallel at Landrecies is in such forwardness, that it is intended to-night to convey the cannon into the batteries, which are to open to-morrow.

The enemy attempted this morning to make two sorties, but were driven back with considerable loss.

I am, sir, &c.
FREDERICK.

Right hon. Henry Dundas, &c.

THE LONDON GAZETTE EXTRA-ORDINARY.

(Published in the afternoon of April 30)

Whitehall, April 30.

THE letters of which the following are copies, were this morning received from his royal highness the duke of York, by the right hon. Henry Dundas, his majesty's principal secretary of state for the home department.

Heights above Cateau, April 26, 1794.
SIR,

It is from the field of battle that I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, for his majesty's information, with the glorious success which the army

army under my command has had this day.

At day-break this morning, the enemy attacked me on all sides. After a short, but severe conflict, we succeeded in repulsing them with considerable slaughter. The enemy's general Chapuy, is taken prisoner, and we are masters of 35 pieces of the enemy's cannon. The behaviour of the British cavalry has been beyond all praise.

It is impossible for me as yet to give any account of the loss sustained by his majesty's troops. I have reason to believe that it is not considerable.

The only officers of whom I have any account as yet, and who, I believe, are all who have fallen upon this occasion, are major-general Mansell, captain Pigott, and captain Fellows, of the third dragoon guards.

The army under his imperial majesty was attacked at the same time, and the only particulars with which I am acquainted at present, are, that the enemy were likewise repulsed with great loss.

I shall not fail to send you a more full account by the first opportunity.

I am, &c.

FREDERICK.

P. S. This letter will be delivered to you by my aid-de-camp captain Murray, who will be able to give you any farther information that you may wish to receive.

Right hon. Henry Dundas, &c.

Cateau, April 26, 1794.

SIR,

In addition to my letter, written immediately after the engagement, I have just learnt from his imperial majesty, that general count Kingsby

and major-general Bellegarde, after having repulsed the enemy with great slaughter from Prisches, had pursued them as far as day-light would permit, in the direction of Capelle, and have taken twenty-two pieces of cannon,; so that we are already in possession of fifty-seven pieces of ordnance taken from the enemy this day.

I am, &c.

FREDERICK.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY,
WEDNESDAY, MAY 21.

Whitehall, May 21.

A LETTER (of which the following is an extract) from sir Charles Grey, K. B. dated Basseterre, Guadaloupe, April 22, 1794, was yesterday received by the right hon. Henry Dundas, his majesty's principal secretary of state for the home department.

SIR,

In my dispatch of the 12th instant, by the Sea-Flower, I had the honour to acquaint you with the capture of that part of the island of Guadaloupe, denominated Grand Terre. The 43d regiment being landed to garrison Fort Prince of Wales, (late Fort Fleur d'Épée) the town of Pointe à Petre, &c. and the other troops re-imbarked, at twelve o'clock the 14th the Quebec, with several other frigates, and some transports, dropped down opposite to Petit Bourg, with grenadiers and light infantry, commanded by Prince Edward, and began landing at five o'clock in the afternoon, at which time I joined them, and was received with great demonstrations of joy by the French people on the marqui de Bouillie's

Bouillie's estate; and I returned on board the Boyne at ten o'clock the same evening. At day-break in the morning of the 15th I went to St. Mary's, where I found lieutenant-colonel Coote, with the first light infantry, having got there before day, from Petit Bourg; and the second battalion of grenadiers joined at ten o'clock. The troops advancing (April the 16th) reached Trou Chien, which the enemy had abandoned, although very strong; and before dark we halted on the high ground over Trois Rivières, from whence we saw the enemy's two redoubts and their strong post of Palmiste, I intended to have attacked the enemy that night, but the troops were too much fatigued, from the difficult march they had just finished. Major general Dundas landed at Vieux Habitant at eleven o'clock in the night of the 17th, with the third battalion of grenadiers, and the second and third battalions of light infantry, with little opposition and no loss (having sailed from Point a Petre the 15th preceding) taking possession of Morne Magdaline, and destroying two batteries; then detaching lieutenant-colonel Blundell, with the second battalion of light infantry, he forced several very difficult posts of the enemy during the night. I made a disposition for the attack of the enemy's redoubt d'Arbaud, at Grande Ance, and their battery d'Anet, to be executed during that night; but at eight o'clock in the evening they evacuated the former, setting fire to every thing in and about it; and I ordered the attack of the latter to proceed, which was well executed by lieutenant-colonel Coote and the first light infantry, who were in possession of it by day-break of the

18th, having killed, wounded, or taken every one of those who were defending it, without any loss. At twelve o'clock on the night of the 19th, I moved forward, with the first and second battalions of grenadiers and the first light infantry, from Trois Rivières and Grande Ance, and took their famous post of Palmiste, with all their batteries, at day-break of the 20th, commanding Fort St. Charles and Basseterre: and communicating with major-general Dundas's division on the morning of the 21st, who had made his approach by Morne Howel; after which general Collot capitulated, surrendering Guadaloupe and all its dependencies, comprehending the islands of Marie Galante, Desirade, the Saints, &c. on the same terms that were allowed to Rochambeau, at Martinique, and Ricard at St. Lucia, to march out with the honours of war, and lay down their arms, to be sent to France, and not to serve against the British forces or their allies during the war. Accordingly, at eight o'clock this morning, the French garrison of Fort St. Charles marched out, consisting of 55 regulars of the regiments of Guadaloupe, and the 14th of France, and 818 national guards and others: prince Edward, with the grenadiers and light infantry, taking possession immediately hoisting the British colours, and changing the name of it to Fort Matilda. The terms of capitulation are transmitted herewith, but the forts and batteries are so numerous, and some of them at such a distance, that a return of the ordnance, stores, &c. cannot be obtained in time for the sailing of this vessel, as I am unwilling to detain her so long as would be necessary for that purpose. From a return found

found amongst General Collot's papers, it appears that the number of men able to carry arms in Guadeloupe is 5877, and the number of fire-arms actually delivered out to them is 4044. In former dispatches I have mentioned that lieutenant-general Prescott, was left to command at Martinico, and colonel sir Charles Gordon at St. Lucia; and the conquest of Guadeloupe, and its dependencies being now also completely accomplished I have placed major-general Dundas in the command of this island, with a proper garrison, and his majesty may place the firmest reliance on the ability, experience, and zeal, for the good of his service and their country, of those excellent officers. Although I have not been wanting in my several dispatches to you, sir, to bestow just praise on the forces I have the honour to command, yet I conceive it a duty, which I embrace with infinite pleasure, to repeat, that, to the unanimity and extraordinary exertions of the navy and army on this service, under fatigues, and difficulties never exceeded, his majesty and their country are indebted for the rapid success which, in so short a space of time, has extended the British empire, by adding to it the valuable islands of Martinique, St. Lucia, Guadeloupe, the Saints, Marie Galante, and Desirada. Captain Thomas Grey, one of my aides-de-camp, will have the honour to deliver this dispatch, and can communicate any other particulars or information you may desire.

P. S. Since closing this letter, returns are received, and transmitted herewith, of the killed, wounded, and missing, and of the batteries and ordnance taken; but that of the stores could not be obtained.

Articles of capitulation

Between their excellencies sir Charles Grey, K. B. general and commander-in-chief of his Britannic majesty's troops in the West Indies, &c. &c. &c. and vice-admiral sir John Jervis, K. B. commander-in-chief of his majesty's naval forces, &c. &c. &c. and George Henry Victor Collot, major-general and governor of Guadeloupe, Marie Galante, Desirada, and dependencies, &c. &c.

The commanders-in-chief of his Britannic majesty's forces, are induced to grant to the long services of major-general Collot, and to the great humanity with which he has treated the prisoners under his care, the honour of marching out of Fort St. Charles at the head of the garrison, which shall in every respect be subject to, and treated in the same manner as that of Fort Bourbon, to wit, to lay down their arms as prisoners, and not to serve against his Britannic majesty during the present war, nor against his allies.

The post of Houelmont to be immediately withdrawn, and the troops there to retire into Fort St. Charles. The said post is to be delivered up to the British troops, exactly in the state in which it is, as well as Fort St. Charles, and all other military posts in the island.

The garrison of Fort St. Charles, to march out of that fortress the 22d of this month, at eight o'clock in the morning.

The British troops are to take possession of the gates of Fort St. Charles to night.

Marie Galante, Desirada, and all the dependencies of this government

ment are to be included in the present capitulation.

Given at Guadaloupe, April 20, 1794.

Par leurs excellences,

CHARLES GREY.

G. FISHER,

GEO. PURVIS,

V. COLLOT,

J. JERVIS.

Admiralty-Office, May 21.

Captain Nugent arrived yesterday with a letter from vice-admiral sir John Jervis, K. B. commander-in-chief of his majesty's ships and vessels at Barbadoes, and the Leeward Islands, dated Boyne, Basseterre, Guadaloupe, April 23, 1794, addressed to Mr. Stephens, of which the following is an extract.

"On the 14th instant, the Quebec, Winchelsea, Blanche, Experiment, Woolwich, and three gun-boats, with two divisions of the army under the command of prince Edward and colonel Symes, in transports, were ordered to anchor under Isles haut de Fregatie, and the troops were landed that night and the following morning at Petit Bourg. On the same day, the Irresistible, Veteran, Assurance, Santa Margarita, and two gun-boats, were detached with a corps under the command of major-general Dundas, and an army hospital-ship and victuallers, to the road of Bailiff, near the town of Basseterre; and the day afterwards I followed in the Boyne, accompanied by the Inspector and Bull-dog sloops, some army victuallers, and two hospital-ships, and was joined by the Terpsichore and Zebra sloop, and two gun-boats, off les Isles des Saints, in the afternoon; when, perceiving that the troops had not reached Trois Rivières, I stood off

and on between that anchorage and the Saints during the night; and on the morning of the 17th, being joined by the Winchelsea and an ordnance store-ship, I ordered captain lord Garlies to take under his command the above mentioned sloops of war, gun-boats, the victuallers, hospital-ships, and ordnance store-ships, and to anchor at Trois Rivières, which he performed with his usual promptitude; and I then proceeded in the Boyne to the road of Bailiff, where I anchored before sun-set, and received a very satisfactory report from captain Henry of the debarkation and progress of major-general Dundas's corps. Perceiving, as I passed Basseterre, some movements amongst the shipping that indicated a design to escape in the night, and a few people busy in the batteries between that town and the road of Bailiff, I sent captain Grey with a detachment of marines to disable the guns in the batteries, and the boats of the other ships to intercept any thing attempting to go out. Soon after sunset, some incendiaries, who had plundered the town set it on fire, and got off in an armed schooner. Most of the other vessels were brought into the road of Bailiff by the boats; among them the Guadaloupe, republican sloop of war.

I have now the greatest satisfaction in informing you of the entire reduction of the French islands in these seas; the post of the Palmiste was carried by the divisions of prince Edward and colonel Symes, under the command of general sir Charles Grey; and that of Morne Howel by the corps of major-general Dundas, and was carried before day-break on the 20th, when general Collot immediately surrendered

dered fort Charles upon terms of honour to himself and garrison. Lord Garlies, in the *Winchelsea*, with three flank companies of the 39th regiment, will proceed this evening to Marie Galante, to receive the submission of that island, as commanded by general Collot; from thence he will go with a small detachment to Desirada, for the like purpose.

The unabated exertions of the officers and seamen under my command will never be surpassed; they kept constant pace with the efforts of the troops, and, thus united, no difficulty or danger arrested their career of glory for an instant. From the general and other officers of the army, with whom I had frequent occasions to transact business, I never experienced an unpleasant item, and I found in colonel Symes, the quarter-master-general, resources, zeal, and ability, superior to every obstacle which presented.

Captain Nugent, who carries this dispatch, will recite many parts of the detail, which, in the various operations I had to concert, have escaped my memory. He served with the naval battalions at Martinique, St. Lucia, and in this island, and was present at many of the most important strokes."

THE LONDON GAZETTE, JUNE 10,
1794.

Whitchall, June 10.

THE dispatch, of which the following is a copy, was received on Sunday last from admiral lord Hood, by the right hon. Henry Dundas, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state.

Victory, off Bastia, May 24, 1794,

SIR,

"I have the honour to acquaint you, that the town and citadel of Bastia, with the several posts upon the heights, surrendered to the arms of his majesty on the 22d. On the 19th I received a message, that the garrison was desirous of capitulating upon honourable terms; in consequence of which I sent the enclosed note on shore. This brought on board the *Victory* three officers, who informed me that Gentili, the commandant, would assemble the officers of the several corps, and of the municipality, if a truce took place, which I agreed to a little before sun-set. The next day I received a note from Gentili, which I also enclose, and sent captain Young on shore, on the morning of the 21st, who soon returned to the *Victory*, with two officers and two of the administrative bodies, who with vice-admiral Goodall, captain Young, captain Inglefield, and my secretary Mr. M^r Arthur, settled the articles of capitulation, which were signed the following morning, when his majesty's troops took possession of all the posts above the town, the troops in each retiring to the citadel, from whence they marched to the Mole-head, where they grounded their arms, and were embarked. You will receive herewith the articles of capitulation, which I hope his majesty will approve.

I am unable to give due praise to the unremitting zeal, exertion, and judicious conduct, of lieutenant-colonel Vilette, who had the honour of commanding his majesty's troops; never was either more conspicuous. Major Brereton, and every officer and soldier under the lieutenant-colonel's orders, are justly entitled

to my warmest acknowledgments; their persevering ardour and desire to distinguish themselves, cannot be too highly spoken of, and which it will be my pride to remember to the latest period of my life.

Captain Nelson, of his majesty's ship *Agamemnon*, who had the command and direction of the seamen, in landing the guns, mortars, and stores; and captain Hunt, who commanded at the batteries, very ably assisted by captain Buller and captain Serocold, and the lieutenants Gore, Hotham, Stiles, Andrews, and Brisbane, have an equal claim to my gratitude, as the seamen under their management worked the guns with great judgment and alacrity. Never was a higher spirit of greater perseverance exhibited; and I am happy to say, that no other contention was at any time known, than who should be most forward and indefatigable for promoting his majesty's service; for, although the difficulties they had to struggle with were many and various, the perfect harmony and good humour that universally prevailed throughout the siege overcame them all.

I cannot but express, in the strongest terms, the meritorious conduct of captain Duncan, and lieutenant Alexander Duncan, of the royal artillery, and lieutenant De Butts, of the royal engineers: but my obligation is particularly great to captain Duncan, as more zeal, ability, and judgment was never shewn by any officer than were displayed by him; and I take the liberty of mentioning him as an officer highly entitled to his majesty's notice.

I feel myself very much indebted for the vigilance and attention of captain Wolsely, of the *Impérieuse*, and of captain Hallowell, who be-

came a volunteer wherever he could be useful, after being superseded in the command of the *Courageux* by captain Waldegrave. The former kept a diligent watch upon the island of Caprian, where the enemy have magazines of provisions and stores; and the latter did the same, by guarding the harbour's mouth of Bastia with gun-boats and launches, well armed, the whole of every night, whilst the smaller boats were very judiciously placed in the intervals between, and rather without the ships (which were moored in a crescent just out of reach of the enemy's guns) by captain Young, of the *Fortitude*, the centre ship, on board of which every boat assembled at sun-set for orders; and the cheerfulness with which the officers and men performed this nightly duty is very much to be admired, and afforded me the most heartfelt satisfaction and pleasure.

The very great and effectual assistance I received from vice-admiral Goodall, captain Inglefield, and captain Knight, as well as from every captain and officer of his majesty's ships under my command, have a just claim to my most particular thanks, not only in carrying into execution my orders afloat, but in attending to and supplying the wants of the little army on shore: it is to the very cordial and decided support *alone* I had the honour to receive from the whole, that the innumerable difficulties we had to contend with were so happily surmounted.

Major Smith and ensign Vigoreux of the 25th regiment, and captain Radsdale and lieutenant St. George of the 11th, not embarking with their respective regiments, having civil employments on shore; it is to

their honour I mention that they relinquished those employments, and joined their corps soon after the troops were landed.

It is very much my duty to inform you, that I am extremely obliged to general Petrecono, Mr. Frediani, and all the officers of the Corsicans, serving with the army, for their zeal, ardour, and attention, in forwarding the reduction of Bastia by every means in their power, who were of infinite service by preserving good order in their troops.

I transmit an account of the loss on the part of his majesty in killed and wounded, which I am happy to say is inconsiderable; but the enemy suffered much, their hospitals being full.

At the commencement of the siege, the number of the enemy bearing arms was 3,000.

By the first ship that sails for England, I shall have the honour of sending, to be laid at his majesty's feet, the several stands of colours taken at Bastia.

Captain Hunt, who was on shore in the command of the batteries from the hour the troops landed to the surrender of the town, will be the bearer of this dispatch, and can give any farther information you may wish to know respecting the siege.

I have the honour, &c.

HOOD.

Right hon. Henry Dundas, &c.

His Britannic Majesty's ship Victory, off Bastia, May 19, 1794.

In consideration of the very gallant defence the garrison of Bastia has made, and from the principles of humanity which ever govern British officers, I am disposed to give

you terms; and if you will send on board two or three officers, properly authorized to treat, I trust a capitulation will be soon settled, as honourable to the inhabitants as can in any reason be expected.

(Signed) HOOD.

To the commandant of the garrison and mayor of the town of Bastia.

TRANSLATION.

Bastia, the 2d Prairial, 2d year of the French republic, one and indivisible.

The general of division, commander-in-chief of the army of the French republic in Corsica, to admiral Hood, commander-in-chief of the squadron of the king of Great Britain before Bastia.

MY LORD,

In consequence of the proposal which you did me the honour of making in your dispatch of May the 18th (old style), I have the honour of sending to you two adjutant-generals of the army, and two members of the administrative corps of this town, who are commissioned to present to you the plan of a capitulation between the garrison and inhabitants of Bastia and you, my lord, in the name of the king of Great Britain.

These four commissioners, who equally possess my confidence and that of the garrison and of the citizens, have instructions to arrange, with you, the settlement of all matters relative to this capitulation. I hope that you will be satisfied, and that they will enable you to fulfil the views you have signified to me, of putting an end to the unavoidable consequences of the calamities of war. Captain Young has had a long conference with me: I was of opinion that a reciprocal understanding might co-operate in the successes of

of the negotiation which occupied our attention, and I have requested him to acquaint you with my ingenious and sincere intentions.

Greeting and health.

(Signed) GENTILI,
Commander-in-chief.

*Articles of capitulation of the garrison
and town of Bastia, in Corsica.*

On the 21st day of May, 1794, by order of the right hon. lord Hood, admiral of the blue, and commander-in-chief of his majesty's ships and vessels employed in the Mediterranean; vice-admiral Goodall; captain Young of the Fortitude; captain J. N. Inglefield, adjutant-general to the fleet; and John M'Arthur, secretary to his excellency the commander-in-chief; met on board the Victory to receive proposals of capitulation for Bastia from Messrs. Etienne Monty, president of the department of Corsica; John Baptiste Galeazzini, mayor of Bastia; Charles Francis Emanuel Couthaud, and John Baptiste Franceschi, adjutant-generals of the French army.

The following articles were proposed, discussed, and modified, as follows, viz.

Article I. The garrison shall march out with all the honours of war, together with all those attached to the army.

Answer. Granted.

Art. II. The garrison shall embark as soon as possible after signing these articles at the great mole of the port, preceded by the field artillery, with arms, baggage, drums beating, matches lighted at both ends, colours flying. To be transported immediately to the port of the Mountain (Toulon), and no where else.

Ans. In consideration of the gallant defence made, the garrison shall march to the Mole-head, preceded by two field-pieces, with their arms, baggage, &c. and shall lay down their arms at the place appointed for their embarkation; they shall, as soon as possible, be transported to the port of the Mountain (Toulon).

Art. III. All ammunition, artillery, military stores, and every thing which composes and makes a part of the army, both by sea and land, shall also be transported to the port of the Mountain.

Ans. Refused.

Art. IV. The corvette la Flèche shall be fitted out as a transport to carry the garrison and citizens who wish to follow it, together with the pink la Marie Victoire; and that loaded with ship-timber, which is now at the disposal of the administrator of the marine, shall be employed for this transport; but this not being sufficient, the necessary number shall be furnished by the admiral, four of which shall not be visited. The above-mentioned corvette and pink, loaded with timber, shall be kept by the republic.

Ans. The troops of the garrison and citizens who wish to depart shall be conveyed to Toulon, the port of the Mountain, by vessels appointed by his excellency the commander-in-chief.

The French corvette la Flèche, and all vessels in the harbour, must be delivered up to his Britannic majesty's officers. Such fishing-boats as are necessary to the subsistence of the inhabitants, proving their property, shall remain in their possession.

The rest of this article is inadmissible.

Art. V. The sick, who are not able to bear the voyage, shall remain in the hospitals which they occupy at present, at the expence of the republic, by officers of health, who shall be appointed under the superintendance of a commissary of war; and, when they are able to support the voyage, vessels shall be furnished to transport them by the English commander.

Ans. Granted.

Art. VI. The members of the constituent bodies, and all persons attached to the service of the republic of any denomination whatever, or pensioners, shall participate in this capitulation with the military, and shall enjoy the same conditions.

Ans. Granted.

Art. VII. All papers concerning public accounts, those of the artillery, engineers, marine, military tribunal, military chest, both of this place and of all others, shall be transported to France; the same shall be done with all papers and plans of the country, as well of the old as new administration, as the civil and military, and those belonging to the communities.

Ans. Granted, except such as are necessary for the security of property: the archives, and other public papers and plans of the island, shall remain, but copies of them shall be allowed to be taken.

Art. VIII. The inhabitants of both sexes who are now in the town or that have taken refuge there shall have their lives, their honour, and their property saved and guaranteed, with liberty to retire when and whither they please with their families and servants, furniture, effects, and merchandize; and the power of disposing of whatever effects they may chuse to leave behind, or to receive their rents by agents.

Ans. Granted.

Art. IX. No troops nor armed men, except those of the British government, shall on any account be brought into the town.

Ans. The British government will take care that no armed men shall be brought into the town, in any manner that may give the inhabitants any cause of uneasiness or apprehension.

Art. X. The community in general, nor any individual in particular, shall be subjected to any tax or contribution whatever, on account of the events which have preceded or accompanied the siege.

Ans. Granted.

Art. XI. No person shall be troubled on account of his religious or political opinions, nor for any thing he may have said before or during the siege.

Ans. Granted.

Art. XII. The inhabitants shall not be subject to have soldiers billeted in their houses; they shall not be forced to any military service or work.

Ans. Soldiers shall never be billeted on the inhabitants, except in cases of absolute necessity.

Art. XIII. The present money of the republic, particularly assignats shall continue to pass current.

Ans. The French money and assignats shall be allowed to pass; but no person shall be compelled to take them.

Art. XIV. The national domains, sold agreeable to the existing laws, shall be kept by the purchasers: the leases of national property not sold, which have been granted till this time, shall remain in force.

Ans. We do not feel ourselves authorized to decide on this article; it must be left to the decision of his Britannic majesty, the purchasers enjoying

enjoying the possession of the national domains till his majesty's pleasure shall be known: and all leases granted before the arrival of the British fleet at St. Fiorenzo shall remain in force.

Art. XV. The community shall be maintained in the possession of the moveables and immoveables belonging to it; the same shall be done with the town-hospital.

Ans. Granted.

Art. XVI. The deserters shall not be demanded on one side or the other.

Ans. Granted.

Art. XVII. The prisoners that have been taken during the siege shall be set at liberty, and shall be allowed to retire to Bastia, or to France; those which have been taken since the beginning of the war, and have been given up to the Corsicans, shall be joined to those who were taken at Fornelli, to be exchanged when an opportunity offers.

Ans. Granted.

Art. XVIII. Necessary passports shall be furnished to two feluccas, to go, immediately after signing this capitulation, one to Calvi, and the other to the port of the Mountain, to carry the dispatches of the general of division, Gentili.

Ans. Granted, with regard to Toulon, (port of the Mountain). Refused, with regard to Calvi.

Art. XIX. If any difficulty should arise respecting the terms or conditions of the capitulation, they shall be in all cases interpreted in favour of the garrison, the inhabitants of Bastia, and the refugees.

Ans. If any difficulty shall at any time arise in the interpretation of the capitulation, it shall be decided with the strictest justice to both parties.

Art. XX. The British government shall be the only guarantee of the present capitulation.

Ans. Granted.

Additional articles.

Art. I. All the out-posts and forts, and the gate of the citadel, shall be put in possession of his Britannic majesty's troops at twelve o'clock to-morrow: the troops in the forts and out-posts are to retire to the citadel, from whence they are to march, at ten o'clock the next morning, to the place appointed for each corps by the commissioners who have managed the present capitulation: and they are to lay down their arms at the place of their embarkation. Commissaries of artillery and stores will remain in the citadel, to take inventories of all the artillery, ammunition, and stores; and proper officers are to be appointed to shew the mines, magazines, and stores of every description.

Art. II. The town of Bastia, the citadel, and all the forts, out-works and posts, and every thing contained in them that is not the private property of the garrison or inhabitants, together with the ships of war and all vessels lying in the port, shall be delivered up to his Britannic majesty in their present state, without any deterioration of the batteries, artillery, mines, magazines of ammunition, provisions, or any sort of stores. (Signed)

ETIENNE MONTY, *prés. du départ.*

J. B. FRANCESCHI, *adj. gén.*

C. F. E. COUTHAUD, *adj. gén.*

GALEZZINI, *mayor of Bastia.*

Approuvé par moi, GENTILI.

S. GOODALL.

W. YOUNG.

J. N. INGLEDIEP.

J. M. ARTHUR.

Approved by me,

HOOD.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 11.

Admiralty-Office, June 10.

SIR Roger Curtis, first captain to the admiral earl Howe, arrived this evening with a dispatch from his lordship to Mr. Stephens, of which the following is a copy :

*Queen Charlotte at sea, June 2, 1794.
Ushant, E. half N. 140 leagues.*

SIR,

Thinking it may not be necessary to make a more particular report of my proceedings with the fleet, for the present information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, I confine my communications chiefly, in this dispatch, to the occurrences when in presence of the enemy yesterday.

Finding, on my return off Brest on the 19th past, that the French fleet had, a few days before, put to sea ; and receiving, on the same evening, advices from rear-admiral Montague, I deemed it requisite to endeavour to form a junction with the rear-admiral as soon as possible, and proceeded immediately for the station on which he meant to wait for the return of the *Venus*.

But, having gained very credible intelligence, on the 21st of the same month, whereby I had reason to suppose the French fleet was then but a few leagues farther to the westward, the course before steered was altered accordingly.

On the morning of the 28th the enemy were discovered far to windward, and partial actions were engaged with them that evening and the next day.

The weather-gage having been obtained, in the progress of the last-mentioned day, and the fleet being

in a situation for bringing the enemy to close action the 1st instant, the ships bore up together for that purpose, between seven and eight o'clock in the morning.

The French, their force consisting of twenty-six ships of the line, opposed to his majesty's fleet of twenty-five, (the *Audacious* having parted company with the sternmost ship of the enemy's line, captured in the night of the 28th) waited for the action and sustained the attack with their customary resolution.

In less than an hour after the close action commenced in the centre, the French admiral, engaged by the *Queen Charlotte*, crowded off, and was followed by most of the ships of his van in condition to carry sail after him, leaving with us about ten or twelve of his crippled or totally dismasted ships, exclusive of one sunk in the engagement. The *Queen Charlotte* had then lost her fore-top-mast, and the main-top-mast fell over the side very soon after.

The greater number of the other ships of the British fleet were, at this time, so much disabled or widely separated, and under such circumstances with respect to those ships of the enemy in a state for action, and with which the firing was still continued, that two or three, even of their dismantled ships, attempting to get away under a spritsail singly, or smaller sail raised on the stump of the foremast, could not be detained.

Seven remained in our possession, one of which, however, sunk before the aquedate assistance could be given to her crew ; but many were saved.

The *Brunswick* having lost her mizen-mast in the action, and drifted to leeward of the French retreat-ign ships, was obliged to put away large

large to the northward from them. Not seeing her chased by the enemy, in that predicament, I flatter myself she may arrive in safety at Plymouth. All the other twenty-four ships of his majesty's fleet re-assembled later in the day, and I am preparing to return with them, as soon as the captured ships of the enemy are secured, for Spithead.

The material injury to his majesty's ships, I understand, is confined principally to their masts and yards, which I conclude will be speedily replaced.

I have not been yet able to collect regular accounts of the killed and wounded in the different ships. Captain Montague is the only officer of his rank who fell in the action. The numbers of both descriptions I hope will prove small, the nature of the service considered; but I have the concern of being to add, on the same subject, that admiral Graves has received a wound in the arm, and that rear-admirals Boyer and Pasley, and captain Hutt, of the Queen, have each had a leg taken off; they are however, (I have the satisfaction to hear) in a favourable state under those misfortunes. In the captured ships the numbers of killed and wounded appear to be very considerable.

Though I shall have, on the subject of these different actions with the enemy, distinguished examples hereafter to report, I presume the determined bravery of the several ranks of officers and the ships companies employed under my authority, will have been already sufficiently denoted by the effect of their spirited exertions; and, I trust I shall be excused for postponing the more detailed narrative of the other transactions of the fleet thereon, for

being communicated at a future opportunity; more especially as my first captain sir Roger Curtis, who is charged with this dispatch, will be able to give the farther information the lords commissioners of the admiralty may at this time require. It is incumbent on me, nevertheless, now to add, that I am greatly indebted to him for his councils as well as conduct in every branch of my official duties: and I have similar assistance, in the late occurrences, to acknowledge of my second captain, sir Andrew Douglas.

I am, with great consideration,

SIR,

Your most obedient servant,

HOWE.

P. S. The names and force of the captured French ships with the fleet is transmitted herewith.

*List of French ships captured on the
1st day of June, 1794.*

La Juste	—	80 guns.
Sans Pareille	—	80
L'Amérique	—	74
L'Achille	—	74
Northumberland	—	74
L'Impétueux	—	74
Le Vengeur	—	74, sunk almost immediately upon being taken possession of.

N. B. The ship stated to have been captured on the evening of the 28th of last month, is said by the prisoners to be the *Révolutionnaire*, of 180 guns.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE LONDON
GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY OF
WEDNESDAY, JUNE 11.

Admiralty-Office, June 14.

A letter was received yesterday evening from admiral earl Howe to
G 4 Mr.

Mr. Stephens, dated that day, off Dunnose, in the Isle of Wight, giving an account of his safe arrival with the six captured French ships of the line mentioned in his former letter of the 2d instant, and with a great part of his majesty's fleet under his command, having sent the remainder into Plymouth-Sound. The

following are the returns of the killed and wounded on board his majesty's ships in the actions with the French fleet on the 28th and 29th of May, and the 1st instant; and also of the numbers killed and wounded on board the French ships captured and sunk on the last-mentioned day.

A return of the killed and wounded on board his majesty's ships.

SHIPS NAMES.	KILLED.		WOUNDED.		Total.
	Seamen, &c.	Marines or Soldiers.	Seamen, &c.	Marines or Soldiers.	
Cæsar,	18	—	37	—	55
Bellerophon,	3	1	26	1	31
Leviathan,	10	—	32	1	43
Sovereign,	11	3	39	5	58
Marlborough,	24	5	76	14	119
Defence,	14	4	29	10	57
Impregnable,	7	—	24	—	31
Tremendous,	2	1	6	2	11
Baſſeur,	8	1	22	3	34
Culloden,	—	—	—	—	—
Invincible,	9	5	21	10	45
Gibraltar,	1	1	12	—	14
Charlotte,	13	1	24	5	43
Brunswick, parted company on the 1st of June.					
Valiant,	1	1	5	4	11
Queen,	30	6	57	10	103
Orion,	5	—	20	4	29
Ramillies,	2	—	7	—	9
Alfred	—	—	6	2	8
Russel,	7	1	24	2	34
Royal George,	18	2	63	9	92
Montagu,	4	—	13	—	17
Majestic,	3	—	4	1	8
Glory,	13	—	31	8	52
Thunderer, none killed or wounded.					
Audacious, parted company in the night of the 28th of May.					
Grand total	203	32	578	91	904
					<i>Names</i>

Names of the officers killed and wounded.

KILLED.

<i>Ships names.</i>	<i>Officers names.</i>	<i>Qualities.</i>
Royal Sovereign,	Mr. William Ivey,	midshipman
Marlborough,	Mr. Abraham Nelham,	ditto
Defence,	Mr. William Webster,	master
	Mr. Jo. Fitzpatrick,	boatswain
Impregnable,	Mr. David Caird,	master
Tremendous,	Mr. Francis Ross,	1st lieutenant
The Charlotte,	Mr. R. Rawlance,	7th ditto
	Mr. John Neville,	lieut. queen's regiment
Queen,	Mr. William Mitchell,	master
Royal George,	Mr. George Heigham,	8th lieutenant
	Mr. John Hughes,	midshipman
Montagu,	James Montague, esq.	captain
Glory,	Mr. George Metcalf,	master
	Mr. David Gregg,	midshipman

WOUNDED, AND UNABLE TO COME TO QUARTERS.

Bellerophon,	Thomas Pasley, esq.	rear-admiral of the white
	Mr. Smith,	captain of marines
	Mr. Chapman,	boatswain
Leviathan,	Mr. Glen,	midshipman
Royal Sovereign,	Thomas Graves, esq.	admiral of the blue
	Mr. C. Money	captain of marines
	Mr. S. Mitchell,	lieutenant of ditto
Marlborough,	Hon. G. Berkley,	captain
	Mr. A. Ruddack,	5d lieutenant
	Mr. M. Seymour,	5th ditto
	Mr. Fitzgerald,	midshipman
	Mr. Shorland,	ditto
	Mr. Linthorne,	ditto
	Mr. Clarges,	ditto
	Mr. M. Pardoe,	master's mate
Defence,	Mr. J. Elliott,	ditto
	Mr. Boycott,	ensign, queen's regiment
Impregnable,	Mr. W. Buller,	lieutenant
	Mr. Paterlo,	boatswain
Barfleur,	George Bowyer, esq.	rear-admiral of the white
	Mr. W. Prowse,	6th lieutenant
	Mr. Fogo,	midshipman
	Mr. Clemons,	ditto
Queen Charlotte,	Mr. J. Holland,	ditto

Queen,

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<i>Ships names.</i>	<i>Officers names.</i>	<i>Qualities.</i>
Queen,	John Hutt, esq.	captain
	Mr. Dawes,	2d lieut. since dead
	Mr. Laurie,	6th ditto
	Mr. G. Crimes,	acting ditto
	Mr. Kinnier,	midshipman
Russel,	Mr. Stewart,	ditto
	Mr. Kelley,	ditto
	Mr. Douglas,	boatswain
Royal George,	Mr. J. Ireland,	2d lieutenant
	Mr. J. Balmbrough,	master
	Mr. Boys,	midshipman
	Mr. Pearce,	ditto
Montagu,	Hon. Mr. Bennet,	ditto
	Mr. T. Moore,	ditto.

The 2d captain, sir Andrew Douglas, of the Queen Charlotte, was wounded, but resumed his station on deck during the farther continuance of the action on the 1st instant.

HOWE,

An account of the numbers killed and wounded on board the French ships captured and sunk on the 1st of June.

La Juste	—	100 killed.	145 wounded,
Sans Pareille	—	260	120
L'Amérique	—	134	110
L'Achille	—	36	30
Northumberland		60	100
L'Impétueux	—	100	75
		690	580

Le Vengeur, 320 sunk.

Le Jacobin, sunk in action, not a man saved,

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY, SATURDAY, JUNE 21.

Admiralty-Office, June 21.

A LETTER, of which the following is a copy, from the admiral earl Howe, to Mr. Stephens, supplementary to his lordship's letter of the 2d instant, published in the London Gazette Extraordinary of the 11th, was received late last night.

"In the extract of the journal herewith inclosed, the proceedings of the fleet are stated from the time of leaving St. Helen's on the 2d of last month to that of the first discovery of the French fleet on the 28th of the same. For the farther information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, I have now therefore to relate the subsequent transactions not already communicated in my dispatch

dispatch of the 2d instant, to be delivered by my first captain, sir Roger Curtis.

Early in the morning of the 28th, the enemy were discovered by the advanced frigates, far distant on the weather bow. The wind then fresh from the S. by W. with a very rough sea.

They came down, for some time, in a loose order, seemingly unapprized that they had the British fleet in view. After hauling the wind when they came nearer, they were some hours before they could completely form in regular order of battle upon the starboard tack; the British fleet continuing as before in the order of sailing.

The time required for the enemy to perfect their disposition, had facilitated the nearer approach of his majesty's fleet to them, and for the separately appointed and detached part of it, commanded by rear-admiral Pasley, to be placed more advantageously for making an impression on their rear.

The signals denoting that intention being made, the rear-admiral, near upon the close of the day, led his division on with peculiar firmness, and attacked a three-decked ship (the *Révolutionnaire*) the sternmost in the enemy's line.

Making known soon after that he had a top-mast disabled, assistance was directed to be given to him in that situation. The quick approach of night only allowed me to observe, that lord Hugh Seymour (Conway) in the *Leviathan*, with equal good judgment and determined courage, pushed up along-side of the three-decked French ship, and was supported, as it appeared, by captain Parker of the *Audacious*, in the most spirited manner.

The darkness which now prevailed did not admit of my making any more accurate observations on the conduct of those ships and others concerned in the same service; but I have since learnt that the *Leviathan* stretched out farther a-head, for bringing the second ship from the enemy's rear to action, as soon as her former station could be occupied by a succeeding British ship; also, that the three-decked ship in the enemy's rear as aforesaid, being unsustained by their other ships, struck to the *Audacious*, and that they parted company together soon after.

The two opponent fleets continued on the starboard tack, in a parallel direction, the enemy still to windward the remainder of the night. The British fleet appearing in the morning of the 29th, when in order of battle, to be far enough advanced for the ships in the van to make some farther impression on the enemy's rear, was tacked in succession with that intent.

The enemy wore hereupon from van to rear, and continued edging down in line a-head to engage the van of the British fleet: when arrived at such a distance as to be just able to reach our most advanced ships, their headmost ships, as they came successively into the wake of their respective seconds a-head, opened with that distant fire upon the headmost ships of the British van. The signal for passing through their line, made when the fleet attacked before, was then renewed.

It could not be for some time seen, through the fire from the two fleets in the van, to what extent that signal was complied with. But as the smoke at intervals dispersed, it was observed that the *Cæsar*, the leading ship of the British van, after
being

being about on the starboard tack, and come a-breast of the Queen Charlotte, had not kept to the wind; and that the appointed movement would consequently be liable to fail of the purposed effect.

The Queen Charlotte was therefore immediately tacked; and, followed by the Bellerophon, her second astern (and soon after joined by the Leviathan), passed through in action, between the fifth and sixth ships in the rear of the enemy's line.

She was put about again on the larboard tack forthwith, after the enemy, in preparation for renewing the action with the advantage of that weathermost situation.

The rest of the British fleet being at this time passing to leeward, and without the sternmost ships, mostly of the French line, the enemy wore again to the eastward in succession, for succouring the disabled ships of their rear; which intention, by reason of the then disunited state of the fleet, and having no more than the two crippled ships, the Bellerophon and Leviathan, at that time near me, I was unable to obstruct.

The enemy having succeeded in that operation, wore round again, after some distant cannonading of the nearest British ships, occasionally returned, and stood away in order of battle on the larboard tack, followed by the British fleet in the same order (but with the weather-gage retained), as soon as the ships coming forward to close with the Queen Charlotte was suitably arranged.

The fleets remained separated some few miles, in view at times on the intermission of a thick fog, which lasted most part of the two next days.

The commander of a fleet, their lordships know, is unavoidably so

confined in his view of the occurrences in time of battle, as to be little capable of rendering personal testimony to the meritorious service of officers who have profited, in a greater extent, by the opportunities to distinguish themselves on such occasions.

To discharge this part of my public duty, reports were called for from the flag officers of the fleet, for supplying the defects of my observation, under the limited circumstances above-mentioned. Those officers, therefore, who have such particular claim to my attention, are the admirals Graves and sir Alexander Hood; the rear-admirals Bowyer, Gardner, and Pasley; the captains lord Hugh Seymour, Pakenham, Berkeley, Gambier, John Harvey, Payne, Parker, Henry Harvey, Pringle, Duckworth, and Elphinstone. Special notice is also due of the captains Nicholls of the Sovereign, and Hope of the Bellerophon, who became charged with, and well-conducted those ships when the wounded flag-officers, under whom they respectively served therein, were no longer able to remain at their posts; and the lieutenants Monckton of the Marlborough, and Donnelly of the Montague, in similar situations. These selections, however, should not be construed to the disadvantage of other commanders, who may have been equally deserving of the approbation of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, although I am not enabled to make a particular statement of their merits.

To the reports from the flag-officers are added those required from the several captains of the fleet; whereby their lordships will become more particularly acquainted

ed with the meritorious services of the several commanders, and animated intrepidity of their subordinate officers and ships companies; to which the defeat of the enemy, with every advantage of situation and circumstance in their favour, is truly to be ascribed. To the like purport, I beg my testimony, in behalf of the officers and company of every description in the Queen Charlotte, may be accepted.

Amount of the different salaries and emoluments of different officers appointed during the present war, and also the amount of the pay granted to the several army-commissaries appointed in 1793, presented to the house of commons.

An account of the salary enjoyed by the hon. William Elliot, as chargé des affaires at the court of Berlin; with the date to which the same has been continued.

NO salary has been paid to the honourable William Elliot, as chargé des affaires at the court of Berlin.

Mr. Elliot was appointed secretary of legation at Berlin on the 14th of November, 1791, with the usual salary of one pound per day, gross, annexed to that office; which determined in July last, on his appointment to be secretary of embassy at the Hague.

CHARLES LONG.

*Whitehall, Treasury-Chambers,
31st Jan. 1794.*

An account of the salary granted to Lord Malmesbury, on his mission to the court of Berlin; together with all the perquisites and emoluments attending the said mission: with the date of the commencement of such salary.

For equipage-money, one thousand five hundred pounds.

Ordinary entertainment, one hundred and sixty pounds by the week, gross, to commence on the 20th day of November, 1793, and to determine on the day of his returning into the king's presence, or sooner, upon signification of his majesty's pleasure.

No perquisites or other emoluments attending the said mission.

CHARLES LONG.

*Whitehall, Treasury-Chambers,
31st Jan. 1794.*

The amount of the pension granted to James Hayes, esq. late one of the justices of the grand sessions for the counties of Wales.

James Hayes, esq. five hundred pounds per annum.

CHARLES LONG.

*Whitehall, Treasury-Chambers,
31st Jan. 1794.*

The amount of the pay granted to the several commissaries for the forces, appointed in 1793, at home and abroad; with an account of the half-pay to which they will severally become entitled in consequence thereof.

NAMES AND RANK.	Total Daily Pay.	At the Treasury			At the War Office.		
		Pay per Day.			Pay per Day.		
	L. s. d.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
GREAT BRITAIN.							
Robert Bisset, Commissary General	2 0 0	—	—	—	2 0 0	1 0 0	—
Leo. B. Morse, Deputy Commissary	1 0 0	—	—	—	1 0 0	0 10 0	—
Robert Bisset, ditto	1 0 0	—	—	—	1 0 0	0 10 0	—
NORTH BRITAIN.							
Hon. John Cochrane, Deputy Commissary	1 0 0	—	—	—	1 0 0	0 10 0	—
FLANDERS.							
Brook Watson, Commissary General	7 0 0	4 0 0	3 0 0	1 10 0	3 0 0	1 10 0	—
Henry Motz, Dep. Commissary General	1 10 0	—	—	—	1 10 0	0 15 0	—
Robert Gould, Assist. Commissary General	1 0 0	—	—	—	1 0 0	0 10 0	—
John Bessel, Assistant Commissary	1 0 0	0 5 0	0 15 0	0 7 6	0 15 0	0 7 6	—
Benjamin Mee, ditto	1 0 0	0 5 0	0 15 0	0 7 6	0 15 0	0 7 6	—
Fred. de Diemar, ditto	1 0 0	0 5 0	0 15 0	0 7 6	0 15 0	0 7 6	—
John Brawn, ditto	1 0 0	0 5 0	0 15 0	0 7 6	0 15 0	0 7 6	—
James Newland, ditto	1 0 0	0 5 0	0 15 0	0 7 6	0 15 0	0 7 6	—
Gideon Duncan, ditto	1 0 0	0 5 0	0 15 0	0 7 6	0 15 0	0 7 6	—
Francis Coffin, ditto	1 0 0	0 5 0	0 15 0	0 7 6	0 15 0	0 7 6	—
Thomas Greet, ditto	1 0 0	0 5 0	0 15 0	0 7 6	0 15 0	0 7 6	—
Thomas Durell, ditto	1 0 0	0 5 0	0 15 0	0 7 6	0 15 0	0 7 6	—
Charles Mason, Commissary of Accounts	4 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	1 0 0	2 0 0	1 0 0	—
TOULON.							
John Erskine, Commissary General	5 0 0	2 0 0	3 0 0	1 10 0	3 0 0	1 10 0	—
John Buckholme, Dep. Commissary General	1 10 0	0 10 0	0 15 0	0 10 0	1 0 0	0 10 0	—
Nathaniel Whitworth, Assist. Commissary	1 0 0	0 5 0	0 15 0	0 7 6	0 15 0	0 7 6	—
George Berghman, ditto	0 15 0	0 5 0	0 10 0	0 5 0	0 10 0	0 5 0	—
John Fontaine, ditto	0 15 0	0 5 0	0 10 0	0 5 0	0 10 0	0 5 0	—
Martin Petre, Commissary of Accounts	4 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	1 0 0	2 0 0	1 0 0	—
Henry L. Hunter, Assistant ditto	1 0 0	0 5 0	0 15 0	0 7 6	0 15 0	0 7 6	—
WEST INDIES.							
John Jaffray, Commissary General	5 0 0	2 0 0	3 0 0	1 10 0	3 0 0	1 10 0	—
John Carmody, Dep. Commissary General	1 10 0	0 10 0	0 15 0	0 10 0	0 15 0	0 10 0	—
Alexander Jaffray, ditto	1 5 0	0 10 0	0 15 0	0 7 6	0 15 0	0 7 6	—
Latchlin M'Intosh, ditto	0 15 0	0 5 0	0 10 0	0 5 0	0 10 0	0 5 0	—
Thomas Watson, ditto	0 15 0	0 5 0	0 10 0	0 5 0	0 10 0	0 5 0	—
John Amiel, ditto	0 15 0	0 5 0	2 10 0	0 5 0	2 10 0	0 5 0	—
Valentine Jones, Commissary of Accounts	4 0 0	2 0 0	0 0 0	1 0 0	0 0 0	1 0 0	—
EXPEDITION UNDER LORD MOIRA.							
Alex. Davison, Commissary General	5 0 0	5 0 0	3 0 0	1 10 0	3 0 0	1 10 0	—
Samuel Drury, Deputy Commissary	1 12 0	0 10 0	1 0 0	0 10 0	1 0 0	0 10 0	—
John Thompson, Assistant Commissary	1 5 0	0 10 0	0 15 0	0 7 6	0 15 0	0 7 6	—
Thomas Boughton, ditto	1 5 0	0 10 0	0 15 0	0 7 6	0 15 0	0 7 6	—
Maurice Nelson, ditto	1 5 0	0 10 0	0 15 0	0 7 6	0 15 0	0 7 6	—
Gilbert Young, ditto	0 15 0	0 5 0	0 10 0	0 5 0	0 10 0	0 5 0	—
John Dornford, Commissary of Accounts	4 0 0	4 0 0	2 0 0	1 0 0	2 0 0	1 0 0	—

Whitehall, Treasury-Chambers;
31st Jan. 1794.

CHARLES LONG

An account of the salary granted to sir Gilbert Elliot, bart. upon his appointment as commissioner at Toulon; together with all perquisites and emoluments attending the said appointment.

For ordinary entertainment, one hundred and sixty pounds per week.

Equipage money, one thousand five hundred pounds.

Plate, two thousand six hundred pounds nine shillings and ten pence.

Their majesties pictures at full length, in gilt frames, two hundred and fifty-four pounds sixteen shillings and six-pence.

State and chapel furniture, three hundred pounds.

CHARLES LONG.

*Whitehall, Treasury-Chambers,
31st Jan. 1794.*

An account of the expences incurred by the mission of the earl of Yarmouth, as minister plenipotentiary to the king of Prussia.

For expences incurred by the earl of Yarmouth, in attending upon the king of Prussia, by his majesty's command, during the last campaign, and for several journies performed on his majesty's service, one thousand five hundred and eighteen pounds nine shillings and six-pence.

CHARLES LONG.

*Whitehall, Treasury-Chambers,
31st Jan. 1794.*

Papers relating to the Union of Corsica with the Crown of England.

Whitehall, July 22.

The dispatch, of which the following is a copy, has been received by the right hon. Henry Dundas,

from the right hon. sir Gilbert Elliot, bart. dated Corté, the 21st of June, 1794.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you, that the union of Corsica to the crown of Great Britain is finally and formerly concluded; and it is with the most sincere satisfaction that I find myself enabled to assure you that no national act was ever sanctioned by a more unanimous proceeding on the part of those who were authorized to do it, or by a more universal approbation, amounting, I may say, to enthusiasm on the part of the people.

I have already had the honour of transmitting to you a copy of the letter addressed by his excellency my lord Hood and myself to his excellency general Paoli, dated the 21st of April. I have the honour to inclose to-day a copy of the circular letter, addressed by general Paoli to his countrymen, referring to that which he had received from us, an Italian translation of which was annexed.

Letters of convocation were soon after issued for the assembly of the General Consult to be held at Corté, on Sunday, the 8th of June, and were so framed as to procure the most general representation known in this island, every community, which is the smallest territorial division, having sent its representative, and the state of property being such, that although none but landholders were electors, every man, almost without exception, has voted.

The letters of convocation set forth the occasion of their being called together; and the minutes of election in every community expressed the general nature of the measure to which the deputies were authorized

authorized to consent, specifying distinctly the union of Corsica with Great Britain, and the tender of the crown to his majesty.

I have the honour to inclose copies of these proceedings.

The deputies met at Corté in sufficient numbers to constitute the assembly, on Tuesday, the 10th of June. Some days were employed in verifying their powers, and determining controverted elections; after which they chose general Paoli as their president, and Mr. Pozzo de Bargo and Mr. Muselli their secretaries.

On Saturday, the 14th instant, general Paoli opened the assembly by an excellent and elegant speech, stating concisely the principal events which had occurred, and the principal measures adopted by himself, since the separation of the last General Consult in May, 1793, the occasion of the present convocation, and the leading points on which their deliberations should turn.

The assembly voted unanimously their thanks to general Paoli, and a full and intire approbation of all he had done, by virtue of the powers formerly vested in him by the General Consult of 1793.

They then, first, declared unanimously the separation of Corsica from France:

And secondly, with the same unanimity, and with the strongest demonstrations of universal satisfaction and joy, voted the union of Corsica to the crown of Great Britain.

A committee was then appointed to prepare the articles of union, and to consider the proper mode of tendering the crown to his majesty.

It was declared that all who came should have voices; and, in fact, several persons of character and ta-

lents, who were not even members of the assembly, were admitted to the deliberations, and took a share in the discussions of the committee.

The articles underwent, in the committee, a very full, free, and intelligent discussion; such as would have done honour to any assembly of public men in any country, and such as stamped the result with the sanction of a deliberate and informed, as well as a free and independent assent.

The report was voted with unanimity in the committee.

It was presented to the assembly on Thursday the 17th, and on that and the following day was opened, and most ably as well as fully expounded to them, by Mr. Pozzo de Bargo. It was adopted with unanimity, and with universal applause; and two copies of the act of union were signed by every member of the Consult.

On Thursday, the 19th of June, I received a deputation from the assembly, presenting to me a copy of the act of union, and inviting me to return with them, that the crown might be tendered to his majesty by the assembly itself, in the most solemn and authentic form.

I accompanied the deputation, and, in presence of the assembly, received from the president, his excellency general Paoli, in the name of the people, the tender of the crown and sovereignty of Corsica to his majesty.

His excellency's address to me is contained in the minutes.

After addressing the assembly in a manner which appeared to me suitable to the occasion, I pronounced in his majesty's name the acceptance of the crown, according to the articles contained in the act of union.

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I then took, in his majesty's name, the oath prescribed, "to maintain the liberties of Corsica according to the constitution and the laws."

The president then took and administered to the assembly the oath of allegiance and fidelity; after which I signed and sealed the acceptance annexed to both copies of the act of union, one of which I have now the honour to transmit.

The day following (yesterday) Te Deum was sung in the cathedral, accompanied by the discharge of artillery; and prayers were offered up for his majesty, by the name of George the Third, king of Great Britain and Corsica. In the evening the town was illuminated, and the people demonstrated their loyalty and joy by every means in their power.

The assembly has voted, this day, an address to his majesty, expressive of their gratitude, loyalty, and attachment; and have deputed four respectable gentlemen to present it to his majesty in London.

I cannot conclude this dispatch without offering my very humble contratulations on the fortunate termination of this important and interesting affair, at once advantageous, as I trust, to the contracting parties, honourable to his majesty, and gratifying, in every view, to his royal feelings, as well as to those of his British subjects.

The true foundation and basis of this transaction has rested on the confidence inspired by his majesty's princely virtues; and the exalted reputation enjoyed throughout the world by the British nation for every honourable and generous quality. The people of Corsica have, on one hand, done homage to those virtues, by confiding and tendering, even solicitously, the sovereignty of their

country to his majesty; they have, on the other hand, heightened the value of that confidence, by evincing that it comes from men who have rejected with horror the poisonous and counterfeit liberty of France, without being ignorant or careless of a well-ordered and constitutional freedom.

His majesty has acquired a crown; those who bestow it have acquired liberty. The British nation has extended its political and commercial sphere by the accession of Corsica: Corsica has added new securities to her ancient possessions, and has opened fresh fields of prosperity and wealth, by her liberal incorporation with a vast and powerful empire.

This dispatch will be delivered to you by Mr. Petriconi, a young gentleman of this country, who has served with distinction throughout the war, under the orders of general Paoli, and particularly in the sieges of Bastia and St. Fiorenzo.

I beg leave to refer to him for any particulars which I may have omitted, and to recommend him to the honour of your attention during his residence in England.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) GILBERT ELLIOT.

TRANSLATION:

General Paoli to his Countrymen.

Furiani, May 1; 1794.

Most dearly beloved Countrymen,

The unabated confidence with which you have honoured me, and the solicitude I have ever had to promote your interests and to insure your liberty, prescribe to me the obligation of stating to you the present situation of public affairs.

You remember how many cruel and treacherous arrangements were made by the three commissioners of the French Convention who were sent over to our island; and in what

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manner they attempted to concentrate the powers of government in a small number of their satellites, destined to be the instruments of those violences and cruelties which were to be exercised against all well-meaning persons, and against the nation at large.

The unjust decree which ordered my arrest, and my transfer to the bar of the assembly, was the first attempt directed by them against your liberty: You unanimously declared yourselves, and humbly remonstrated, against an act designed to facilitate the execution of the enemy's plots: finally, you, in a general assembly, declared your indignation at this act of injustice; and you adopted, at that moment, such resolutions as were consistent with your own dignity, and with the public welfare.

I accepted, as a distinguishing proof of your confidence, the commission you were pleased to confer upon me, for providing in those critical circumstances for the maintenance of your safety and liberty: anxious that you should not be exposed to any danger, unless indignation and necessity commanded you to resist, I tried every means which prudence and moderation suggested to me at that time; but neither your just reclamations, nor my innocence, were sufficient to recal to sentiments of rectitude and humanity a violent and sanguinary faction, irritated by the noble resistance you had made, and resolved to accomplish your destruction: for which purpose the subversion of the government was ordered, and the members of it proscribed, conjointly with many other zealous patriots: the nation was declared in a state of rebellion: orders were given to reduce it by force of arms, and to

treat it with the bloody rigour of revolutionary laws.

Roused by these causes, by the endless succession of destruction and ruin, which characterizes the conduct of those persons who exercise the powers of government in France, and by the destruction of all religion, and of every form of worship, enforced and proclaimed among the people with unexampled impiety, every Corsican felt the necessity of separating from the French, and of guarding against the poisonous influence of their errors.

The acts of hostility committed by the French, and those Corsican traitors who had taken refuge in the garrisons of Calvi, St. Fiorenzo, and Bastia, compelled us to repel them by force of arms. I have seen with infinite satisfaction, during the course of a whole year, that your ancient bravery and attachment to your country were not in the least diminished. In various encounters the enemy have been defeated, although numerous and supported by artillery: you have treated the prisoners taken in the heat of battle, with generosity; while the enemy have, in cold blood, massacred our prisoners, who were so unfortunate as to fall into their hands: in all these agitations we have kept ourselves united, and exempt from the horrors of licentiousness and anarchy; a happy presage of your future fate, and an irrefragable proof that you are deserving of true liberty, and that you will know how to preserve it unsullied by licentiousness and dissensions.

In such a state of things, a becoming diffidence made me, nevertheless, apprehend that the enemy would increase in force, and attempt to carry into execution the destructive plans they had formed against you: under these circumstances I
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felt the necessity of foreign assistance: and, in conformity to your general wishes, and to the public opinion and universal expectation, I had recourse to the king, and to the generous and powerful nation which had, on other occasions, protected the remains of our liberty: a measure dictated by the public safety, and which I took only when every conciliatory offer had been obstinately rejected, and every hope of obtaining moderation or justice from the French Convention was extinct.

His Britannic majesty's arms have made their appearance in your support; his ships and troops are employed with you to drive from our country the common enemy, and the blood of Britons and Corsicans is conjointly shed for the liberty of this island. Our enterprise has already been crowned with happy events, and draws near to a fortunate completion.

This pleasing aspect of affairs has determined me to turn my thoughts to the most efficacious means of establishing a permanent freedom, and of securing our island from the various events which, till this moment, have kept us in agitation.

The protection of the king of Great Britain, and a political union with the British nation, of which the prosperity and power, uninterrupted for ages, are to the universe proofs of the excellency of its government, have appeared to me to accord with the happiness and safety of Corsica. The universal opinion on this head, evinced by the unreserved inclination you have shewn, and strengthened by your gratitude for benefits received, appears fortunately to concur with mine. I have therefore made the

proper overtures to his majesty the king of Great Britain, with a view to establish this desirable union.

With a satisfaction never to be erased from my mind, I now behold our wishes anticipated, and our hopes realized; the memorial which has been transmitted to me by their excellencies, the admiral commanding the fleet, and the minister plenipotentiary of his majesty, affords us the opportunity of establishing this union in the manner best adapted to the benefit of both nations, and to the honour of his majesty. I cannot better make known to you their excellencies sentiments than by a faithful translation of their memorial.

The nature of the present address does not permit me to enlarge upon the benefits of this union, which tends to conciliate the most extensive political and civil liberty with personal security. You are convinced of these truths, and will regulate your conduct accordingly. I nevertheless avail myself of this opportunity to declare to you, that, in taking the English constitution for your model, you will proceed upon the most solid principles that philosophy, policy, and experience, have ever been known to combine for the happiness of a great people, reserving to yourselves the power of adapting them to your own peculiar situation, customs, and religion, without being exposed, hereafter, to the venality of a traitor, or to the ambition of a powerful usurper.

A matter of such importance ought nevertheless to be discussed, and agreed to by you in a general assembly, at which I intreat you to assist by your deputies, on Sunday the 8th of the ensuing month of June, in the city of Corté. The

provisional government will then suggest to you the form and mode of the elections.

I beseech you to impress yourselves with the great importance of the affairs on which you have to determine; and, on that account, let it be your care to select persons of zeal and acknowledged probity, and, as much as may be in your power, reputable heads of families, interested in good government and the prosperity of the country. Let moderation and propriety of conduct prevail in your assemblies, that no person among you may have the mortification to remark any disorder in the most happy moment which has occurred in the course of our revolutions, and in passing the most important act of civil society. In the mean time, let every man suggest whatever he may conceive most useful to the country, in order to communicate his opinion to the nation, legally represented and assembled.

Corsica is now justly regarded by foreign powers as a free nation; her resolutions will, I hope, be suitable to her situation, and dictated by a wisdom and by a love for the public good.

With respect to myself, my dearly beloved countrymen, after having devoted every moment of my life to your happiness, I shall esteem myself the happiest of mankind, if, through the means I have derived from your confidence, I can obtain, for our country, the opportunity of forming a free and lasting government, and of preserving to Corsica its name, its unity, and its independence, whilst the names of the heroes who have spilt their blood in its support and defence, will be, for future generations, objects of

noble emulation and grateful remembrance.

(Signed) PASQUALE DE PAOLI.

Copy of a letter from their excellencies lord Hood and sir Gilbert Elliot, bart. to general Paoli.

Victory, Bastia-Roads, Apr. 21, 1794.

SIR,

Your excellency having been pleased to represent to us, on behalf of the Corsican nation, that the intolerable and perfidious tyranny of the French Convention having driven that brave people to take up arms in their own defence, they were determined to shake off altogether the unjust dominion of France, and to assert the rights of a free and independent nation; but being sensible that their own efforts might be insufficient to contend with France or other powerful nations, who might undertake hostile attempts against them, and confiding implicitly in the magnanimity and princely virtues of his Britannic majesty, and in the bravery and generosity of his people, they were desirous of forming a perpetual union with the British nation, under the mild and equitable government of his majesty and his successors, for the better protection, and for the perpetual security and preservation of their independence and liberties: and your excellency having, on these considerations, solicited, in the name of the people of Corsica, his majesty's present assistance, and his royal protection in time to come, we took the same into our most serious consideration; and knowing his majesty's gracious and affectionate disposition towards the Corsican nation, and his readiness to contribute in every way which is consistent with justice

justice and the interests of his subjects, to the happiness of that brave people; and being invested with sufficient powers for that purpose, we determined to comply with your request, and have accordingly furnished the aid of his majesty's naval and military forces in the Mediterranean, towards expelling the common enemy from the island of Corsica.

We have since been honoured with more special powers and authority to concert with your excellency and the people of Corsica, and finally to conclude, on his majesty's behalf, the particular form and mode of relation which shall take place between the two nations.

It is with the most lively satisfaction we acquaint your excellency, that we have it in command from his majesty to assent, on his part, to such a system as will cement the union of our two nations under a common sovereign, and, at the same time, secure for ever the independence of Corsica, and the preservation of her ancient constitution, laws and religion.

With whatever satisfaction his majesty has graciously assented to propositions, which promise, perhaps for the first time, not only to afford to this island the present blessings of tranquillity and peace, and a sudden increase of prosperity and wealth, but also to establish its national independence and happiness on a secure and lasting foundation; his majesty is, however, determined to conclude nothing without the general and free consent of the people of Corsica.

We therefore request your excellency to take the proper steps for submitting these important matters

to their judgement: and as the small number of the enemy, at present invested by the British and Corsican troops, and which must soon either be destroyed or yield to superior force, can no longer give any uneasiness to this country, but the freedom and deliverance of Corsica is in effect accomplished, we beg leave to submit to your excellency, whether it may not be desirable to take the earliest measures for terminating these interesting concerns, and for adding a formal sanction to that union, which is already established in the hearts of all our countrymen.

We have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) HOOD,

GILBERT ELLIOT.

His excellency general Paoli,

&c. &c.

TRANSLATION.

The General Council charged with the provisional government of Corsica, to the municipal officers, curates of parishes, and their fellow countrymen.

Beloved countrymen,

The god of armies, protector of the most just cause, has favoured your efforts:

The audacious army, whose fury and violence was excited by the impious faction which proposed to itself to abolish all order, customs, and religion in Europe, will shortly be removed from our territories.

To secure a more speedy success, Providence has given you the support of a powerful nation, accustomed to respect laws, and a legitimate power, which has generously assisted you, to extricate yourselves from the tyrannical anarchy of the present republic of France.

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That nation and its king offer you the advantages of a lasting union and constant protection.

The happy influence of our glorious countryman, general de Paoli, added to the resources of his genius, and excited by the dangers of his own country, have accelerated this happy event; in short, brave Corsicans, *we are free*.

By our constancy, firmness, and courage, we have acquired the enjoyment of the advantages we inherit from our ancestors, *liberty and religion*.

However, it would be but little to have regained this noble succession, if our efforts and prudence were unable to secure it for ever.

To insure the success of those efforts, and to direct our prudence, a perfect union is necessary; our general resolutions must be formed with a view to our present situation and our future expectations.

The Corsicans must therefore prescribe the form of administration and government they choose to adopt, enunciate, or approve of, and the principles on which it is to be established, or on which their legislation is to be fixed.

Finally, beloved countrymen, the most important object is, a speedy union of the people, and the last act of the provisional administration you adopted, ordains us to support the paternal and patriotic intentions of general de Paoli.

In this invitation we can give you but a faint idea of the important functions you will confide to your representatives in the next assembly; however, you no doubt know the indispensable necessity of adopting measures for the maintenance of internal tranquillity, and of a form of government adapted to our customs,

powers, and situation, and finally to the various relations that will hereafter be established between Corsicans; the English nation and their king feel, even more than others, the necessity that such deputies should be appointed among our countrymen as shall have given evident proofs of their patriotism, and of their desire to act with a zeal adequate to the nature and importance of their mission, for establishing and securing by the new order of things, not only for the present, but in future, public felicity. This last consideration, in case you are sensible of it, will, we are in hopes, determine you to prefer one of the most respectable heads of family in each of your respective communities, as a representative on such solemn and important occasions in council.

In this union, which will form the most memorable crisis of our annals, the objects must be treated with that form and order due to the dignity of the representatives of a free people.

The ancient assemblies of our nation, at the time of the glorious government of its deserving general, were only composed of one deputy from each community. Finding it necessary to avoid the inconvenience of repeated elections, we have thought it expedient in this circumstance to invite you to adopt this ancient custom, chiefly on reflecting, that as harvest is approaching, the absence of chiefs from their families, added to the expences of the journey, and time spent in the election, would be of prejudice to their affairs and domestic interests; the people will therefore establish constitutionally the number of its representatives for the successive reunions.

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The zealous and good citizens will, however, be enabled to lay before the council their knowledge of all important subjects, which will be taken into consideration and discussed accordingly, but they will have no part in its deliberations.

The general council therefore invites all communities of Corsica to assemble on Sunday the first of June, each to appoint, according to the form of election hereunto annexed, its representative at the general council, and the general assembly of the clergy to take place on the Sunday following, the 8th of June.

The municipal officers and parishes of the respective communities are charged with the publication and distribution of both general Paoli's circular letter and this.

Corté, May 9, 1794.

For the general council of the government.

(Signed)

(*A great number of names.*)

FORM OF ELECTION.

In the year 1794, on the 1st of June, in the parish church of the community of _____ usual place for the general meeting of the clergy :

We *N. N. N.* the inhabitants of the said community, exceeding the age of twenty-five, being legally united by virtue of the circular letter wrote on the 1st of May by his excellency general de Paoli, and the one wrote by the provisional government on the 9th of the same month, duly published, to appoint a deputy, who is to be a representative at the general council of Corsica, to be held on the 8th current, we have chosen as our president Mr. N. the

most proper person among those assembled, who know how to write, and who has appointed as his secretary Mr. N.

In succession of the said appointment, the majority of votes is given in favour of Mr. N. father of a family, who has been duly elected by the present assembly, and proclaimed deputy, and unto him we give the power of concerting and treating with the other representatives of the nation, on the transactions that will in future take place between Corsica and his majesty the king of Great Britain and the English nation ; as likewise on subjects of public utility contained in the aforesaid circular letter.

And the present verbal process has been registered, and deposited in the chancery of this community, and a copy given to serve him the said Mr. N. deputy, as a full power and certificate.

N. President.

N. Secretary.

Firm of the general council.

COTTONI, vice-president.

MUSELLI, secretary.

TRANSLATION.

We, the representatives of the Corsican nation, free and independent, lawfully assembled in a general meeting, possessed of a special authority to form the present constitutional act, have unanimously decreed, under the auspices of the Supreme Being, the following articles :

CHAPTER I.

Of the nature of the constitution, and of the constituted powers.

Article 1. The constitution of Corsica is monarchical, accord-

* Here all names of such persons as shall be present at the meeting will be affixed.

ing to the following fundamental laws.

Art. 2. The legislative power is vested in the king, and in the representatives of the people, lawfully elected and convened.

Art. 3. The legislature, composed of the king and of the representatives of the people, is denominated the parliament; the assembly of the representatives are styled members of the parliament.

CHAPTER II.

Of the mode of elections, the number of members, and the functions of parliament.

Article 1. The territory shall be divided into pieves (districts,) each of which shall send two members to parliament. The towns on the coast, of which the population shall amount to 3000 souls and upwards, have the right of sending two members each to parliament; the bishops who discharge the duties of their see in Corsica, and are recognized as such by the Corsican nation, shall be members of parliament.

Art. 2. The members of parliament shall be elected by all the Corsican citizens, of twenty-five years of age, who shall have been resident at least one year in the pieve, or in the town, and who are possessors of land.

Art. 3. No person shall be elected a member of parliament, unless he possesses at least 6000 livres in land in the pieve which he is to represent, and pays taxes in proportion to this possession, and unless born of a Corsican father, and *bona fide* an inhabitant, having kept house for five years in the said pieve, and until he has arrived at the age of twenty-five.

Art. 4. Lodgers, except both who are inmates for life, persons employed in collecting the revenue, the receivers and collectors of taxes, those who have pensions, or who are in the service of a foreign power, and priests, cannot be members of the house of parliament.

Art. 5. The form of elections shall be determined by the laws.

Art. 6. If a member of parliament dies, or becomes incapable, according to law, of being a member of parliament, another member shall be elected by his pieve, within fifteen days, by the king's authority.

Art. 7. The house of parliament has the right of enacting all the acts which are intended to have force of law.

Art. 8. The decrees of the house of parliament shall not have force of law, unless they receive the king's sanction.

Art. 9. Any decree that has not passed the house of parliament, and received the king's sanction, shall not be looked upon as law, nor carried into execution as such.

Art. 10. No imposition, tax, or public contribution, shall be laid without the consent of parliament, or without being specially granted by it.

Art. 11. Parliament has the right of impeachment, in the name of the nation, of every agent of government guilty of prevarication before the extraordinary tribunal.

Art. 12. The cases of prevarication shall be determined by the laws.

CHAPTER III.

Of the duration and convocation of parliament.

Article 1. The duration of one parliament shall be two years.

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Art. 2. The king may dissolve the parliament.

Art. 3. In case of a dissolution of Parliament, the king shall convene another within forty days.

Art. 4. Those persons who were members of the dissolved parliament, may be elected members of the succeeding one.

Art. 5. If the parliament expires without being dissolved, another shall be called, by the king's authority, within forty days.

Art. 6. The king may prorogue the parliament.

Art. 7. The parliament cannot be convoked or assembled but by the king's command.

Art. 8. The interval between the convening of the house, and its prorogation, or, if it be not prorogued until its dissolution, or if it be not dissolved until its expiration, is to be called the session of parliament.

Art. 9. The vice-roy, or, in case of illness, the commissioners nominated by him for that purpose, shall open the sessions in person, and declare the reasons for convoking the parliament.

Art. 10. The parliament may adjourn itself, and re-assemble during the same session.

Art. 11. The house shall decide upon the contested elections of its members.

Art. 12. The members of parliament shall not be subject to arrest or imprisonment for debt during the continuance of their representation.

CHAPTER IV.

On the mode of deliberation, freedom of debate, and internal regulations of Parliament.

Article 1. After the opening of parliament by the vice-roy, or by his commissioners, as is herein before-mentioned, the oldest member shall take the chair; and the members present having elected a provisional secretary amongst themselves, shall proceed to the choice of a president, and of one or more secretaries. The secretaries shall not be chosen from among the members; and may be dismissed by a vote of parliament.

Art. 2. The parliament assembled, in all the cases before-mentioned has the power of debate, and of passing bills, whenever above one half of its members are present.

Art. 3. Every member elected and not appearing, shall have notice from the president of the house, to repair to his post within fifteen days.

Art. 4. In case of non-appearance, or of not sending a lawful excuse satisfactory to the house, such member shall be condemned to a fine of 200 livres.

Art. 5. Parliament may grant leave of absence, or permit the absence of such members who solicit it, provided more than one half of its members remain present.

Art. 6. Every proposition made in parliament shall be decided by the majority of the members present; the president, in case of an equal division, shall give the casting vote.

Art. 7. The forms and procedures of enacting laws, and of determining other matters in the house, which may not be fixed by the present constitution, shall be regulated by the house itself.

Art. 8. The king's sanction, or the refusal of it, shall be announced in person by the king's representative

tive in the house of parliament, or by a special commission in case of sickness.

Art. 9. The form of the sanction shall be, *the king approves*; that of refusal, *the king will examine*; the bills sanctioned by the king are named acts of parliament.

Art. 10. No member of parliament shall be called to account, or punished by the king's servants, for the opinions manifested, or the doctrines professed in the house, or by any other authority whatever, except by that of the house itself.

Art. 11. The president of the parliament has a right of calling to order any of its members, when he may think proper. The house may censure, arrest, and imprison, any of its own members, during the session.

CHAPTER V.

Upon the exercise of the executive power.

Article 1. The king shall have his immediate representative in Corsica, with the title of vice-roy.

Art. 2. The vice-roy shall have the power of giving his sanction or refusal to the decrees of parliament.

Art. 3. He shall moreover have the power to perform, in the king's name, all the acts of government which are within the limits of the royal authority:—There shall be a board of council and a secretary of state, nominated by the king, and mention shall be made in the vice-roy's orders, that he has taken the opinion of the said board of council; and these orders shall be countersigned by the secretary.

Art. 4. The nation has the right of petitioning, as well the vice-

roy as the house of parliament: the constituted and acknowledged corps of the law may petition in a body, the other corps in their individual capacity only; and a petition shall never be presented by more than twenty persons, however numerous may be the signatures to it.

Art. 5. The house of parliament may address the king to recal his vice-roy; in such case the house shall address his majesty in his privy-council assembled: the vice-roy shall be obliged to transmit the address to the king, upon the requisition of the house, within the term of fifteen days after such requisition, and the house may itself transmit it to the king, even through the channel of a deputation; but in any case the house is bound to present to the vice-roy, fifteen days previous to the departure of the address, a copy of the same, and of the papers which are to accompany it.

Art. 6. The king has the exclusive direction of all military arrangements, and is to provide for the internal and external security of the country.

Art. 7. The king declares war and makes peace: he shall not be authorized, however, in any event, nor on any account whatsoever, to give up, alienate, or in any manner prejudice, the unity and indivisibility of Corsica and its dependencies.

Art. 8. The king shall appoint to all the offices of government.

Art. 9. The ordinary employments of justice, and of the administration of the public money, shall be conferred upon natives of Corsica, or persons naturalized Corsicans, in virtue of the laws.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER VI.

Of judicial proceedings, and of the division of the tribunals.

Article 1. Justice shall be executed in the king's name, and the orders carried into execution by officers appointed by him, in conformity to the laws.

Art. 2. There shall be a supreme tribunal, composed of five judges, and the king's advocate; and this shall be stationary in Corté.

Art. 3. There shall be a president and a king's advocate attached to every other new jurisdiction.

Art. 4. The functions of the said respective tribunals, their administration, and the emoluments, shall be determined by law.

Art. 5. There shall be in every pieve a podestra (magistrate).

Art. 6. In every community there shall be a municipality, named by the people, and its functions shall be regulated by the laws.

Art. 7. Crimes, which deserve corporal or ignominious punishments, shall be tried by the judges and a jury.

Art. 8. The king has the power of granting pardon, in conformity to the same regulations under which he exercises this prerogative in England.

Art. 9. All civil, criminal, commercial causes, and those of every other kind whatsoever, shall be terminated in Corsica, in the first and last instance.

CHAPTER VII.

Of the extraordinary tribunal.

Article 1. There shall be an extraordinary tribunal, composed of five judges, appointed by the king, and commissioned to judge upon any

impeachment from the house of parliament, or upon all charges made, on the part of the king, or prevarication, or other treasonable transactions.

Art. 2. The nature of the said crimes, and the form of trial, shall be determined upon by a special law; but a jury shall be allowed in every case of this sort.

Art. 3. The members of the tribunal shall not assemble, but in cases of impeachment by the house of parliament, and immediately after judgment given, they shall be obliged to separate.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of personal liberty, and of the liberty of the press.

Article 1. No person shall be deprived of his liberty and property but by sentence of the tribunals acknowledged by the laws, and in the cases and according to the forms prescribed.

Art. 2. Whoever shall be arrested or placed in confinement, shall be conducted, within the term of twenty-four hours, before the competent tribunal, in order that the cause of his detension may be adjudged according to law.

Art. 3. In case of the arrest being declared vexatious, the person arrested will have a right of claiming damages and interest before the competent tribunals.

Art. 4. The liberty of the press is decreed, but the abuse of it is to be amenable to the laws.

Art. 5. Every Corsican shall have the power freely to depart from his country, and to return to it with his property, conforming himself to the regulations and ordonnances of general police, observed in such cases.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER IX.

Of the Corsican flag and navigation.

Article 1. The standard shall be a Moor's head, quartered with the king's arms, according to the form which shall be prescribed by his majesty.

Art. 2. The king shall afford the same protection to the trade and navigation of the Corsicans, as to the trade and navigation of his other subjects.

Art. 3. The Corsican nation, deeply penetrated with sentiments of gratitude towards the king of Great Britain and the English nation, for the munificence and protection which it has always enjoyed, and which is now, in a more special manner, secured to it by the present constitutional act,

Declares, That it will consider every attempt which in war or in peace shall be made to promote the glory of his majesty, and the interests of the empire of Great Britain in general, as its own; and the parliament of Corsica will always manifest its readiness and deference to adopt all regulations, consistent with its present constitution, which shall be enacted by his majesty in his parliament of Great Britain for the extension and advantage of the external commerce of the empire, and of its dependencies.

CHAPTER X.

Of religion.

Article 1. The Catholic, apostolic, Roman religion, in all its evangelical purity, shall be the only national religion in Corsica.

Art. 2. The house of parliament is authorized to determine on the number of parishes, to settle the sa-

laries of the priests, and to take measures for insuring the discharge of the episcopal functions, in concert with the holy see.

Art. 3. All other modes of worship are tolerated.

CHAPTER XI.

Of the crown and its succession.

The sovereign king of Corsica is his majesty George the Third, king of Great Britain, and his successors, according to the order of succession to the throne of Great Britain.

CHAPTER XII.

Of the acceptance of the crown and of the constitution of Corsica.

Article 1. The present act shall be presented to his majesty, the king of Great Britain, through his excellency sir Gilbert Elliot, his commissary plenipotentiary, and specially authorized for this purpose.

Art. 2. In the act of acceptance his majesty, and his plenipotentiary in his name, shall swear to maintain the liberty of the Corsican nation, according to the constitution and the laws; and the same oath shall be administered to his successors, upon every succession to the throne.

Art. 3. The members of the assembly shall immediately take the following oath, which shall be administered by his excellency sir Gilbert Elliot: "I swear for myself and in name of the Corsican nation, which I represent, that I acknowledge for my sovereign and king his majesty George the Third, the king of Great Britain; to yield him faithful obedience, according to the constitution and laws of Corsica, and to defend the said constitution and laws."

Art.

Art. 4. Every Corsican shall, in his respective community, take the preceding oath.

Done, and unanimously decreed, and after three readings, on three succeeding days, in the general assembly of the Corsican nation, in Corté, this day, 19th June 1794, and individually signed in the assembly of all the members of which it is composed.

Signed by above four hundred names.

Continuation of the sessions of the 19th of June, 1794.

ALL the members of the assembly having individually signed the constitutional act, it was proposed to present it to his excellency sir Gilbert Elliot, his Britannic majesty's commissary plenipotentiary, in order that it might be accepted by him in his said majesty's name. The assembly having adopted this proposition, decreed, That the said proposition shall be made by a deputation of twelve members who were chosen and commissioned for this purpose.

After which the deputation, having executed the commission assigned to them, re-entered the hall, and with them the said sir Gilbert Elliot; the members of the assembly stood up, during which he approached the president, and pronounced the following acceptance:

I, the undersigned baronet, member of parliament of Great Britain, member of the privy council, and commissary plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, having full power, and being specially authorized for this purpose, do accept, in the name of his majesty George the Third, king of Great Britain, the crown and sovereignty of Corsica, accord-

ing to the constitution and the fundamental laws contained in the act of a general assembly held at Corté, and definitively settled this same day, the 19th of June, and as such offered to his majesty; and, in his majesty's name, I swear to maintain the liberty of the Corsican nation, according to the constitution and to the laws.

The present acceptance and oath is by us signed and sealed.

(L. S.) GILBERT ELLIOT.

The said acceptance and oath being read, the said sir Gilbert Elliot proposed to the president and to the assembly the constitutional oath; and this was taken by them in the following words;

"I swear for myself, and in the name of the Corsican nation, which I represent, to acknowledge for my sovereign and king, his majesty George the Third, the king of Great Britain, to yield him faithful obedience according to the constitution and the laws of Corsica, and to maintain the said constitution and laws."

The constitutional act being intirely completed and finished, the president adjourned the session, and signed the above, as did also the secretaries, the year, month, and day above-mentioned.

(Signed)

PASQUALE DE PAOLI, President.

CARLO ANDREA POZZO DE BARGO, Secretary.

GIO. ANDREA MUSELLI, Secretary.

TRANSLATION.

Speech made in the general assembly of Corsica, on the acceptance of the crown and constitution of the island, by his excellency sir Gilbert Elliot.

GENTLEMEN,

GENTLEMEN,

In availing myself, for the first time, in the midst of the Corsican nation, of the privilege of calling you brothers and fellow-citizens, a reflection which will naturally occur to every one, excites in me the most heart-felt satisfaction; independent of the reciprocal political advantages which we may derive from so close a connection, I see, on the present occasion, every thing that can render it more precious and more estimable by the sentiments of confidence and of affection, the first and pure principles of our union, which they will for ever continue to cement and consolidate.

This remarkable truth, which it is impossible to overlook, cannot be mentioned without a strong emotion of sensibility and joy. Our two nations have, for a long period, been distinguished by a reciprocal and remarkable esteem. Without anticipating the happy end to which this instinctive partiality, this sympathetic attraction, may some day lead us, we have given to each other instances of confidence on every occasion, yet no relations have hitherto subsisted between us, except those of reciprocal and voluntary good offices. Our minds have been prepared by Providence for the fate which awaited us, and the Divine Goodness, intending our union, has ordained that it should be anticipated, and brought about (if I may so express myself), by a similarity of character, and by a conformity of views and principles, and, above all, by a pleasing exchange of friendly services.

This sacred compact, which I received from your hands, is not a cold and interested agreement between two parties who meet by accident

and form a contract founded on the impulse of the moment, or on a selfish and temporary policy.—No; the event of this happy day is only the completion of wishes we had previously formed; to-day our hands are joined, but our hearts have long been united, and our motto should be *Amici et non di ventura*.

However seducing this prospect of our happiness may appear, I trust (and it is important for us to know it, as we assuredly do) that it does not depend on sentiment alone; but it rests on the solid basis of the true interests and permanent felicity of the two nations.

I will not mention to you the interests of Great Britain upon this occasion; not that they are of little consequence, but being of a nature purely political, the subject would be too cold, too dry, for this important day. Besides, it is not necessary on this occasion to appreciate them in detail. I shall confine myself to this remark, that every possible advantage which Great Britain could have in view from her union with Corsica, is essentially attached to your political and absolute independence of every European power, and that these advantages are not only compatible with your interests, but cannot for the most part exist, and still less flourish, but in proportion to your prosperity.

On your part, what is necessary to render you a happy people? I will tell you in two words—liberty at home, and security abroad.

Your liberty will not be exposed to any encroachments from a monarch who, by his own experience and the example of his ancestors for several generations, is persuaded that the liberty and the prosperity of his people is the only foundation of the power,

power, the glory, and the splendour of the throne ; a king who has ever governed according to the laws, and whose sceptre is at once strengthened by the privileges, and embellished by the happiness of his subjects. Here I might expatiate on the august virtues of that monarch whom you have chosen for your own ; but they are known to all his subjects : you will therefore become acquainted with them by a happy and certain experience, and this testimony will be far more faithful than my weak voice.

It would not, however, be right that your liberty should depend solely on the personal virtues of the monarch. You have therefore been careful to ensure it by the wise constitution and fundamental laws of our union, which, in my opinion, constitute so essential a part of the act you present to me this day, that I could not (without violating the confidence reposed in me by my sovereign,) agree to a system which might have degenerated into tyranny ; a condition equally unfavourable to the happiness of him who exercises it, and of those who endure it.

If his majesty, therefore, accepts the crown which you have decreed to offer him, it is because he is determined to protect, and never to enslave those from whom he receives it : and, above all, because it is given, and not seized upon by violence.

For external security, you wanted nothing but the constant and active alliance of a maritime power : this act insures it to you ; and whilst you

enjoy at home peace and tranquillity, which the enemy will no longer be able to interrupt, you will share with us the treasures of trade, and the sovereignty of the seas.

From this day therefore you are quiet and free. To preserve these blessings, you have only to preserve your ancient virtues, courage, and the sacred love of your country ; these are the native virtues of your soil ; they will be enriched by those which accompany our union, and which you will derive from our industry, from our long experience, that true source of political wisdom, and from our love of liberty, at once enthusiastic and enlightened. I speak of that liberty which has for its object to maintain your civil rights, and the happiness of the people ; not to serve ambition and vice : that liberty which is inseparable from religion, order, respect for the laws, and a sacred regard for property ; the first principle of every human society ; that liberty which abhors every kind of despotism, and especially that most terrible of all despotism, which arises from the unrestrained violence of the human passions. Such are the virtues which belong both to you and to us. On their happy mixture and influence on each other depends the prosperity of Corsica, immediate liberty, and a progressive and increasing prosperity. Such is the text ; to which I hope and venture to predict, that our behaviour to each other, and our common destinies, will always prove a faithful and a satisfactory illustration.

An ACCOUNT of the Total Net Produce paid into the
Exchequer, of the DUTIES of CUSTOMS in ENGLAND
and SCOTLAND :

Distinguishing, as far as possible, the Produce upon every separate Article, the Duties on which shall have amounted to 1000l. or more, in the four Quarters, ending October 10, 1794.

		Net produce, subject to the payment of bounties and management.		
	Species of Goods.	Charge.	£.	s. d.
	Ashes, pearl and pot	-	962	1 10
	Barilla	-	13,078	17 2
	Brimstone	-	8,524	10 9
	Bristles, undressed	-	5,261	0 1
	Bugle, great	-	876	10 2
	Carpets, Turkey	-	207	13 6
	China ware	-	9,865	7 10
	Copper, unwrought	-	1,083	1 11
	Cork	-	3,777	15 1
	Corn, oats	-	7,136	6 8
	— wheat	-	9,485	13 7
Drugs.	Borax, refined	-	4,396	11 3
	Cassia lignea	-	999	19 1
	Cortex Peru.	-	12,351	6 9
	Juniper berries	-	1,047	17 3
	Manna	-	881	4 6
	Oil, perfumed	-	1,982	17 5
	Opium	-	1,064	8 0
	Quicksilver	-	3,666	4 7
	Rhubarb	-	2,015	17 0
	Saccharum saturni	-	1,542	1 4
	Senna	-	1,612	8 10
	Succus liquoritizæ	-	7,065	2 3
	Dye stuffs, smalts	-	9,630	12 2
	Elephants teeth	-	1,264	7 10
	Feathers for beds	-	7,527	6 10
	Fruit, lemons and oranges	-	9,879	19 2
	— nuts, small	-	2,113	3 9
	Glass plates	-	5,807	7 2
Grocery.	Almonds, Jordan	-	2,912	1 8
	— not Jordan	-	1,330	13 11
	Cinnamon	-	1,328	12 6
	Cloves	-	2,208	5 9
	Cocoa	-	1,679	13 9

Net produce, subject to the payment
of bounties and management.

		Species of Goods.	Charge.	£.	s.	d.
Grocery.	{	Coffee	-	45,851	0	11
		Currants	-	73,403	13	6
		Figs	-	1,988	1	8
		Ginger	-	2,223	12	9
		Mace	-	1,427	12	4
		Nutmegs	-	1,928	2	0
		Pepper	-	24,671	17	6
		Pimento	-	783	1	6
		Raisins, Denia	-	10,607	0	5
		— Lexia	-	9,672	0	6
		— Lipari	-	6,180	3	3
		— Smyrna	-	18,162	2	4
		— Solis	-	12,643	1	2
		Rice	-	11,656	3	8
		Sago	-	2,391	7	10
	{	Sugar, brown	-	1,448,195	19	5
		Tea	-	118,699	4	1
		Hair, horse	-	612	16	0
		— human	-	788	12	0
		Hemp, rough	-	118,209	4	5
		Hides, Indian	-	1,562	0	5
		— losh	-	7,600	11	8
		— ox or cow	-	1,132	9	2
		Incle, wrought	-	3,297	14	0
		Iron, bar	-	146,284	7	10
		— cast	-	1,567	14	7
		Kelp	-	1,190	19	9
Linens.	{	Cambricks	-	2,430	4	3
		Canvas, Hessens	-	19,917	17	6
		— spruce	-	5,093	1	11
		Damask tabg. Sila.	-	1,327	7	10
		Drilling	-	2,176	18	2
		Germany, narrow	-	49,353	4	9
		Russia, broad, above 22½	-	21,354	17	2
		— above 31½	-	1,717	12	7
		— above 36	-	3,997	19	4
		— narrow	-	4,701	6	6
	{	— towelling and napkinning	-	1,003	5	11
		Manufactured articles of India	-	3,373	6	11
		Mats, Russia	-	2,836	11	5
		Hats, chip	-	2,270	3	9
		Oil, ordinary	-	13,086	19	8
		— sallad	-	5,118	19	0
		— train	-	1,612	10	9
		Paper, foolscap	-	1,353	9	0

Pictures

Net produce, subject to the payment
of bounties and management.

Species of Goods.		Charge.	£.	s.	d.
Pictures	-	-	937	4	10
Piece Goods of India.	{ Calicoes	-	21,473	10	8
	{ Muslins	-	113,474	17	1
	{ Nankeens	-	11,647	17	0
	{ Prohibited	-	14,327	18	9
Saltpetre	-	-	846	10	0
Seeds, clover	-	-	4,363	16	4
Shells, mother of pearl	-	-	1,532	5	7
Silk, Bengal, raw	-	-	100,834	15	0
— China, raw	-	-	24,854	4	10
— Italian and Turkey, raw	-	-	6,945	18	10
— thrown	-	-	93,703	16	2
Skins.	{ Bear, black	-	2,016	6	0
	{ Beaver	-	1,022	13	6
	{ Calf, undressed	-	1,801	8	5
	— tanned	-	2,604	1	9
	{ Deer, in hair	-	3,268	5	6
	{ Kid, undressed	-	3,812	14	0
	Martin	-	324	15	8
Snuff	-	-	868	14	2
Spirits, brandy	-	-	29,388	14	8
— Geneva	-	-	28,481	17	1
— rum	-	-	49,086	19	10
Stones, blocks of marble	-	-	1,434	19	0
Tar	-	-	7,387	10	10
Thread, sisters	-	-	1,174	10	1
Tobacco	-	-	235,211	6	0
Tow	-	-	1,259	19	6
Turpentine	-	-	3,068	0	5
Wax, bees	-	-	1,421	4	5
Wines, Customs only.	{ Canary	-	3,462	15	11
	{ French	-	10,465	9	10
	{ Madeira	-	12,082	3	2
	{ Portugal	-	377,794	19	11
	{ Rhenish	-	3,213	5	4
	Spanish	-	75,558	6	2
Wood.	{ Balks	-	2,227	9	6
	{ Battens	-	11,201	14	7
	{ Boards, paling	-	1,215	8	9
	— scale	-	1,223	11	2
	{ Deals	-	125,411	18	8
	— ends	-	3,715	13	5
	{ Lath-wood	-	3,104	13	9
	Masts	-	3,207	19	9
	Plank, oak	-	7,056	3	10

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		Net produce, subject to the payment of bounties and management.			
Species of Goods.		Charge.	£.	s.	d.
Wood.	Staves	-	16,764	1	6
	Timber, fir	-	54,963	13	1
	oak	-	1,051	5	6
	Users	-	1,106	0	3
	Wainscot logs	-	3,228	12	6
	Yarn, mohair	-	1,895	7	11
	Allum	-	1,204	10	9
	Coals	-	98,370	18	10
	Indigo	-	8,119	8	2
	Lead	-	33,697	12	7
	Skins, beaver	-	3,479	10	6
	Tin	-	4,413	18	5
	Other subsidy articles	-	6,641	7	10
	Coals brought coastways	-	518,239	6	9
	Wine brought coastways to London	-	907	1	11
	Stones and slates brought coastways	-	6,064	11	7
	Surcharges on sundry small articles	-	2,579	19	9
	Interest on bonds	-	6	1	6
	Tobacco condemned or sold for the duty	-	7,587	16	8
	Duties on corn	-	23,129	12	8
	Received from the inspector of corn returns	-	864	10	8
	Duty on wine sold by the excise	-	179	13	1
	Duties remitted from the plantations	-	24,507	4	1
	Window, or commutation duty, by 24th George III.	-	229,848	1	8
	Sundry small articles, the duties whereof have not amounted to 1,000l. on each	-	280,313	0	7½

£ 5,101,206 10 0½

DISCHARGE.		£	s.	d.
Bounties	-	566,808	6	6
Repayment on over entries and damaged goods	-	41,118	8	0½
Charges of management	-	402,625	4	9
Money issued out of the revenues of Scotland, appli- cable to his majesty's civil government	-	44,929	15	2½
Paid treasurers of the counties in Scotland, on ac- count of corn returns	-	801	0	0
Paid into the exchequer	-	4,044,923	15	6½

£ 5,101,206 10 0½

THOMAS IRVING,

Inspector-General of the imports and exports of Great Britain.

Inspector-General's Office;

Custom-house, London, Dec. 16, 1794.

An

An ACCOUNT of the Total Produce of the DUTIES of CUSTOMS, EXCISE, STAMPS, and INCIDENTS, respectively, for one Year, ending October 10, 1794.

	£	s.	d.
The total produce of the duties of customs for one year ended the 10th day of October, 1794	4,044,923	15	6½
Ditto of the duties of excise for one year, ended ditto (exclusive of 586,888l. the produce of the annual malt-duties)	7,541,965	2	5½
Ditto of the stamp duties for one year, ended ditto	1,420,867	11	10
Ditto of incidents at the receipt of the exchequer for one year, ended ditto	2,368,839	5	10½
	<u>£ 15,376,595</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>8½</u>

Memorandum.—In the sum of 2,368,839l. 5s. 10½d. stated as the amount of incidents at the exchequer, is included 352,184l. 6s. 5½d. being the amount of the imprest and other monies paid in there within the above period.

Presented, pursuant to an act of the 27th year of his present majesty's reign, the 2d day of January, 1795, by

GEORGE ROSE.

SUPPLIES granted by PARLIAMENT for the Year 1794.

NAVY.

	JANUARY 31.	£	s.	d.
For 85,000 men, including 12,115 marines	-	4,420,000	0	0
	FEBRUARY 4.			
Ordinary of the navy	-	558,021	11	3
Extra navy	-	547,310	0	0
		<u>£ 5,525,331</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>3</u>

ARMY.

	FEBRUARY 1.	£	s.	d.
Subsidy to the king of Sardinia	-	200,000	0	0
	FEBRUARY 4.			
For 60,244 men, as guards and garrisons	-	1,492,812	12	2
Forces in the plantations	-	677,682	12	4
Difference between British and Irish establishments	-	50,279	13	4
Troops in the East Indies	-	8,323	17	10½
Recruiting land-forces and contingencies	-	219,500	0	0
Levy money, &c. for augmentation of the forces	-	210,000	0	0
General and staff officers, &c.	-	97,389	1	1
Full pay to supernumerary officers	-	39,118	16	7
Allowances to the paymaster-general, &c.	-	64,790	18	3
Reduced officers of land forces and marines	-	146,843	10	10
Reduced horse-guards	-	156	9	2
Officers late in the service of the states-general	-	3,000	0	0
Reduced officers of the British American forces	-	55,092	10	0
Allowances to several reduced officers of ditto	-	4,907	10	0
Widows' pensions	-	9,931	19	3
Chelsea pensioners	-	151,742	5	10
Scotch roads and bridges	-	4,500	0	0
Embodied militia and fencibles	-	687,420	14	0
Contingencies for ditto	-	160,000	0	0
Cloathing for the militia	-	93,653	3	9
Corps transferred from Irish to British establishment	-	158,667	15	6
Hanoverian troops	-	538,874	0	0
Troops of Hesse-Cassel	-	304,309	0	0
Troops of Hesse-Darmstadt	-	102,073	0	0
Troops of Baden	-	24,067	0	0
Extraordinaries of the army	-	808,805	14	4
	MARCH 31.			
Fencible cavalry	-	300,117	16	6
		£ 6,641,060	0	9½

ORDNANCE.

	FEBRUARY 4.	£.	s.	d.
Ordnance for 1794	-	701,736	3	8
Ditto, previous to Dec. 31, 1783, not provided for	-	576	19	5
Ditto, land service not provided for in 1792	-	925	4	3
Ditto, not provided for in 1793	-	611,419	11	8
Ditto, sea service, ditto	-	30,350	3	6
		£ 1,345,008	2	6

MISCEL-

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

FEBRUARY 1.

	£.	s.	d.
To discharge exchequer bills - - -	4,000,000	0	0

FEBRUARY 4.

Civil establishment of Upper Canada - - -	6,450	0	0
Ditto, Nova Scotia - - -	5,315	0	0
Ditto, New Brunswick - - -	4,400	0	0
Ditto, St. John's Island - - -	1,900	0	0
Ditto, Cape Breton - - -	1,800	0	0
Governor and civil officers of Newfoundland, and the charge of a patent creating a court of civil and criminal jurisdiction - - -	1,344	1	6
Civil establishment on the Bahama islands - -	4,250	0	0
Chief justice of the Bermuda or Somers' islands	580	0	0
Ditto of Dominica - - -	600	0	0
Civil establishment of New South Wales - -	4,795	8	2

FEBRUARY 14.

For rendering the house of peers more commodious	465	11	10½
On account of the French refugees - - -	27,692	4	6½
For works done at the Fleet prison - - -	3,376	8	0
Ditto, at Somerset-place, &c. - - -	9,255	6	9
To pay sums assessed for land-tax, &c. - -	1,814	15	4
For the discharge of debts contracted by Mr. Tully, late consul at Tripoli - - -	2,111	1	0
For reporting losses on evacuating the Musquito shore	1084	15	0
On account of surveys, &c. at Cape Breton - -	669	9	11
To the bishop of Quebec, for expences of proceed- ing to his see; to Mr. Davison, Mr. Reeves, &c. }	1,504	10	6
For inquiring into the laws, &c. of Jersey - -	537	12	6
For removal of Mr. Starbuck - - -	248	18	0
Allowances for American sufferers - - -	19,500	0	0
Foreign secret service - - -	14,585	10	6
Address money - - -	46,619	13	7
Late board of land revenue, and their officers	2,043	0	0
American and East Florida sufferers - - -	268,091	14	2½
Prosecution of Warren Hastings, esq. - -	10,749	3	8
Provisions, &c. to New South Wales. - - -	19,820	8	10
Convicts on the Thames - - -	11,398	4	8

£. 4,472,997 18 6½

	£.	s.	d.
Brought over	4,472,997	18	6½
Convicts in Langstone and Portsmouth harbours	13,576	17	8½
Extraordinary expences of the mint	18,844	12	4
African forts	13,000	0	0
MARCH 27.			
To discharge exchequer bills	1,500,000	0	0
MARCH 31.			
To the bank, for the reduction of the national debt	200,000	0	0
To the Turkey company	5,000	0	0
APRIL 15.			
Payments of sundry persons out of the civil list	15,277	9	7¾
Board of agriculture	3,000	0	0
	£ 6,241,696	18	2¾

DEFICIENCY.

	APRIL 10.	£	s.	d.
Deficiency of grants for 1793	-	475,022	13	10½
Navy	5,525,331	11	3	
Army	6,641,060	0	9½	
Ordnance	1,345,003	2	6	
Miscellaneous services	6,241,696	18	2¾	
Deficiency	475,032	13	10½	
	£ 20,228,119	6	7¾	

WAYS and MEANS for raising the SUPPLIES for 1794.

	FEBRUARY 4.	£	s.	d.
Land and malt-tax	-	2,750,000	0	0
Annuities	-	11,000,000	0	0
Consolidated fund	-	2,697,000	0	0
MARCH 27.				
Exchequer bills	-	3,500,000	0	0
MARCH 31.				
Profit of a lottery, 40,000 tickets, at 18l. 10s. 4d.	-	240,666	13	4
APRIL 10.				
Surplus of consolidated fund on 5th April	-	231,841	16	10
		£. 24,419,503	10	2

TRIAL

TRIAL for ADULTERY.

HON. B. E. HOWARD, ESQ. *against*
THE HON. R. BINGHAM.

In the court of King's Bench, Westminster, Feb. 24, before lord Kenyon and a special jury.

THIS was an action for criminal conversation.—The damages were laid at 10,000l.

Mr. Mingay said, he was about to solicit the attention of the jury to a cause of great magnitude, as it respected the parties themselves; and of great importance, as it respected the public comfort and morality of the country in which we lived.

The plaintiff, Mr. Howard, was the presumptive heir to the dukedom of Norfolk. The defendant, Mr. Bingham, was son and heir of lord Lucan. The complaint was that Mr. Bingham had debauched and withdrawn the affections of the lady of Mr. Howard. Having stated three times to the jury (many of whom, he believed, had been witnesses to the very pathetic, earnest, moral addresses that had fallen from the noble and learned judge who presided at these questions with infinite concern, during the time his lordship had with such satisfaction and benefit to the public, and with so much honour to himself, administered the justice of the country), he said, he would not, because he could not, imitate his lordship in endeavouring to impress on the feelings of the jury the necessity of checking so grievous an evil. They would weigh in those scales in which questions of this sort ought to be weighed, with delicacy and with nicety, the importance of the object upon which they had to

decide, and, as far as in their power lay, would give some reparation (for a complete one could not be given by them) to the party injured.

The circumstances that gave rise to this very important and distressing inquiry were these: The plaintiff having seen the lady who was afterwards his wife, and who was one of the daughters of earl Fauconberg, became much attached to her, was enamoured of her beauty, and was desirous of forming an honourable connection with her. In the course of a very short time, having again seen the lady, he had an opportunity of proposing himself to her as her husband. She accepted his proposal. It was communicated to both families. It met with their approbation, and they were married on April 24th, 1789.

On August 12th, 1791, this lady had a son, and it was much to the satisfaction of the plaintiff; and he thought it did Mr. Howard infinite honour, that he had authorized him to say, that he did not charge the defendant with any thing criminal till after the birth of this son; so that the legitimacy of that child could not be questioned by the most inquisitive feelings of the most affectionate husband. But he did not long live in that comfort and happiness which he at first enjoyed in this lady's society. Mr. Bingham, a young gentleman of elegant manners and insinuating address, ingratiated himself into her affections by frequently soliciting her attention, meeting her in the Park, walking with her; and whenever she went to a watering-place, he went there also; and, in short, wherever she thought proper to go, he was sure to attend her. When this came to the ears of the husband, it wounded him deeply.

He

He took all the pains that an honourable, an affectionate, and a feeling man could take. He reasoned with her. He endeavoured to prevail on her not to run the risk of permitting Mr. Bingham to throw himself in her way, nor to throw herself in his way, for fear of consequences that might prove fatal to her honour and to his peace. All the entreaties of Mr. Howard proved unsuccessful, and at last, on account of the apparent partiality which this lady shewed to Mr. Bingham, it was agreed between her and her husband that she should go down to lord Fauconberg's, in order, if possible, to shake off from her mind that impression which the defendant had made upon it by his addresses. This was on the 24th of July, 1793. On that day Mr. Howard went into the country to Lord Petre's, and (Mr. Mingay said) no man could tell the agonies of his heart who had not seen him. He said, he was an eyewitness to the agony which that transaction had occasioned. On the same day, this lady ordered a carriage, and went to Mr. Gray's shop at the west end of the town. Her husband no more expected the consequences that followed than any of the gentlemen of the jury. Instead of going down to her father's as she had agreed with Mr. Howard to do, she went from Mr. Gray's shop in a carriage (provided by Mr. Bingham) to the house of lord Dungannon, in Park-lane, to whom Mr. Bingham was related by marriage, and where he then resided. He said, the statement beyond that would wound their delicacy.

Mr. Bingham and this lady had lived as husband and wife ever since, and she was far advanced in pregnancy, and that child would be born before a divorce could possibly be ob-

tained. The whole house of Howard had a right to complain; for suppose the plaintiff's son to die, and that child of which this lady was pregnant proved a son, what was to prevent him from being duke of Norfolk? He said, he might be told that the wisdom of parliament would set all this to rights. But he said, that the time of this lady's departure from her husband, and the birth of this child, would come so near, that parliament would find itself puzzled in doing justice between the parties.

He said, we lived in an age in which the most important questions were decided by the newspapers. It had been stated in some of the daily prints, offensively, in the hearing of all the noble relations, that it was notorious that Mr. Bingham had the heart of the lady, that the father told Mr. Howard so, and that the lady herself told him, she could give him her hand, but could not give him her heart. He said that was not true. He could call the whole family to contradict it. Could the gentlemen of the jury suppose for a moment, that earl Fauconberg would have sacrificed his child to a man of the first rank in England, and would not allow her to take the most valuable of all possessions—the man of her heart? This should not have been said any where, inasmuch as it could not be proved.

This case deserved the most serious attention; and after they had heard it, they would, to the best of their judgment, do justice between the parties.

The marriage on the 24th of April, 1789, was admitted.

Ann Hancock said, she lived with Mr. Howard in the capacity of nurse to his child. Lady Elizabeth left Mr. Howard on the 24th of July last. They were then

then at Norfolk house, in St James's Square. Mr. Howard on that day set off for lord Petre's at one o'clock, and lady Elizabeth went away a little before seven. She was going to her father's; lord Fauconberg. The witness accompanied lady Elizabeth in her carriage from Norfolk-house to Mr. Gray's shop; when they arrived there, lady Elizabeth delivered the witness a letter for her maid at Norfolk-house. Her ladyship never returned again.

On cross examination she said she then knew lady Elizabeth was going to be separated from her husband, and that she was going to her father's; she had seen her unhappy many times, but did not know on what account.

Sarah Scriven said, she lived with Mr. Howard in the year 1789, as lady Elizabeth's maid. She fully confirmed the evidence of the last witness. She saw lady Elizabeth on the 29th of November last at lord Dungannon's, in Henrietta-street, Cavendish square. Mr. Bingham was in the house with her; she said she lived with them.

Mr. Erskine admitted, that lady Elizabeth and Mr. Bingham had lived as husband and wife ever since the 21th of July last.

The witness said, she was always about her ladyship, and had an opportunity of seeing whether she was happy or otherwise. Lady Elizabeth appeared to the witness to be very unhappy, and apparently very much distressed; she had frequently heard Mr. Howard and her lady have words. The cause of lady Elizabeth's uneasiness was, her having married a man she disliked. Mr. Howard and lady Elizabeth took leave of each other on the 24th of July, previous to their leaving Norfolk-house. They were together a

long on that occasion for two hours or more. Lady Elizabeth said to the witness, she had been taking leave of Mr. Howard. She remembered one night, about two years ago, when they were at Suffolk, that Mr. Howard and lady Elizabeth sat up till three o'clock in the morning. Her ladyship appeared very much flurried and agitated. Mr. Howard called the witness, and lady Elizabeth told her, in the presence of Mr. Howard, that she had had an hysteric fit. He brought her some medicines to relieve her. Lady Elizabeth said she had been talking to Mr. Howard, but she did not tell the witness what. They were frequently quarreling. This gentleman and lady were very unhappy before their final separation; her ladyship said, the cause of her unhappiness was, that she had the misfortune to be married to a man she did not like. This she frequently told the witness. She said, she never saw Mr. Howard use lady Elizabeth ill; and lady Elizabeth always behaved extremely well to her servants. Mr. Howard seemed to be jealous of Mr. Bingham.

John Pearson said, he was groom to Mr. Bingham; he knew lady Elizabeth. He had seen his master speak to her in her carriage; and then they have sometimes gone into Kensington-gardens, and walked together for ten minutes or half an hour. He might have seen them do so four or five times. There were more ladies with them. He said, he ordered a chaise on the 24th of July last, at four o'clock in the afternoon, to be ready at six. Lady Elizabeth came in that chaise to Park-lane, and she and Mr. Bingham set off together, and had lived together ever since.

William Guthrie said, he was coachman

coachman to Mr. Howard, and came into his service on January 10th, 1791. He used to drive lady Elizabeth in her carriage. He knew Mr. Bingham from April, 1791. He constantly met her ladyship in the Park. First of all, a conversation of five or ten minutes used to take place between them, and then her ladyship would get out and walk in the Park, and sometimes in Kensington-gardens. This happened almost every day. He drove her to places of amusement, though she often went in a chair. He had seen Mr. Bingham come and hand his mistress into the carriage, after the opera was over. In the year 1792, he remembered lady Elizabeth, and Mr. Bingham going from the opera to the Mansion-house in the city, to a ball. There was a young lady in the carriage with them, but who she was he did not know. Mr. Bingham on all occasions paid particular attention to lady Elizabeth. Mr. Bingham never was at Mr. Howard's house.

On cross-examination he said, Mr. Howard went very seldom to public places of amusement. Lady Elizabeth used to go to Ranelagh, and return at two or three o'clock in the morning. Mr. Howard did not go there, though Mr. Bingham frequently did. He said, he drove lady Elizabeth, another lady, and Mr. Bingham, twice to Ranelagh. Mr. Howard, he said, used to see lady Elizabeth at breakfast, at dinner, and what not. Lady Elizabeth also attended routs, but she went to them in a chair. He did not know whether Mr. Howard went to routs. She came home at three, four, five, and six, in the morning. Mr. Howard had gone to bed. This was the case for a great length of time.

Mr. Bell-syse said, he was a dis-

tant relation of lord Fauconberg's, and also of Mr. Howard. He saw them in the month of October after they were married. They did not seem to live on the most pleasant terms. The cause of their difference was the jealousy which Mr. Howard entertained of Mr. Bingham. He could not say he saw Mr. Howard treat lady Elizabeth with unkindness. Some few words sometimes passed between, which seemed to be owing to that cause.

On cross-examination he said, to the best of his recollection the first time he perceived any appearance of jealousy was in about a year and a half after the marriage. He said, he was made a confidential friend on both sides, and he used his best endeavours to make them agree as husband and wife ought to do.

DEFENCE.

Mr. Erskine said, "The plaintiff's counsel has bespoke an address from me which you must not expect to hear. He has thought it right, either in courtesy to me, as I am willing to believe in part, and undoubtedly in part for the purposes of this cause, that you should suppose you are to be addressed with a degree of eloquence which most undoubtedly I never possessed, and if I did, I should be incapable at this moment of exerting it; because the most eloquent man, in order to exert his eloquence, must find his mind free from embarrassment on the occasion on which he is to speak. I am not in that condition. My friend has expressed himself as the friend of the plaintiff. He does not regard him more than I do, and hardly knows him better. I stand in the same predicament towards my own honourable client. I know him, and because I know him I regard him also ;

also ; and my embarrassment only arises at being obliged to discuss this question in a public court of justice, which if I were enabled to refer, I should feel no manner of embarrassment in being called upon to settle it.—My embarrassment is abundantly increased when I see present a noble person, high, very high in rank, in this kingdom, but not higher in rank than he is in my estimation. I speak of the noble duke of Norfolk, who most undoubtedly feels somewhat at being obliged to come here as a witness in the cause of a person so nearly allied to him. I am persuaded there is no man in court who has so little sensibility as not to feel, that a person in my situation must be a little embarrassed in discussing a question of this sort, between such parties as I have described. He desired you would take care, not to suffer argument, observation, or eloquence, to be called into the field to draw your minds from the evidence, on which alone you ought to decide. I wish at the same moment he had not introduced himself as a witness, without the ordinary ceremony, by telling you, he was an eye-witness to the agony of his noble client. I will not follow his example. This part of the cause stands on his single, unsupported, unsworn evidence. No relation is called to support it, though we are told the whole house of Fauconberg, Bellasyse, and Norfolk, are in the avenues of the court ready to be called at my discretion; and yet he is the only witness to it, though it might have been proved by so many industrious persons.

He states, that the child born on the 12th of August, 1791, must have been the child of its honourable parent; and therefore Mr. How-

ard cannot say the parental mind has been wrung. He cannot say, "herafter no son of mine succeeds." He can say none of these things. As this child was born August 12th, 1791, Mr. Howard must be supposed to have been the author of its existence in 1790; and therefore I have a right to say, that during all that interval this gentleman could not have the least reasonable cause to complain against Mr. Bingham.

Mr. Erskine said, the next day stated was July 24, 1793, and said there was no evidence that there was any thing improper between lady Elizabeth and Mr. Bingham, previous to that time. He wished to disembarass the cause from another difficulty, that a divorce could not take place before the birth of the child, and that, if a son, under certain contingencies, he must be duke of Norfolk. That he denied. In a similar case, that of Mr. Stewart, a gentleman in Scotland, the lords and commons of England not only passed an act of divorce; but on finding there was no access on the part of the husband, and that consequently the child was not the child of the husband, bastardized that issue. What then remained in this cause which must stand on the evidence? How did the plaintiff make out that he had lost, and had been deprived of the comfort and society of his wife by the misconduct of the defendant? The loss of society, of domestic happiness, and of peace, was the foundation of the action. Before any thing could be lost, it must have existed. Before any thing could have been taken away, it must have been possessed. Before the seduction of a woman's affections from a man, he must have possessed those affections. If it turned out that the case was supported, the jury would deal with

it

it as with other cases that were supported. He speaks of his client in terms of regard and respect, and I have shewn already that I am not disposed to differ from him. He states the plaintiff as a branch of a most illustrious house, as casting the eyes of affection upon a disengaged woman, a lady of rank equal to his own, or at least suitable to his own. He states a marriage of mixed affection, and endeavours to show this young couple with all the ardour of love flying into each other's embraces. He shews a child the fruit of that affection:—he shews an adulterer coming to disturb all their happiness, and to destroy all that comfort which he describes:—he shews a young man coming with the rashness which distinguishes people of this age; careless of the comforts he was about to destroy, and thinking of nothing but that he should gratify his lustful appetites at the expence of another's manhood and peace:—he represents the husband watching over his wife, anxious to prevent, and feeling also that affection which has been so warmly described.

If that case was made out, which he was confident it could not, Mr. Howard had a right to ask for damages, though Mr. Bingham was not in a condition to pay them. Mr. Erskine said, he would assert that Mr. Howard knew that lady Elizabeth's mind was irredeemably fixed on his client, but it was enough for him that the thing existed; and he was about to state (would to God that it seldom happened in this country!) we should have a race of nobles worthy of their ancestors, maintaining their high stations, if we were to see matches better adjusted than they

are), that instead of this honourable couple coming together with all that affection that ought to distinguish persons in that state he should prove that this unfortunate lady was dragged, by the will of her parents, as a victim to this gentleman's bed. He did not mean to say that Mr. Howard knew it; but so the fact was. Mr. Erskine having described the happiness of the married state when love was the foundation of the union, said, instead of that happiness I will now draw up the curtains of this marriage bed, and will shew you a scene which I am sure every man must lament. I will shew you a man and woman in the vigour of life; a man of a most amiable disposition I am ready to admit; a man, of a vigorous body and a handsome person, and a woman whose beauty I am willing to say was equal to any rank, any fortune, and with every thing to bless them, doomed to worse than a prison. On the marriage day, ay, on the marriage night, she was in tears; not the tears of modesty, though her modesty was undoubted; not the tears of fear; not the tears one might expect from a virgin, but those of violence, misery, and despair. I may state what she said of her husband.

Believe me, Howard,
 Such hearts as ours were never pair'd above;
 Ill suited to each other; join'd, not match'd;
 Some sullen influence, a foe to both,
 Has wrought this fatal marriage to undo us.
 Mark but the frame and temper of our
 minds,
 How very much we differ; e'en this day,
 That fills thee with such ecstacy and
 transport,
 To me brings nothing that should make
 me bless it,
 Or think it better than the day before,
 Or any other in the course of time,
 That duly took its turn and was forgotten.
 I will

I will prove, that on the marriage night she said, she would rather go to Newgate than to the embraces of her husband; and that day after day, and night after night, she spent her time in tears.

Mr. Erskine here made a number of very just observations on the aristocracy of the country. He said, these were the most extraordinary times that were ever recorded in history, when the whole habitable earth seemed to be in a state of change and fluctuation. This cause begot in him many reflections. He had heard much of the aristocracy of the country; he had heard much of rank and dignity, and long might he hear of it, for rank and station must always exist, in some shape or other. Would to God the nobles of the land would imitate a little more closely the example of their illustrious ancestors, and instead of going from the opera to the play, and from the play to Ranelagh or to a masquerade, they would attend their hospitable halls! let them, like their fathers, spread innumerable blessings among the lower orders of the people; let them set an example to others of genuine morals; let them pay some regard and attention to the affections of their children; let the nobles of England do this, and they would do more to preserve the country than all the informations and terrors of state enginery that could be decreed. The necessary effect would be, an illustrious race of nobles, vigorous in mind and pure in morals.

Such, he said, was the inveterate reluctance of this lady to Mr. Howard, that he was not allowed the privileges of a husband for months and months after the marriage. Her affection was irredeemably fixed upon another. What was the cause of Mr. Howard's uneasiness? According to

the plaintiff's case, it was the jealousy of Mr. Bingham. But what if it turned out on the other hand, that lord Fauconberg's family had seduced the wife of Mr. Bingham? for he said, he considered this lady as the wife of Mr. Bingham, and he could hardly consider himself in any other light than as a plaintiff in this cause.

Mr. Erskine said, he did not come there to reproach Mr. Howard, but to pity him, and he called on the jury to pity his client. He saw the woman of his heart fall into the hands of another. He went away a desponding man. His health declined. He went into the country to recruit it, and it appeared that for months and months he never saw this lady. The defendant was one of an illustrious family. He had sisters, one married into an illustrious family, and another yet to be married. Lord Lucan was a person of high rank. Mr. Bingham had no property, though he had some expectations. He was certain that Mr. Howard did not come into court for the purpose of taking a large sum of money out of the pockets of Mr. Bingham; and Mr. Erskine conceived it would not be very creditable to the jury to give to the plaintiff that which would be disgraceful in him to receive.

Mrs. Bishop was the first witness called on the part of the defendant. She said, she went into the family of lord Fauconberg about five weeks before the marriage of lady Elizabeth. She was lady Elizabeth's own woman. She remembered, that on the morning of her marriage she attended lady Elizabeth before she left her chamber. She cried very much, trembled exceedingly, and seemed very unhappy. She was young and very beautiful. Mr. Howard was nearly of her

her own age, a handsome accomplished young man. Lady Elizabeth said, "Mind you call me early in the morning." She called her ladyship about nine o'clock. She went into the room after Mr. Howard had left it. Lady Elizabeth was in bed. She threw her arms about the witness's neck, and cried very much, but did not speak. This unhappiness and shedding of tears continued for about a fortnight after the marriage. The family then returned to town, that her ladyship might be presented at court.

In general, Mr. Howard retired to rest before lady Elizabeth, who used to come home very late, at three, four, five, and six, o'clock in the morning. After she came home, she sometimes slept an hour in a chair, and the witness was forced to wake her and put her to bed. She recollected that lady Elizabeth once said, she would as soon go to Newgate as go to bed to her husband. Her ladyship was sometimes in very good spirits, and sometimes very dull. The witness once said something to lady Elizabeth about her wedding clothes. "Indeed," Polly, replied her ladyship, when "I had these clothes I never thought of marrying Mr. Howard." When the family was in Suffolk, and one of her ladyship's sisters was in the house, the witness recollected that lady Elizabeth left her husband's bed, and went to her sister's. The witness never saw nor heard any words between them: but lady Elizabeth was very unhappy at times. One day, after she had been at Kensington-gardens, her ladyship seemed to be very unhappy. The witness asked her what was the

matter? She replied, she had met Bingham in the gardens, and that he had turned up his nose at her.

Lord George Conway and Mr. Greville were called to prove that Mr. Bingham was acquainted with lady Elizabeth before her marriage with Mr. Howard, and that their regard and affection was mutual. They said, that after lady Elizabeth's marriage with Mr. Howard Mr. Bingham went to Bath, Cheltenham, &c. and that he did not see her for many months after her marriage.

Mr. Singleton said, he saw Mr. Howard and lady Elizabeth shortly after their marriage, and that she did not appear to be extremely fond of Mr. Howard. He saw reasons for Mr. Howard to be dissatisfied with the conduct of his lady. Mr. Howard told him he did not think that she was particularly attached to him, and that she would not allow him to use the privileges of a husband. This was about six weeks or two months after the marriage, and she had refused down to that time.

Charles Morris was next called.

Mr. Erskine said, he did not wish that any more evidence should come out, which was so distressing to every person nearly connected with the parties, and therefore he had no objection, if it was agreeable to Mr. Mingay, that the cause should stop here.

This being agreed to, the lord chief justice addressed the jury as follows:

"Gentlemen of the jury. The cause is now arrived at that period which calls for the discharge of a duty which peculiarly belongs to you, to ascertain the damages which the

the plaintiff comes to demand, and which justice requires for the injury he has received.

“ I had not been long on the seat of justice, before I felt I should best discharge my duty to the public, by making the law of the land subservient to the laws of morality and religion; and therefore, in various cases that have come before me, when I saw a considerable degree of guilt, I have pressed the judgment of juries to go along with me in enforcing the sanctions of religion and morality by the heavy penalties of the law; and I have found juries co-operate with me in trying how far the immorality of a libertine age would be corrected, by letting all parties know, that they best consulted their own interest by discharging those duties they owed to God and society.

“ Causes of this kind have very different complexions. Causes have come before me, where I have thought it incumbent on juries to discharge plaintiffs with small damages. Causes of this kind have come before me, where I have thought the very cause of action failed, and therefore the plaintiff has been nonsuited. There have also been causes of this sort where juries have given very large damages.

“ This cause has about it a character and complexion different from all I ever witnessed, different from all I have heard of in the history of the jurisprudence of this country. It is *emphatically* an unfortunate cause.

“ If I had found the defendant making use of the friendship of the plaintiff, entering his house, and obtaining the confidence of his wife; if I had found him using the liberty of access as the means of seduction, I should have thought no damages

put on the record too high for the plaintiff to receive at your hands. But this is not that case. To the plaintiff no imputation on earth belongs. He appears to have acted with the honour belonging to the most illustrious house of which he is so important a member. But at the moment he received this Lady's hand, he did not receive her affections. She was never seduced from his arms, because her affections were engaged from the beginning, and irredeemably fixed upon another.— To the defendant, for a great part of the time, I can impute no blame at all; he did that which was difficult for a young man; he seems to have bridled his passion for a considerable time; he retired with his friends, young men, branches of honourable families, to the country, to see whether absence might not wean his affections. Unfortunately for both, the absence was not of very long continuance; he returned to town—they saw each other. The half-extinguished flame was again lighted up, and the unfortunate consequence followed which you have heard.

“ It is for you, on this occasion, to ascertain the damages. The action complains of the loss of the comfort and society a man ought to receive in the married state. Unfortunately for the plaintiff, this comfort and society hardly ever began—but still he has a right to expect some damages. I should give damages, not merely nominal damages, but damages not to a very large amount. These damages will shew the sense you have of the immorality, for that is not to be defended. You will not give great damages which shall press a young man, who, it is clear, at one time

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of his life had weaned himself from the unfortunate snare the beauty and perfections of this lady had got him into. On these considerations, I shall leave the cause in your hands.—You will decide it better on your

own suggestions than on any observations I can make to you."

The jury immediately found a verdict for the plaintiff.—Damages *one thousand pounds.*

AVERAGE PRICES OF CORN DURING THE YEAR 1794.

		Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.		Beans.	
		s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
January	- -	6	0	4	1	2	7	4	10
February	- -	6	3	4	2	2	8	5	1
March	- -	6	4	4	2	2	9	5	2
April	- -	6	3	4	1	2	9	5	1
May	- -	6	4	4	0	2	9	5	0
June	- -	6	5	4	0	2	3	5	1
July	- -	6	5	3	11	2	9	5	1
August	- -	6	6	3	11	2	8	5	4
September	- -	6	4	3	11	2	8	5	4
October	- -	6	4	4	0	2	7	5	6
November	- -	6	8	4	2	2	8	5	7
December	- -	6	9	4	2	2	8	5	7
General Average		6	4½	4	0½	2	7¼	5	2½

Account of the quantity of corn imported into Great Britain, from foreign countries, with the amount of the duties collected thereon, in the year 1794.

	ENGLAND.					SCOTLAND.				
	Quantity.		Duty.			Quantity.		Duty.		
	qrs.	bush.	l.	s.	d.	qrs.	bush.	l.	s.	d.
Barley -	101,515	1	1,268	19	9	3,311	5	85	13	10½
Ditto (free)	1,298	0				1,713	6			
Beans -	88,053	0	1,209	7	11	313	5	4	5	11
Oats -	455,626	4	3,796	14	7	23,459	4	199	3	11½
Ditto (free)	43,242	0				420	0			
Oatmeal										
Ditto (free)										
Pease -	39,094	4	488	12	11	2	0	3	0	
Ditto (free)	340	2				296	1			
Rye -	18,464	0	230	14	11	1	2	1	7	6
Ditto (free)	1,705	4								
Rye meal										
Wheat -	101,196	7	3,687	7	10	16,300	4	2,089	0	8½
Ditto (free)	65,273	7				3,909	1			
Wheat flour	cwt. qrs. lb.					cwt. qrs. lb.				
	42	3	16			13	2	20		
Ditto (free)	5,184	3	4							
Indian corn	qrs. bush.									
	151	6	1	17	11					
Ditto (free)										
Buck wheat						qrs. bush.				
						8	0	4	5	10½
			10,686	10	2			2,385	17	8½

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Account of the quantity of corn imported into Great Britain, from Ireland, Guernsey, Jersey and Isle of Man, with the amount of the duties collected thereon, in the year 1794.

	ENGLAND.					SCOTLAND.				
	Quantity.		Duty.			Quantity.		Duty.		
	qrs.	bush.	l.	s.	d.	qrs.	bush.	l.	s.	d.
Barley -	15,757	0	196	19	3					
Ditto (free)	719	0				1,441	2			
Beans -	1,846	6	23	1	8					
Oats -	311,840	2	2,599	10	0	49,812	6	415	2	1½
Oatmeal -	3,104	17	28	8	5					
	bolts.	lb.								
Ditto (free)	7	61								
	qrs.	bush.								
Pease -	23	0		5	9					
Ditto (free)	33	0								
Rye - -	414	6	5	3	8					
Ditto (free)	311	4								
Wheat -	8,301	0	302	14	8					
Ditto (free)	250	0								
	cwts.	qrs.	lb.							
Wheat flour	924	3	11	88	11	7				
Ditto (free)	4,950	2	0							
			3,194	15	0			415	2	1½

Account

Account of the quantity of British corn exported from Great Britain to foreign parts, with the amount of the bounties paid thereon in the year 1794.

	ENGLAND.			SCOTLAND.		
	qrs.	bush.		qrs.	bush.	
Barley	366	1		27	4	
Beans				290	5	
Groats				37	2	
Malt	65	4		2,947	4	
Oats	11,598	2		1,037	5	
Oatmeal	cwt.	qrs.	lb.	cwt.	qrs.	lb.
	3,552	3	15	533	2	6
Pease	qrs.	bush.		qrs.	bush.	
	2,991	0		39	2	
Rye	497	4				
Wheat	11,667	1				
Wheat flour	cwt.	qrs.	lb.	cwt.	qrs.	lb.
	48,492	2	25	455	2	0

Bounties paid on British corn exported.

	l. s. d.		
England	5,078	7	2
Scotland	715	16	4

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Account of the quantity of British corn exported from Great Britain to Ireland, the Isles of Guernsey, Jersey, and Man, in the year 1794.

	ENGLAND.		SCOTLAND.			
	qrs.	bush.	qrs.	bush.		
Barley	1,662	6	100	0		
Oats	60	0				
	bolls.	lb.				
Oatmeal	87	56				
	qrs.	bush.				
Pease	32	0				
Wheat	7,096	7	576	4		
	cwt.	qrs.	lb.	cwt.	qrs.	lb.
Wheat flour	61,836	0	0	905	0	20
	qrs.	bush.				
Rye	21	3				
Malt	3,459	4				

Account of the quantity of foreign corn exported from Great Britain, to foreign parts, in the year 1794.

									qrs.	bush.	
Barley	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	775	0	
Oats	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	692	0	
Pease	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	217	2	
Rye	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	323	4	
Wheat	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	26,699	4	
									cwt.	qrs.	lb.
Wheat flour	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	23,441	3	5
									qrs.	bush.	
Indian corn	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,448	2	

Account of foreign corn exported to Ireland, Guernsey, Jersey, and Isle of Man, in the year 1794.

England	-	29,568 quarters 7 bushels of wheat.
Scotland	-	870 quarters of ditto.

Principal

Principal public acts passed in the fourth session of the seventeenth parliament of Great Britain.

Feb. 20.

Act for raising the sum of eleven millions by annuities.

Feb. 21.

Land-tax and malt-duty bills.

Marine mutiny bill.

American trade bill.

March 1.

Mutiny-bill.

An act for preventing money or effects, in the hands of his majesty's subjects, belonging to, or disposeable by, persons resident in France, being applied to the use of the persons exercising the powers of government in France, and for preserving the property thereof, for the benefit of the individual owners thereof.

An act for repealing the stamp-duties on gloves and mittens sold by retail.

An act for repealing the duties on the registry of burials, marriages, and christenings.

March 28.

An act for regulating the conveyance of letters by the penny-post.

An act for augmenting the militia.

April 17.

An act for encouraging and disciplining such corps, or companies of men, as shall voluntarily enrol themselves for the defence of their counties, towns, or coasts, or for the general defence of the kingdom, during the present war.

May 9.

An act to enable subjects of France to enlist as soldiers in regiments to serve on the continent of

Europe, and in certain other places and to enable his majesty to grant commissions to subjects of France to serve and receive pay as officers in such regiments, or as engineers, under certain restrictions.

May 23.

An act to enable his majesty to secure and detain such persons as his majesty shall suspect are conspiring against his person and government.

An act for the better observation of the Lord's day, by persons exercising the trade of bakers.

An act for better regulating the watermen on the Thames between Windsor and Gravesend.

June 11.

An act for the better management of the land revenues of the crown, and for the sale of fee farms and other unimprovable rents.

An act for the farther encouragement of the British mariners.

An act to prevent ships of war, and private ships or vessels of war taken as prizes, from the payment of duty.

The insolvent act.

July 7.

An act for more effectually preserving money or effects, in the hands of his majesty's subjects, belonging to, or disposeable by persons resident in France, for the benefit of the individual owners thereof.

An act, to continue an act of the last session of parliament, respecting aliens.

An act for regulating the militia of the city of London.

An act, to continue an act, regulating the shipping of slaves from the coast of Africa.

PRICES OF STOCK, FOR THE YEAR 1794.

N.B. The highest and lowest prices of each stock in the course of any month are put down in that month.

	Bank Stock.	3 pr. Ct. Reduced.	3 pr. Ct. Consol.	4 pr. Ct. Consol.	5 pr. Ct.	Long Ann.	Short Ann.	India Stock	India Bonds.	S. Sea Stock.	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Navy Bills.	Excheq. Bills.	Lottery Tickets.
Jan.	{ 167 ³ / ₈ 154 161 ¹ / ₂ 155 162 ¹ / ₂ 160	{ 73 67 ¹ / ₂ 69 ¹ / ₂ 66 ³ / ₈	{ 73 ³ / ₄ 66 ¹ / ₂ 65 ¹ / ₂ 65 ³ / ₈ 68 ¹ / ₂ 65 ¹ / ₂	{ 57 ¹ / ₂ 82 ⁵ / ₈ 85 82 ¹ / ₂ 83 ¹ / ₂ 82 ³ / ₄	{ 101 ¹ / ₂ 100 101 ³ / ₈ 100 102 ¹ / ₂ 106 ¹ / ₂	{ 21 ¹ / ₂ 19 ¹ / ₂ 20 ¹ / ₂ 19 ³ / ₈ 20 19 ³ / ₈	{ 9 ² / ₈ 9 ¹ / ₂ 9 ¹ / ₂ 9 ¹ / ₂ 9 ³ / ₈ 9 ¹ / ₂	{ 209 ¹ / ₂ 197 ¹ / ₂ 201 ¹ / ₂ 199 ¹ / ₂ 203 ¹ / ₂ 200 ¹ / ₂	{ 23 Pre. 3 dis. 19 Pre. 1 do. 19 15		{ 71 ¹ / ₂ 63 63 ¹ / ₂ 67 ¹ / ₂ 67 ¹ / ₂ 67	{ 65 ⁵ / ₈ 67 ⁷ / ₈ 69 ¹ / ₂ 68 ¹ / ₂ 65 ¹ / ₂ 68 ³ / ₄	{ 11 ¹ / ₂ 8 8 4 ¹ / ₂ 5 ¹ / ₂ 3 ¹ / ₂ 4	{ 12 4 12 Pre. 6 dis. 9 Pre. 3 do. 10 5 15 8 10 3 12 5 15 6	{ 16 7 6 16 1 0 16 13 6 16 5 0
Feb.	{ 169 ¹ / ₂ 161 168 ¹ / ₂ 169 ¹ / ₂ 169 ¹ / ₂ 169 ¹ / ₂	{ 71 ¹ / ₂ 69 ¹ / ₂ 71 69 ¹ / ₂ 69 ¹ / ₂ 69 ¹ / ₂	{ 71 ¹ / ₂ 67 ¹ / ₂ 67 ¹ / ₂ 67 ¹ / ₂ 67 ¹ / ₂ 67 ¹ / ₂	{ 84 ¹ / ₂ 85 ¹ / ₂ 84 ¹ / ₂ 85 ¹ / ₂ 84 ¹ / ₂ 84 ¹ / ₂	{ 100 ³ / ₈ 104 ¹ / ₂ 103 ¹ / ₈ 102 ¹ / ₂ 102 ¹ / ₂ 102 ¹ / ₂	{ 20 ¹ / ₂ 20 ¹ / ₂ 20 ¹ / ₂ 20 ¹ / ₂ 20 ¹ / ₂ 20 ¹ / ₂	{ 9 ¹ / ₂ 9 ¹ / ₂ 9 ¹ / ₂ 9 ¹ / ₂ 9 ¹ / ₂ 9 ¹ / ₂	{ 209 ¹ / ₂ 197 ¹ / ₂ 201 ¹ / ₂ 199 ¹ / ₂ 203 ¹ / ₂ 200 ¹ / ₂	{ 19 6 19 7 9 3	{ 73 ¹ / ₂ 75 ¹ / ₂ 75 ¹ / ₂ 76 ¹ / ₂ 73 ¹ / ₂ 69 ¹ / ₂	{ 68 70 ¹ / ₂ 70 ¹ / ₂ 70 ¹ / ₂ 66 ¹ / ₂ 66 ¹ / ₂	{ 1 ¹ / ₂ 1 ¹ / ₂ 1 ¹ / ₂ 2 ¹ / ₂ 1 ¹ / ₂ 2 ¹ / ₂	{ 15 8 10 3 12 5 15 6		
Mar.	{ 169 ¹ / ₂ 161 168 ¹ / ₂ 169 ¹ / ₂ 169 ¹ / ₂ 169 ¹ / ₂	{ 71 ¹ / ₂ 69 ¹ / ₂ 71 69 ¹ / ₂ 69 ¹ / ₂ 69 ¹ / ₂	{ 71 ¹ / ₂ 67 ¹ / ₂ 67 ¹ / ₂ 67 ¹ / ₂ 67 ¹ / ₂ 67 ¹ / ₂	{ 84 ¹ / ₂ 85 ¹ / ₂ 84 ¹ / ₂ 85 ¹ / ₂ 84 ¹ / ₂ 84 ¹ / ₂	{ 100 ³ / ₈ 104 ¹ / ₂ 103 ¹ / ₈ 102 ¹ / ₂ 102 ¹ / ₂ 102 ¹ / ₂	{ 20 ¹ / ₂ 20 ¹ / ₂ 20 ¹ / ₂ 20 ¹ / ₂ 20 ¹ / ₂ 20 ¹ / ₂	{ 9 ¹ / ₂ 9 ¹ / ₂ 9 ¹ / ₂ 9 ¹ / ₂ 9 ¹ / ₂ 9 ¹ / ₂	{ 209 ¹ / ₂ 197 ¹ / ₂ 201 ¹ / ₂ 199 ¹ / ₂ 203 ¹ / ₂ 200 ¹ / ₂	{ 19 6 19 7 9 3	{ 73 ¹ / ₂ 75 ¹ / ₂ 75 ¹ / ₂ 76 ¹ / ₂ 73 ¹ / ₂ 69 ¹ / ₂	{ 68 70 ¹ / ₂ 70 ¹ / ₂ 70 ¹ / ₂ 66 ¹ / ₂ 66 ¹ / ₂	{ 1 ¹ / ₂ 1 ¹ / ₂ 1 ¹ / ₂ 2 ¹ / ₂ 1 ¹ / ₂ 2 ¹ / ₂	{ 15 8 10 3 12 5 15 6		
Apr.	{ 169 ¹ / ₂ 161 168 ¹ / ₂ 169 ¹ / ₂ 169 ¹ / ₂ 169 ¹ / ₂	{ 71 ¹ / ₂ 69 ¹ / ₂ 71 69 ¹ / ₂ 69 ¹ / ₂ 69 ¹ / ₂	{ 71 ¹ / ₂ 67 ¹ / ₂ 67 ¹ / ₂ 67 ¹ / ₂ 67 ¹ / ₂ 67 ¹ / ₂	{ 84 ¹ / ₂ 85 ¹ / ₂ 84 ¹ / ₂ 85 ¹ / ₂ 84 ¹ / ₂ 84 ¹ / ₂	{ 100 ³ / ₈ 104 ¹ / ₂ 103 ¹ / ₈ 102 ¹ / ₂ 102 ¹ / ₂ 102 ¹ / ₂	{ 20 ¹ / ₂ 20 ¹ / ₂ 20 ¹ / ₂ 20 ¹ / ₂ 20 ¹ / ₂ 20 ¹ / ₂	{ 9 ¹ / ₂ 9 ¹ / ₂ 9 ¹ / ₂ 9 ¹ / ₂ 9 ¹ / ₂ 9 ¹ / ₂	{ 209 ¹ / ₂ 197 ¹ / ₂ 201 ¹ / ₂ 199 ¹ / ₂ 203 ¹ / ₂ 200 ¹ / ₂	{ 19 6 19 7 9 3	{ 73 ¹ / ₂ 75 ¹ / ₂ 75 ¹ / ₂ 76 ¹ / ₂ 73 ¹ / ₂ 69 ¹ / ₂	{ 68 70 ¹ / ₂ 70 ¹ / ₂ 70 ¹ / ₂ 66 ¹ / ₂ 66 ¹ / ₂	{ 1 ¹ / ₂ 1 ¹ / ₂ 1 ¹ / ₂ 2 ¹ / ₂ 1 ¹ / ₂ 2 ¹ / ₂	{ 15 8 10 3 12 5 15 6		
May	{ 169 ¹ / ₂ 161 168 ¹ / ₂ 169 ¹ / ₂ 169 ¹ / ₂ 169 ¹ / ₂	{ 71 ¹ / ₂ 69 ¹ / ₂ 71 69 ¹ / ₂ 69 ¹ / ₂ 69 ¹ / ₂	{ 71 ¹ / ₂ 67 ¹ / ₂ 67 ¹ / ₂ 67 ¹ / ₂ 67 ¹ / ₂ 67 ¹ / ₂	{ 84 ¹ / ₂ 85 ¹ / ₂ 84 ¹ / ₂ 85 ¹ / ₂ 84 ¹ / ₂ 84 ¹ / ₂	{ 100 ³ / ₈ 104 ¹ / ₂ 103 ¹ / ₈ 102 ¹ / ₂ 102 ¹ / ₂ 102 ¹ / ₂	{ 20 ¹ / ₂ 20 ¹ / ₂ 20 ¹ / ₂ 20 ¹ / ₂ 20 ¹ / ₂ 20 ¹ / ₂	{ 9 ¹ / ₂ 9 ¹ / ₂ 9 ¹ / ₂ 9 ¹ / ₂ 9 ¹ / ₂ 9 ¹ / ₂	{ 209 ¹ / ₂ 197 ¹ / ₂ 201 ¹ / ₂ 199 ¹ / ₂ 203 ¹ / ₂ 200 ¹ / ₂	{ 19 6 19 7 9 3	{ 73 ¹ / ₂ 75 ¹ / ₂ 75 ¹ / ₂ 76 ¹ / ₂ 73 ¹ / ₂ 69 ¹ / ₂	{ 68 70 ¹ / ₂ 70 ¹ / ₂ 70 ¹ / ₂ 66 ¹ / ₂ 66 ¹ / ₂	{ 1 ¹ / ₂ 1 ¹ / ₂ 1 ¹ / ₂ 2 ¹ / ₂ 1 ¹ / ₂ 2 ¹ / ₂	{ 15 8 10 3 12 5 15 6		
June	{ 169 ¹ / ₂ 161 168 ¹ / ₂ 169 ¹ / ₂ 169 ¹ / ₂ 169 ¹ / ₂	{ 71 ¹ / ₂ 69 ¹ / ₂ 71 69 ¹ / ₂ 69 ¹ / ₂ 69 ¹ / ₂	{ 71 ¹ / ₂ 67 ¹ / ₂ 67 ¹ / ₂ 67 ¹ / ₂ 67 ¹ / ₂ 67 ¹ / ₂	{ 84 ¹ / ₂ 85 ¹ / ₂ 84 ¹ / ₂ 85 ¹ / ₂ 84 ¹ / ₂ 84 ¹ / ₂	{ 100 ³ / ₈ 104 ¹ / ₂ 103 ¹ / ₈ 102 ¹ / ₂ 102 ¹ / ₂ 102 ¹ / ₂	{ 20 ¹ / ₂ 20 ¹ / ₂ 20 ¹ / ₂ 20 ¹ / ₂ 20 ¹ / ₂ 20 ¹ / ₂	{ 9 ¹ / ₂ 9 ¹ / ₂ 9 ¹ / ₂ 9 ¹ / ₂ 9 ¹ / ₂ 9 ¹ / ₂	{ 209 ¹ / ₂ 197 ¹ / ₂ 201 ¹ / ₂ 199 ¹ / ₂ 203 ¹ / ₂ 200 ¹ / ₂	{ 19 6 19 7 9 3	{ 73 ¹ / ₂ 75 ¹ / ₂ 75 ¹ / ₂ 76 ¹ / ₂ 73 ¹ / ₂ 69 ¹ / ₂	{ 68 70 ¹ / ₂ 70 ¹ / ₂ 70 ¹ / ₂ 66 ¹ / ₂ 66 ¹ / ₂	{ 1 ¹ / ₂ 1 ¹ / ₂ 1 ¹ / ₂ 2 ¹ / ₂ 1 ¹ / ₂ 2 ¹ / ₂	{ 15 8 10 3 12 5 15 6		
July	{ 169 ¹ / ₂ 161 168 ¹ / ₂ 169 ¹ / ₂ 169 ¹ / ₂ 169 ¹ / ₂	{ 71 ¹ / ₂ 69 ¹ / ₂ 71 69 ¹ / ₂ 69 ¹ / ₂ 69 ¹ / ₂	{ 71 ¹ / ₂ 67 ¹ / ₂ 67 ¹ / ₂ 67 ¹ / ₂ 67 ¹ / ₂ 67 ¹ / ₂	{ 84 ¹ / ₂ 85 ¹ / ₂ 84 ¹ / ₂ 85 ¹ / ₂ 84 ¹ / ₂ 84 ¹ / ₂	{ 100 ³ / ₈ 104 ¹ / ₂ 103 ¹ / ₈ 102 ¹ / ₂ 102 ¹ / ₂ 102 ¹ / ₂	{ 20 ¹ / ₂ 20 ¹ / ₂ 20 ¹ / ₂ 20 ¹ / ₂ 20 ¹ / ₂ 20 ¹ / ₂	{ 9 ¹ / ₂ 9 ¹ / ₂ 9 ¹ / ₂ 9 ¹ / ₂ 9 ¹ / ₂ 9 ¹ / ₂	{ 209 ¹ / ₂ 197 ¹ / ₂ 201 ¹ / ₂ 199 ¹ / ₂ 203 ¹ / ₂ 200 ¹ / ₂	{ 19 6 19 7 9 3	{ 73 ¹ / ₂ 75 ¹ / ₂ 75 ¹ / ₂ 76 ¹ / ₂ 73 ¹ / ₂ 69 ¹ / ₂	{ 68 70 ¹ / ₂ 70 ¹ / ₂ 70 ¹ / ₂ 66 ¹ / ₂ 66 ¹ / ₂	{ 1 ¹ / ₂ 1 ¹ / ₂ 1 ¹ / ₂ 2 ¹ / ₂ 1 ¹ / ₂ 2 ¹ / ₂	{ 15 8 10 3 12 5 15 6		
Aug.	{ 169 ¹ / ₂ 161 168 ¹ / ₂ 169 ¹ / ₂ 169 ¹ / ₂ 169 ¹ / ₂	{ 71 ¹ / ₂ 69 ¹ / ₂ 71 69 ¹ / ₂ 69 ¹ / ₂ 69 ¹ / ₂	{ 71 ¹ / ₂ 67 ¹ / ₂ 67 ¹ / ₂ 67 ¹ / ₂ 67 ¹ / ₂ 67 ¹ / ₂	{ 84 ¹ / ₂ 85 ¹ / ₂ 84 ¹ / ₂ 85 ¹ / ₂ 84 ¹ / ₂ 84 ¹ / ₂	{ 100 ³ / ₈ 104 ¹ / ₂ 103 ¹ / ₈ 102 ¹ / ₂ 102 ¹ / ₂ 102 ¹ / ₂	{ 20 ¹ / ₂ 20 ¹ / ₂ 20 ¹ / ₂ 20 ¹ / ₂ 20 ¹ / ₂ 20 ¹ / ₂	{ 9 ¹ / ₂ 9 ¹ / ₂ 9 ¹ / ₂ 9 ¹ / ₂ 9 ¹ / ₂ 9 ¹ / ₂	{ 209 ¹ / ₂ 197 ¹ / ₂ 201 ¹ / ₂ 199 ¹ / ₂ 203 ¹ / ₂ 200 ¹ / ₂	{ 19 6 19 7 9 3	{ 73 ¹ / ₂ 75 ¹ / ₂ 75 ¹ / ₂ 76 ¹ / ₂ 73 ¹ / ₂ 69 ¹ / ₂	{ 68 70 ¹ / ₂ 70 ¹ / ₂ 70 ¹ / ₂ 66 ¹ / ₂ 66 ¹ / ₂	{ 1 ¹ / ₂ 1 ¹ / ₂ 1 ¹ / ₂ 2 ¹ / ₂ 1 ¹ / ₂ 2 ¹ / ₂	{ 15 8 10 3 12 5 15 6		
Sept.	{ 169 ¹ / ₂ 161 168 ¹ / ₂ 169 ¹ / ₂ 169 ¹ / ₂ 169 ¹ / ₂	{ 71 ¹ / ₂ 69 ¹ / ₂ 71 69 ¹ / ₂ 69 ¹ / ₂ 69 ¹ / ₂	{ 71 ¹ / ₂ 67 ¹ / ₂ 67 ¹ / ₂ 67 ¹ / ₂ 67 ¹ / ₂ 67 ¹ / ₂	{ 84 ¹ / ₂ 85 ¹ / ₂ 84 ¹ / ₂ 85 ¹ / ₂ 84 ¹ / ₂ 84 ¹ / ₂	{ 100 ³ / ₈ 104 ¹ / ₂ 103 ¹ / ₈ 102 ¹ / ₂ 102 ¹ / ₂ 102 ¹ / ₂	{ 20 ¹ / ₂ 20 ¹ / ₂ 20 ¹ / ₂ 20 ¹ / ₂ 20 ¹ / ₂ 20 ¹ / ₂	{ 9 ¹ / ₂ 9 ¹ / ₂ 9 ¹ / ₂ 9 ¹ / ₂ 9 ¹ / ₂ 9 ¹ / ₂	{ 209 ¹ / ₂ 197 ¹ / ₂ 201 ¹ / ₂ 199 ¹ / ₂ 203 ¹ / ₂ 200 ¹ / ₂	{ 19 6 19 7 9 3	{ 73 ¹ / ₂ 75 ¹ / ₂ 75 ¹ / ₂ 76 ¹ / ₂ 73 ¹ / ₂ 69 ¹ / ₂	{ 68 70 ¹ / ₂ 70 ¹ / ₂ 70 ¹ / ₂ 66 ¹ / ₂ 66 ¹ / ₂	{ 1 ¹ / ₂ 1 ¹ / ₂ 1 ¹ / ₂ 2 ¹ / ₂ 1 ¹ / ₂ 2 ¹ / ₂	{ 15 8 10 3 12 5 15 6		
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STATE PAPERS.

*His majesty's speech from the throne
to both houses of parliament, Jan.
21, 1794.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE circumstances under which you are now assembled require your most serious attention.

We are engaged in a contest, on the issue of which depend the maintenance of our constitution, laws, and religion; and the security of all civil society.

You must have observed, with satisfaction, the advantages which have been obtained by the arms of the allied powers, and the change which has taken place in the general situation of Europe since the commencement of the war. The United Provinces have been protected from invasion; the Austrian Netherlands have been recovered and maintained; and places of considerable importance have been acquired on the frontiers of France. The re-capture of Mentz, and the subsequent successes of the allied armies on the Rhine have, notwithstanding the advantages recently obtained by the enemy in that quarter, proved highly beneficial to the common cause. Powerful efforts have been made by my allies in the south of Europe; the temporary possession of the town and port of

Toulon has greatly distressed the operations of my enemies; and in the circumstances attending the evacuation of that place, an important and decisive blow has been given to their naval power, by the distinguished conduct, abilities, and spirit of my commanders, officers, and forces, both by sea and land.

The French have been driven from their possessions and fishery at Newfoundland, and important and valuable acquisitions have been made both in the East and West Indies.

At sea our superiority has been undisputed, and our commerce so effectually protected, that the losses sustained have been inconsiderable, in proportion to its extent, and to the captures made on the contracted trade of the enemy.

The circumstances by which the farther progress of the allies has hitherto been impeded, not only prove the necessity of vigour and perseverance on our part, but, at the same time, confirm the expectation of ultimate success.

Our enemies have derived the means of temporary exertion, from a system which has enabled them to dispose arbitrarily of the lives and property of a numerous people, and which openly violates every restraint

restraint of justice, humanity, and religion: but these efforts, productive as they necessarily have been of internal discontent and confusion in France, have also tended rapidly to exhaust the natural and real strength of that country.

Although I cannot but regret the necessary continuance of the war, I should ill consult the essential interests of my people, if I were desirous of peace on any grounds but such as may provide for their permanent safety, and for the independence and security of Europe. The attainment of these ends is still obstructed by the prevalence of a system in France, equally incompatible with the happiness of that country, and with the tranquillity of all other nations.

Under this impression, I thought proper to make a declaration of the views and principles by which I am guided. I have ordered a copy of this declaration to be laid before you, together with copies of several conventions and treaties with different powers, by which you will perceive how large a part of Europe is united in a cause of such general concern.

I reflect with unspeakable satisfaction on the steady loyalty and firm attachment to the established constitution and government, which, notwithstanding the continued efforts employed to mislead and to seduce, have been so generally prevalent among all ranks of my people. These sentiments have been eminently manifested in the zeal and alacrity of the militia to provide for our internal defence, and in the distinguished bravery and spirit displayed on every occasion by my forces both by sea and land: they have maintained the lustre of

the British name, and have shewn themselves worthy of the blessings which it is the object of all our exertions to preserve.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered the necessary estimates and accounts to be laid before you, and I am persuaded you will be ready to make such provision as the exigencies of the time may require. I feel too sensibly the repeated proofs which I have received of the affection of my subjects, not to lament the necessity of any additional burdens. It is, however, a great consolation to me to observe the favourable state of the revenue, and the complete success of the measure which was last year adopted for removing the embarrassments affecting commercial credit.

Great as must be the extent of our exertions, I trust you will be enabled to provide for them in such a manner, as to avoid any pressure which could be severely felt by my people.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

In all your deliberations, you will undoubtedly bear in my mind the true grounds and origin of the war.

An attack was made on us, and on our allies, founded on principles which tend to destroy all property, to subvert the laws and religion of every civilized nation, and to introduce universally that wild and destructive system of rapine, anarchy, and impiety, the effects of which, as they have already been manifested in France, furnish a dreadful but useful lesson to the present age and to posterity.

It only remains for us to persevere in our united exertions; their discontinuance or relaxation could hardly procure even a short interval of delusive repose, and could never terminate in security or peace. Impressed with the necessity of defending all that is most dear to us, and relying, as we may, with confidence, on the valour and resources of the nation, on the combined efforts of so large a part of Europe, and, above all, on the incontestable justice of our cause, let us render our conduct a contrast to that of our enemies, and, by cultivating and practising the principles of humanity, and the duties of religion, endeavour to merit the continuance of the Divine favour and protection which have been so eminently experienced by these kingdoms.

Message from his majesty, to the house of commons, January 27, 1794.

George R.

HIS majesty thinks it proper to acquaint the house of commons, that a corps of Hessian troops taken into the pay of Great Britain, to be employed on foreign service, having been brought to the appointed place of rendezvous, off the Isle of Wight, his majesty has found it necessary, with a view to the preventing any sickness taking place among the said troops from their continuance on board of the transports, to order them to be disembarked, and to be stationed, for the present, on the Isle of White, at Portsmouth, and at places adjacent.

G. R.

Protest of earl Stanhope, upon the rejection of the earl of Albemarle's motion (on the 21st of February, 1794) to censure the introducing of foreign troops into this country without the previous consent of parliament.

Dissentient.

1. **B**ECAUSE "It is contrary to law for the crown to keep an army in this kingdom, either in time of peace or in time of war, without the previous consent of parliament;" and it is essential, that this important constitutional principle (which was unequivocally admitted in the debate) should be for ever maintained inviolate in this country. And the friends of public liberty ought ever to bear in memory the admirable vote of the house of commons, on the 5th day of May, 1641, when it was resolved, "That this house doth declare, that whosoever shall give council or assistance, or join in any manner, to bring any foreign force into the kingdom, unless it be by command of his majesty, with the consent of both houses in parliament, shall be adjudged and reputed a public enemy to the king and kingdom."

2. Because the annual mutiny-bill is a proof that the crown cannot perpetuate or assume a prerogative which parliament annually bestows, nor exercise, at its own discretion, that power which the legislature specially limits.

3. Because it is a most dangerous doctrine, that the crown has a right (by virtue of an "undefined prerogative,") to do any act which is not warranted, either by common, or by statute law, under the frivolous pretence of its appearing to ministers

to

to be useful. And the supineness of parliament, in the reign of king James the Second, when so many acts, notoriously illegal, were committed by the crown, and yet passed unnoticed by the two houses, clearly proves, that, from the want of vigilance in certain parliaments, precedents may be established, subversive of the first principles of national freedom.

4. Because the maintaining of a foreign army on the establishment, or within the territory of this kingdom, is in open defiance of the very act of parliament which settles the crown on the present royal family (namely, the 12th and 13th of William III. chap. the 2d.) which expressly enacts, "That no person born out of the kingdoms of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or the dominions thereunto belonging (although he be naturalized, or made a denizen, except such as are born of English parents) shall be capable to enjoy any office or place of trust, either civil or military." And the act of the 29th George II. chap. the 5th, is a proof that the legislature deemed a special act of parliament necessary, to enable the king to employ even a limited number of subaltern foreign officers in America, only under certain restrictions and qualifications.

5. Because "foreign mercenaries have always been useless, or dangerous to those who employ them. Their conduct, at first, has generally been peaceable and ensnaring; at last, seditious and destructive; and those states that have carried the points which they intended, by their assistance, have usually in the event been enslaved by them."

And 6th. Because a prerogative

in the executive power, to introduce any number, without limit, of armed men foreign hirelings into any country, without the previous and express consent of the legislature, is totally incompatible with any form of a free constitution; for, not only that government is tyrannical, which is actually tyrannically administered, but that government also is tyrannical (however administered) where there is no sufficient security against its being tyrannically administered in future. And I solemnly protest against a measure which tends to endanger the rights and liberties of my fellow-citizens, of whom I consider myself only as a trustee.

STANHOPE.

Protest of earl Radnor against the rejection of the Indemnity Bill, for the landing of troops in this kingdom without the consent of parliament; which was moved by the earl of Albemarle.

1. **B**ECAUSE, with the exception of only one noble lord, not one of his majesty's ministers, it was in the debate unanimously admitted; that the keeping in this country troops, whether native or foreign, in time either of war or peace, without the consent of parliament, is unconstitutional. And as it was also admitted, unanimously and unequivocally, that the troops in question are here upon grounds of fitness and expediency; and as the consideration of fitness and expediency, though they render, and in fact in the present instance do render, not only justifiable, but highly meritorious, do in no degree so change the nature as to make it more or less constitutional.

2. This

2. This bill, though of a nature to be very sparingly adopted, yet was of particular propriety; for in a matter of great moment, it declared the law, saved the constitution, and did justice to the motives of the executive government.

3. Because the stopping of this bill leaves the troops here, without any consent of parliament.

4. Because the effect of the declarations, by which the right of the crown so to keep troops here was disclaimed, however strong, general, and unequivocal, is yet transitory and fugitive; but the fact that troops are so here, is notorious and recorded; and when the motives which justified, and the declarations that reconciled to the house the measure, are forgotten, may be turned into precedent.

RADNOR.

Message from his majesty, to the house of commons, March 25.

George R.

HIS majesty thinks it proper to acquaint the house of commons, that for the purpose of more effectually guarding against any attempt which may be made, on the part of the enemy, to execute their professed design of invading the kingdom, his majesty has ordered a farther augmentation of his land forces, the estimate for which he has directed to be laid before the house. It is also his majesty's intention to take measures in order to be able, in case of emergency, to assemble speedily a large additional force in any part of the kingdom where it may become necessary: and his majesty relies, with confidence, on the cordial and effectual

support of parliament, and on the zealous and spirited exertions of his people, in carrying into execution such measures as may be requisite for the general security.

G. R.

Message from his majesty, to the house of commons, April 28.

George R.

HIS majesty has ordered copies of a treaty; which has been signed at the Hague, by the plenipotentiaries of his majesty and the states general of the united provinces on the one part, and by the plenipotentiary of the king of Prussia on the other part; and likewise of a convention agreed upon between the respective plenipotentiaries of his majesty and the states general, to be laid before the house: and his majesty, relying on the zealous and affectionate support of his faithful commons, in the vigorous prosecution of the war in which he is engaged, recommends it to this house to consider of making provision towards enabling his majesty to fulfil the engagements which his majesty has entered into, as well as to defray any extraordinary expenses which may be incurred for the service of the present year, and to take such measures as the exigency of affairs may require.

G. R.

Message from his majesty, to the house of commons, May 12.

George R.

HIS Majesty having received information, that the seditious practices

practices which have been for some time carried on by certain societies in London, in correspondence with societies in different parts of the country, have lately been pursued with increased activity and boldness, and have been avowedly directed to the object of assembling a pretended general convention of the people, in contempt and defiance of the authority of parliament, and on principles subversive of the existing laws and constitution, and directly tending to the introduction of that system of anarchy and confusion which has fatally prevailed in France, has given directions for seizing the books and papers of the said societies in London, which have been seized accordingly; and these books and papers appearing to contain matter of the greatest importance to the public interest, his majesty has given orders for laying them before the house of commons; and his majesty recommends it to the house to consider the same, and to take such measures thereupon as may appear to be necessary for effectually guarding against the farther prosecution of those dangerous designs, and for preserving to his majesty's subjects the enjoyment of the blessings derived to them by the constitution happily established in these kingdoms.

G. R.

Protest against the first reading of the bill for suspending the habeas corpus act, May 22.

Dissentient.

BECAUSE I abhor the idea of establishing a dangerous and unconstitutional system of *lettres of cachet* in this country.

STANHOPE.

Protest against the passing of the act for suspending the Habeas Corpus act, May 22.

Dissentient.

1. **B**ECAUSE no evidence has been laid before us, that this kingdom is at present in those circumstances of imminent danger and imperious necessity which alone, in our opinion, would justify even the temporary surrender of that sacred fundamental law which is the sole guardian of the personal liberty and security of our fellow-subjects. None of these circumstances, either of foreign invasion or of domestic insurrection, or of formidable conspiracy, now exist which induced our ancestors to commit their liberties to the perilous guardianship of a despotical authority. Instead of such an unequivocal public danger, which silences all deliberations and over-rules all laws, we are now required to vest an arbitrary power in his majesty's ministers upon the authority of a detail of the offences of individuals or societies, whose strength and numbers are not proved to our apprehension to be such as would justify such a measure as the present, especially as the ordinary operation of the law is sufficient to check the spirit which is supposed to prevail. One of the worst effects of the conduct of these societies is their having operated as the instrument for former artificial panics, and as a pretext for former measures, in our opinion the most hazardous and pernicious. They continued the same conduct without injury experienced by the public, without accession of strength, without the proof of any change in their systems or designs. We cannot therefore without betraying the trust reposed in us, consent to resign the liberties

of

of all our fellow-subjects to the discretion of the servants of the crown, on no better ground than that of a catalogue of offences which have been long notorious to the whole kingdom.

2. Because even the proof that some individuals entertain those desperate designs which have been ascribed to them would not, in our opinion, form any justification of the present measure. From the revolution to the complete defeat of the pretensions of the house of Stuart the wisdom of our ancestors did not deem the existence of a zealous, powerful, and indefatigable, jacobite party a sufficient reason, without overt acts of rebellion, or actual existing conspiracy, for subjecting the personal liberty of the whole kingdom to the will of ministers. Miserable, indeed, and precarious is our condition, if, at the pleasure of a handful of visionaries and incendiaries (characters which every age produces and disguises, which the agents of every government may assume) our liberties are to be laid under a legal interdict, and ministers are to be vested with an arbitrary power over the persons of all the freemen of this realm.

3. Because, even if the danger had been as real and imminent as is pretended, it might have been provided against by measures far less odious than that of depriving the subject of those rights of personal security which distinguishes the British constitution beyond any other free government ancient or modern, and changing it for the time from a government of law to a government of will: One expedient, comparatively more moderate, is obvious, namely, to put the law

respecting bail for misdemeanors which affect the state for a limited time on the same footing with bail in cases of treason.

4. Because this bill appears to us under a still more melancholy and alarming aspect, when we combine it with declarations which have been made by considerable persons during the dependence of this bill. Even this, the utmost extremity to which our ancestors were ever driven, by the pressure of the greatest danger, is but the prelude to a system of measures (if possible) still more violent and arbitrary. These menaces too forcibly illustrated by some past measures, in our opinion of a rigour equally impolitic and odious, fill us with the most melancholy apprehensions that designs are entertained by a progressive series of encroachments, to annihilate all the rights of Englishmen, and to extinguish all the free principles of the British constitution.

5. Because the precipitation with which this bill has been hurried through the house is both indecent in itself, and directly repugnant to two standing orders of this house, one of the 28th of June, 1715, and the other of the 28th April, 1699, standing orders, which insure to this house the advantages of mature deliberation, and to the subject the invaluable privilege of petitioning against measures which, like the present, are subversive of his fundamental rights.

ALBEMARLE.
BEDFORD.
LAUDERDALE.
DERBY.

His

His majesty's speech to the houses of lords and commons, on closing the session, July 11.

My lords and gentlemen,

THE state of public business enables me to close this session of parliament, in doing which I have again to acknowledge that assiduity and zeal for the interests of my people, of which you had before given me so many proofs, and which have been so particularly manifested in the present year.

I am persuaded that you entertain too just a sense of the nature and importance of the contest in which we are engaged, to suffer your zeal to be abated, or your perseverance shaken, by the recent successes of the enemy in the Netherlands.

In a moment which so strongly calls for energy and vigour, it is peculiarly gratifying to me to reflect on the uniform skill and bravery of my fleets and armies, the undaunted spirit and unwearied exertions of my officers and troops in every situation, and the general public spirit of my people, which have never at any period been more conspicuous.

I have observed with the highest satisfaction the rapid and valuable acquisitions made in the East and West Indies, the successful operations which have been carried on in the Mediterranean, and the brilliant and decisive victory obtained by my fleet under the command of earl Howe, an event which must ever be remembered as one of the most glorious in the naval history of this country.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I return you my warmest thanks
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for the cheerfulness and liberality with which you have granted the large supplies which were necessary for the service of the year, and for the maintenance of a cause equally important to the security and happiness of every class of my subjects.

My lords and gentlemen,

I feel it incumbent on me particularly to acknowledge your diligence in the investigation of the designs which had been formed against the government and constitution of these kingdoms, and to thank you for the confidence you have reposed in me on this occasion. It will be a principal object of my attention to make a vigorous and prudent use of the additional powers vested in me for the protection and security of my people; and relying, as I do, with the utmost confidence, on the uniform loyalty and public spirit of the great body of my subjects, I have no doubt of speedily and effectually repressing every attempt to disturb the public peace, and of defeating the wicked designs which have been in agitation.

It must not however be forgotten, that these designs against our domestic happiness, are essentially connected with the system now prevailing in France, of which the principles and spirit are irreconcilably hostile to all regular and established government: and that we are therefore called upon by every consideration of our own internal safety to continue our efforts, in conjunction with my allies, and to persevere with increased vigour and exertion in a contest, from the successful termination of which we can alone expect to establish on a solid and permanent foundation, the future

future security and tranquillity either of this country, or of the other nations of Europe.

Protest of Earl Stanhope, on the rejection of his motion to delay the transportation of Mr. Muir.

Dissentient,

1. **BECAUSE** the attending to the due administration of justice, and the watching over the conduct of the various courts in this kingdom, is one of the most important branches of the business of this house, and is at all times also one of its most essential duties.

2. Because it obviously appears to be proper to examine into the justice and legality of a sentence, before it is executed, and not to permit it to be executed first, and then to examine into its justice and legality afterwards.

3. Because, for want of such timely interference on the part of this house, it has formerly happened, that within a short time no less than four unjust and illegal judgments were actually carried into execution, as appears from the respective attainders of the innocent sufferers having been afterwards reversed and made void (when it was too late), by four acts of parliament made and passed in the first year of the reign of their late majesties King William and Queen Mary, namely, in the cases of alderman Cornish, Alice Lisle, Algeaon Sydney, and lord Russell.

4. Because it is contrary to the first and immutable principles of natural justice, that any thing to the prejudice of a defendant should be brought before a jury in a criminal

prosecution, that is, only collateral, not in issue, nor necessary in the conclusion.

5. Because it is not (nor ought to be) competent for the prosecutor to produce any evidence to support any matter that is not charged in the indictment; that is to say, distinctly and precisely charged, and not by mere epithets or general words, such as oppression, sedition, vexation, or the like.

6. Because in like manner it is not (nor ought to be) competent for a prosecutor to produce any evidence to prove any crime to have been committed by a defendant, in any other particular place than that wherein it is in the indictment expressly charged to have been committed.

7. Because no such proceedings as those above stated, nor any of them, can be justified under pretence that "if it had been necessary to specify in the indictment all the facts against the defendant, the indictment would have covered, by its magnitude, the walls of the court." And,

8. Because in one year of the trial of Warren Hastings, esquire, namely, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety, there were no less than four decisions of the house of lords upon this subject, viz. on the twenty-fifth day of February, when the lords resolved, "That the managers for the commons be not admitted to give evidence of the unfitness of Kellaram for the appointment of being a steward of certain lands in the province of Bihary; the fact of such unfitness of the said Kellaram not being charged in the impeachment."

And again on the 14th day of May, when the lords decided,

"That

That it is not competent to the managers for the commons to put the following question to the witness upon the seventh article of charge, viz: Whether more oppressions did actually exist under the new institution, than under the old?

And again on the 11th day of May, when the house of lords resolved,

That it is not competent to the managers for the commons to give evidence of the enormities actually committed by Deby Sing, the same not being charged in the impeachment.

And again on the 2d day of June, when the lords resolved,

That it is not competent for the managers, on the part of the commons, to give any evidence upon the seventh article of the impeachment, to prove that the letter of the 5th of May, 1781, is false, in any other particular than that wherein it is expressly charged to be false.

The said decisions of the house of lords are founded upon principles not peculiar to trials by impeachment. They are founded upon common sense, and on the immutable principles of justice. In Scotland those principles are peculiarly necessary to be adhered to, inasmuch as by the laws of that part of the kingdom, a defendant is obliged to produce a complete list of all his witnesses in exculpation the day before the trial. That alone appears to me a considerable hardship. But if, after such list is actually delivered in by the defendant, any facts (or supposed facts) not particularly set forth as crimes in the indictment, may on the following day for the first time,

and without notice, be suddenly brought out in evidence upon the trial against the defendant; such defendant from such an entrapping mode of trial may be convicted, although innocent. Such proceedings (whether supported or unsupported by any old Scotch statute passed in arbitrary times) ought, I conceive, to be revised. For, in a free country, there ought not to be one mode of administering justice to one man, namely, to Mr. Hastings, and an opposite mode of administering justice to another man, namely, to Mr. Muir.

STANHOPE.

Protest against the rejection of the motion for declaring the object of the war.

Dissentient,

1. **B**ECAUSE it appears to us, that it would have been highly becoming and expedient for this house, as leading to the great and invaluable blessing of peace, at this time to have resolved, that it appears to this house, that during the several changes which took place in the constitution and government of France before the commencement of hostilities, and more particularly after the events of the 10th of August, 1792, when his majesty was advised by his ministers to suspend all official communications with France, it was and continued to be the professed principle and policy of his majesty's government carefully to observe a strict neutrality, and uniformly to abstain from any interference with respect to the internal affairs of France; that when his majesty was advised to make a further augmentation of

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his

his forces by sea and land, at the beginning of last year, it was for the declared purpose of opposing views of aggrandizement and ambition on the part of France; and that when his majesty acquainted parliament that acts of hostility had been directed by the government of France against his majesty's subjects, and after war had been declared against his majesty and the united provinces, the then avowed object of prosecuting the war on our part, was to oppose the farther views of aggrandizement imputed to France, and that the prosecution of the war on this ground, and for the attainment of this object, was approved by both houses of parliament.

2. Because it would have been equally becoming and expedient in this house as tending to the same desirable object of peace, at this time to have declared, in conformity to the other resolutions, opened, discussed, and submitted to its consideration.

That, at or before the end of April, 1793, the armies of France were obliged to evacuate Holland and Flanders, and to retire within their own territory; and that the prince of Cobourg, commander-in-chief of the emperor's forces in Flanders, did, on the 5th of April, engage and declare that he would join and co-operate with general Dumourier to give to France her constitutional king, and the constitution which she had formed for herself; and that the prince of Cobourg did also then declare, on his word of honour, that if any strong places should be delivered over to his troops, he should consider them nootherwise than as sacred deposits; and that, on the 9th of the same month, all the preceding declara-

tions of the prince of Cobourg were revoked.

That, by the 15th article of the treaty concluded with the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, on the 10th of April, 1793, his majesty's ministers were of opinion that *the situation of affairs had then entirely changed its aspect*, in consequence of which his majesty might not have occasion for the Hessian troops, and might be at liberty to relinquish their service on certain conditions of compensation to be made to the landgrave.

That, on the 14th of July, 1793, a convention was concluded between his majesty and the king of Prussia, in which their majesties reciprocally promised to continue to employ their respective forces, as far as their circumstances would permit in carrying on a war equally just and necessary.

That on the 23d of August, 1793, lord Hood declared to the people of Toulon, that he had no other view but that of *restoring peace* to a great nation, upon the most just, liberal, and honourable terms: that the inhabitants of Toulon did in return declare, that it was their unanimous wish to adopt a monarchical government, such as it was originally formed by the constituent assembly in 1789; and that lord Hood, by his proclamation of 28th August, accepted of that declaration, and did then repeat what he had already declared to the people of the south of France, that he took possession of Toulon, and held it in trust only for Lewis the Seventeenth.

That the constitution, to which the declaration and acceptance herein immediately before stated was the same which his majesty's ambassador at the Hague did, in a memorial presented

presented to the states general on the 25th of January, 1793, describe in the following terms, viz. "It is not quite four years since certain miscreants, assuming the name of philosophers, have presumed to think themselves capable of establishing a new system of civil society; in order to realize this dream, the offspring of vanity, it became necessary for them to overturn and destroy all established notions of subordination of morals and of religion;" and that this description was applied by the said ambassador to a government with which his majesty continued to treat and negotiate from its institution in 1789, to its dissolution in August, 1792; and that his majesty's ambassador was not recalled from Paris, until that government was dissolved.

That, by the declaration made by his majesty's ministers, and dated on the 29th of October, 1793, "that his majesty only demands of France that some legitimate and stable government should be established, founded upon the acknowledged principles of universal justice, and capable of maintaining, with other powers, the accustomed relations of union and peace; and that his majesty, in treating for the re-establishment of general tranquillity with such a government, "would propose none other than equitable and moderate conditions, not such as the expences, the risks, and the sacrifices of the war might justify;" and that his majesty hoped to find, in the other powers engaged with him in the *commune cause*, sentiments and views perfectly conformable to his own.

That at the commencement of the war, the prosecution of it was considered by his majesty as a cause of

general concern, in which his majesty had every reason to hope for the cordial co-operation of those powers who were united to his majesty, by the ties of alliance, and who felt an interest in the same cause.

That in the prosecution of a war considered by his majesty as a *cause of general concern* and as a *common cause*, his majesty has not received that cordial co-operation, which we were led to expect from those powers, and who were united with him by the ties of alliance, and who were supposed to feel an interest in the same cause.

That, on a review of the conduct of the several powers of Europe, from whom, if the cause was *common*, and if the concern was *general*, such cordial co-operation might have been expected; that many of those powers have not co-operated with his majesty; that the empress of Russia has not contributed, in any shape, to the support of this common cause; that the crowns of Sweden and Denmark have united to support their neutrality, and to defend themselves against any attempt to force them to take part in this common cause; that Poland is neither able nor inclined to take part in it, and that Switzerland and Venice are neutral; that the king of Sardinia has required and obtained a subsidy from Great Britain to enable him to act even on the defensive; that the king of the two Sicilies, professing to make common cause with his majesty in the war against France, is bound to it by nothing but his own judgment, in the course of event which may occur, and that he is at liberty to abandon the common cause, whenever he shall judge that

he cannot any longer with justice and dignity continue the war; that the efforts of Portugal and Spain have been completely ineffectual.

That with respect to the powers who were principals in the present war, (viz. the states general, the king of Prussia and the emperor) the states general having refused to contract for the payment of their portion of the subsidies, to be paid to the king of Prussia, beyond the term of the present year, have thereby reserved to themselves a right to withdraw from the support of the war at that period, and to throw the whole burthen of it upon Great Britain; that the king of Prussia being bound, by the convention of July, 1793, to act in the most perfect concert, and with the most intimate confidence, with his majesty, upon all the objects relative to the present war, and having then promised to continue to employ his forces, as far as circumstances would permit, in carrying on the war, and his majesty having since being obliged, by the treaty of the 19th of April, 1794, to grant to the king of Prussia an enormous subsidy, in order to engage him to continue to co-operate in the prosecution of the war, it follows, that the king of Prussia is no longer a principal party, nor even an auxiliary in the said war; but that he barely lends out his troops to this country in return for a most profitable pecuniary compensation, at our expence; and that Great Britain is, in fact, loaded with his proper share of the burthen of a war, which is said to be the common cause of every civilized state; and finally, that if it were expedient or necessary to purchase the king of Prussia's co-operation on such terms, the emperor, whose

interests are more directly at stake, was full as much bound, in reason and justice, as his majesty; or the states general, would be to contribute equally to that expence; and, that if, at any future period of the war, the emperor's finances should be so exhausted, as to make it impossible for him to maintain it on his part, at his own charge, his imperial majesty will be invited and encouraged, if not justified, by the example and success of the king of Prussia, to call upon this country, to defray the whole expence of whatever army he may continue to employ against the French; nor does it appear, by what distinction, in policy or in argument, the terms granted to the king of Prussia can be refused to the emperor, whose efforts and expences in the course of the war have infinitely exceeded those of Prussia; or how this country can, in prudence or with safety, decline a compliance with such demands, if it be true, as has been declared, that the destruction of the present French government is essential to the security of every thing which is most dear and valuable to us, as a nation.

That, in consequence of the event of the war on the continent and elsewhere, all views of aggrandisement and ambition, on the part of France, supposing the French to entertain such views, are evidently unattainable, and must be relinquished by France; and therefore the object of the war, as it was originally professed on our part, viz. the restoration of peace, on terms of permanent security, is now attainable and may be secured; provided that, on one side, the French shall be content with the possession and safety of their own country, and

that

that we, on the other, shall adhere to the principles of justice and policy so often declared by his majesty and avowed by his ministers, *of uniformly abstaining from any interference with respect to the internal affairs of France.*

3. Because the facts herein before set forth, being, as we conceive, undeniable truths, fit now to be resolved and declared, it becomes the duty of his majesty's ministers, in conformity to two other resolutions opened, discussed and submitted to the consideration of this house, to avail themselves of the present circumstances of the war, to promote a pacification, by every means in their power, by proposing to France equitable and moderate conditions of peace, and above all things *by abstaining from any interference in the internal affairs of France.*

4. Because in every possible case it is equally desirable that his majesty should make an explicit declaration of his views; for if, on the one hand, it is the intention not to interfere in the internal government of France, nothing can contribute so much to advance a negotiation with those who now exercise the powers of government in that country, as such a declaration, solemnly and explicitly made; so, on the other hand, if it is intended to interfere, it is highly essential to make the degree of interference precisely known, so as to induce such parts of the French nation as are dissatisfied with the present government, to unite and exert themselves, with satisfaction and security, to promote the ascertained object.

NORFOLK, E. M.

GRAFTON,

ALBEMARLE,

DELEY,

BEDFORD,
LAUDERDALE,
LANSDOWNE,
THANET.

Protest against the vote of thanks to Lord Hood.

Dissentient,

1. **B**ECAUSE it has not been the practice of this house to vote thanks to officers commanding his majesty's forces by sea or land, except on occasions where they have eminently advanced the honour and promoted the interests of their country, by the most important and acknowledged services.

2. Because, by voting the thanks of this house, except in such instances, we diminish the value of the most honourable reward we have in our power to confer, and lessen one of the best incitements to future service.

3. Because the reduction of Bastia does not in itself appear to us to be such a service as calls upon this house for any extraordinary mark of approbation or applause.

4. Because, whatever the merit of that service may be, the only admirals of the fleet, and the commanding officers of his majesty's land forces, must have had their share in it; and to refuse thanking them, as had been usual on similar occasions, appears to us to justify an opinion, that the vote of thanks to Lord Hood originated from some motive of a private and personal nature, which it is improper for this house to countenance.

5. Because even ministers themselves do not seem, in the first instance, to have considered that service as entitled to such a mark of

approbation ; for though accounts had been received of the reduction of Bastia, previous to those of the victory obtained by the fleet under the command of earl Howe, no intention was announced of moving a vote of thanks to lord Hood, till this house had paid the just tribute of gratitude and honour for that most important and splendid victory.

BEDFORD,
LAUDERDALE,
DERBY,
THANET,
ALBEMARLE.

Speech of the speaker of the house of commons, when he gave the thanks of the house to the managers of the impeachment against Warren Hastings, esquire, June 20.

Gentlemen,

IT is my duty to communicate to you the thanks of this house for the manner in which you have discharged a most arduous trust, on an occasion highly interesting to the honour and justice of the nation.

The subject to which your attention has been directed, was intricate and extensive beyond example ; you have proved, that it was well suited to your industry and eloquence, the exertions of which have conferred honour, not on yourselves only, but on this house, whose credit is intimately connected with your own. A forcible admonition has been given, on this occasion, to all persons in situations of high and important national trust, that they can neither be removed by distance nor sheltered by power, from the vigilance and authority of

this house, which is possessed of no privilege more important than that by which it is enabled to bring public delinquents to the bar of public justice, and thus to preserve, or rescue from dishonour, the British name and character.

But in addressing you on this occasion, and in considering the beneficial consequences to be expected from this proceeding, it is impossible not to advert to the increased security, which the constitution has derived in the course of it from the recognition and full confirmation of the principle, that an impeachment is not discontinued by a dissolution of parliament ; a principle essential to the privileges of this house, and to the independent and effectual administration of public justice.

Under these impressions, suggested by the nature and importance of your trust, and by the manner in which you have discharged, I obey, with the utmost satisfaction, the commands of this house, by stating to you their resolution.

“ That the thanks of this house
“ be given to the members who
“ were appointed the managers of
“ the impeachment against Warren
“ Hastings, esq. for their faithful
“ management in their discharge of
“ the trust reposed in them.”

His majesty's speech to both houses of parliament, Dec. 30.

My lords and gentlemen,
AFTER the uniform experience which I have had of your zealous regard for the interests of my people, it is a great satisfaction to me, to recur to your advice and assistance, at a period which calls for

for the full exertion of your energy and wisdom.

Notwithstanding the disappointments and reverses which we have experienced in the course of the last campaign, I retain a firm conviction of the necessity of persisting in a vigorous prosecution of the just and necessary war in which we are engaged.

You will, I am confident, agree with me, that it is only from firmness and perseverance that we can hope for the restoration of peace on safe and honourable grounds, and for the preservation and permanent security of our dearest interests.

In considering the situation of our enemies, you will not fail to observe, that the efforts which have led to their successes, and the unexampled means by which alone those efforts could have been supported, have produced among themselves the pernicious effects which were to be expected; and that every thing which has passed in the interior of the country has shewn the progressive and rapid decay of their resources and the instability of every part of that violent and unnatural system, which is equally ruinous to France, and incompatible with the tranquillity of other nations.

The states general of the United Provinces have, nevertheless, been led, by a sense of present difficulties, to enter into negotiations for peace with the party now prevailing in that unhappy country. No established government or independent state can, under the present circumstances, derive real security from negotiations: on our part, they could not be attempted without sacrificing both our honour and safety to an enemy whose chief ani-

mosity is avowedly directed against these kingdoms.

I have, therefore, continued to use the most effectual means for the farther augmentation of my forces; and I shall omit no opportunity of concerting the operations of the next campaign with such of the powers of Europe as are impressed with the same sense of the necessity of vigour and exertion. I place the fullest reliance on the valour of my forces, and on the affection and public spirit of my people, in whose behalf I am contending, and whose safety and happiness are the objects of my constant solicitude.

The local importance of Corsica, and the spirited efforts of its inhabitants to deliver themselves from the yoke of France, determined me not to withhold the protection which they sought for; and I have since accepted the crown and sovereignty of that country, according to an instrument, a copy of which I have directed to be laid before you.

I have great pleasure in informing you that I have concluded a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, with the United States of America, in which it has been my object to remove, as far as possible, all grounds of jealousy and misunderstanding, and to improve an intercourse beneficial to both countries.—As soon as the ratifications shall have been exchanged, I will direct a copy of this treaty to be laid before you, in order that you may consider of the propriety of making such provisions as may appear necessary for carrying it into effect.

I have the greatest satisfaction in announcing to you the happy event of the conclusion of a treaty for the marriage of my son, the prince of Wales,

Wales, with the princess Caroline, daughter of the duke of Brunswick. The constant proofs of your affection for my person and family persuade me that you will participate in the sentiments I feel on an occasion so interesting to my domestic happiness, and that you will enable me to make provision for such an establishment as you may think suitable to the rank and dignity of the heir apparent to the crown of these kingdoms.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

The considerations which prove the necessity of a vigorous prosecution of the war will, I doubt not, induce you to make a timely and ample provision for the several branches of the public service, the estimates for which I have directed to be laid before you. While I regret the necessity of large additional burdens on my subjects, it is a just consolation and satisfaction to me, to observe the state of our credit, commerce, and resources, which is the natural result of the continued exertions of industry under the protection of a free and well-regulated government.

My lords and gentlemen,

A just sense of the blessings now so long enjoyed by this country will, I am persuaded, encourage you to make every effort which can enable you to transmit those blessings unimpaired to your posterity.

I entertain a confident hope that, under the protection of Providence, and with constancy and perseverance on our part, the principles of social order, morality, and religion, will ultimately be successful; and that my faithful people will find

their present exertions and sacrifices rewarded by the secure and permanent enjoyment of tranquillity at home, and by the deliverance of Europe from the greatest danger with which it has been threatened since the establishment of civilized society.

Speech of his excellency John, earl of Westmoreland, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, to both houses of parliament, Jan. 21,

My lords and gentlemen,

I HAVE his majesty's commands to meet you in parliament. You must have felt, with the highest satisfaction, that, by the success of his majesty's arms and those of his allies, the hopes of France, in their unprovoked declaration of war, to impair the stability or shake the constitution of Great Britain and Ireland, have been utterly disappointed.

The forces of his majesty and his allies are in possession of many important fortresses which belonged to the French, and many of their oppressive and unjust conquests have been wrested from them; and whilst the trade of the empire has been generally protected, the resources which our enemies derived from their wealthy settlements and extensive commerce have been almost entirely cut off.

I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that the spirit of insurrection, which was for some time prevalent among the lower orders of people, is in general suppressed. No exertion shall be wanting, on my part, to bring them to a due sense of order and subordination, and to prevent and punish the machinations of

of those who may aim to seduce them from their accustomed loyalty into acts of sedition and outrage.

The law for rendering a militia in this kingdom effectual has been carried successfully into execution. I am happy to find that the people are at length fully reconciled to this institution, which has already been attended by the most beneficial consequences, in producing internal tranquillity, and contributing to the general strength and force of the empire.

I am commanded to acquaint you, that his majesty has appointed a commission under the great seal, to execute the office of lord high treasurer of this kingdom, in order that the payment of the civil list granted to his majesty, and a regular appropriation of the revenue to distinct services, may be carried into execution in a manner as conformable to the practice of Great Britain, as the relative situation of this kingdom will permit.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I have ordered the national accounts to be laid before you, as well as the estimates for the service of the ensuing year. It is painful to me to observe, that the exigencies of the times will require a large supply and additional resources; but when you consider that this is a war of absolute necessity, and that you are contending for your liberty, property, and religion, I doubt not that you will cheerfully contribute to support the honour of his majesty's crown, and the essential interests of the kingdom.

My lords and gentlemen,

The agriculture, the manufactures, and particularly the linen-manufacture of Ireland, the Protestant charter schools, and various other institutions of public utility, have so constantly received the benefit of your care and liberality, that I need not particularly, at this time, inculcate their importance.

His majesty has the fullest reliance upon the loyalty and attachment of his people of Ireland. You are now, by the unjust aggression of France, involved in a contest of your religion, for your constitution, and for the preservation of every principle which upholds social order, or gives security to your persons or properties. In such a cause his majesty has no doubt of being cordially supported by the efforts of all his subjects, in resisting the desperate designs of men, who are endeavouring to erect their own power and dominion on the ruins of law and order, and to involve every government of Europe in a general scene of confusion and anarchy.

His majesty's object is peace; and he will exert himself, in conjunction with his allies, whenever an occasion shall present itself, for obtaining this desirable end, without surrendering the honour of his crown, or sacrificing the present or future security of his people and of the rest of Europe.

You may depend upon my faithful representations of your services to his majesty; and I will zealously co-operate with your exertions for the welfare and prosperity of Ireland.

Speech

Speech of his excellency John, earl of Westmoreland, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, to both houses of parliament, on closing the session March 25.

My lords and gentlemen,
THE important objects which engaged your attention being concluded, I am enabled to relieve you from farther attendance in parliament.

I have his majesty's commands to express his most intire satisfaction in the zeal and unanimity which have governed your proceedings during the present session, and the cheerfulness with which you have provided for the extraordinary emergencies of the state. This conduct, so honourable to yourselves, must essentially tend to preserve the internal tranquillity of your country, to maintain that free constitution under which you enjoy such inestimable blessings, and is highly beneficial to the general interests of the empire, and to the common cause of Europe.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I am directed by his majesty to return you his thanks for the very liberal supplies you have voted for the public service. You may rely on their faithful application to the purposes for which they were granted.

My lords and gentlemen,

His majesty feels, with the most cordial pleasure, the loyalty of his people of Ireland, and the affectionate determination they have always shewn to stand or fall with Great Britain. In the contest in which we are engaged, by the unprovoked

aggression of France, measures of the most vigorous nature continue to be requisite, and his majesty will persevere in his exertions, in conjunction with his allies, against the common enemy. Under the Divine Providence, on the justice of his cause, on the disciplined valour of his fleets and armies, and the united efforts of all his subjects, his majesty relies for a favourable issue to a war, which, on the part of our enemies, is waged against the envied liberty of these kingdoms, and the established government of every state in Europe.

I applaud your wisdom in passing an act for preserving the property, within this kingdom, of persons resident in France from becoming the plunder of those who have usurped the government of that unhappy country. It is peculiarly our duty to support the security of private property, and to maintain the principles of justice, when doctrines have been advanced, and attempts endeavoured to be carried into execution, for the destruction of both.

I am sorry to inform you, that in some parts of the county of Cork, the people, deluded by the artifices of wicked and designing men, have assembled in numerous bodies, and have compelled many to take unlawful oaths. The timely exertions of the magistrates, aided by the spirited conduct of his majesty's regular and militia forces, have nearly suppressed those disturbances. No attention shall be wanting on my part to the protection of the peaceable and industrious, and to the punishment of offenders against the law, and especially of those who have instigated the ignorant to the commission of such dangerous crimes.

The

The early conclusion of the session will enable you, in your respective countries, to enforce a due obedience to the laws, and to inculcate that spirit of loyalty to the king, and attachment to our happy constitution, which has so eminently distinguished your conduct.

I am truly sensible of the repeated testimonies I have received of your confidence and support, for which I return you my most sincere thanks, and shall endeavour to ensure their continuance by employing every power, with which I am invested, for the maintenance of the public tranquillity, and the advantage of this kingdom, and by faithfully representing to his majesty your unremitting attention to the welfare of Ireland, and your unanimous exertions for the general cause of the empire.

Treaty between his Britannic majesty, the king of Prussia, and the states general of the United Provinces. Signed at the Hague, April 49.

THEIR majesties, the kings of Great Britain and of Prussia, and their high mightinesses the states general of the United Provinces, being animated by the same desire of putting a stop to the progress of the system of anarchy and crimes by which civil society has been menaced, and being desirous of concerting together to support, in the most effectual manner, the common cause in which they are engaged in consequence of the unjust and cruel war, which the persons, who exercise the powers of government of France, have raised up against several of the great

powers of Europe, have agreed, in conformity to the bonds of friendship and alliance which so happily unite them, to conclude the present treaty; and, for this purpose, they have named their respective plenipotentiaries, to wit, his Britannic majesty, the lord baron of Malmesbury, a peer of the kingdom of Great Britain, privy counsellor, knight of the order of the Bath; his Prussian majesty, the sieur Chrétien Henry Curce, count de Haugwitz, his minister of state, of war, and of the cabinet, knight of the order of the Red Eagle; and their high mightinesses the states general of the United Provinces, the sieurs Laurent Pierre van de Spiegel, counsellor, pensionary of the province of Holland and West Friesland, keeper of the seals, and deputy of the said provinces at the assembly of the states general, and Henry Fagel, greffier of their high mightinesses: who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

Article I. His majesty the king of Prussia engages to furnish an army which shall be composed of sixty-two thousand four hundred men, conformably to the establishment which he has caused to be delivered to the ministers of the maritime powers; which establishment shall be considered as making part of the present treaty. This army shall remain united under a Prussian commander, and shall act, in the most effectual manner, against the common enemy, either separately or jointly, with a body of troops, in the pay of the maritime powers, or of one of them. The said army shall be and shall remain as complete as possible, and shall be employed

ployed according to a concert on military points between his Britannic majesty, his Prussian majesty, and their high mightinesses the states general of the United Provinces, wherever it shall be judged to be most suitable to the interests of the maritime powers: this army shall arrive at the place of its destination on the twenty-fourth of May, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, or sooner if possible. It shall be provided with field-pieces with their carriages, and also with the tents and all military equipments necessary for acting in the field.

Art. 2. It is agreed by the high contracting parties, that the troops which his Prussian majesty is bound to furnish to his Britannic majesty and to their high mightinesses, by virtue of the respective treaties of alliance between his Prussian majesty and the maritime powers, shall be comprised in this army of sixty-two thousand four hundred men; and that, by employing the said army in the manner declared in this present treaty, his Prussian majesty shall be deemed to have furnished to his high allies the succours stipulated in the said treaties.

Art. 3. In order to facilitate to his Prussian majesty the means of acting with vigour, and conformably to the sentiments of zeal and concern with which he is animated for the common cause, his Britannic majesty and their high mightinesses agree to furnish to his Prussian majesty a subsidy of fifty thousand pounds sterling per month, until the end of the present year, and to be reckoned from the beginning of the month in which the present treaty is signed.

Art. 4. His Britannic majesty and their high mightinesses will pay to his Prussian majesty, immediately, the sum of three hundred thousand pounds sterling, to enable him to defray the charge of completing the above-mentioned army, and the first expences necessary for putting it in a state of action, and for carrying it to the place where it is to act; and, at the period of the return of the said troops, his Britannic majesty and their high mightinesses will moreover pay to his Prussian majesty the sum of one hundred thousand pounds sterling for the expences of the return of the army into the territories of his Prussian majesty. The said payments, for the expences of completing and putting the troops in motion shall be made immediately after the exchange of the ratifications, as well as that of the first subsidy, to be paid monthly, of fifty thousand pounds. The following months shall be discharged in advance, at the beginning of each month. All these payments shall be made at Berlin by the maritime powers, agreeably to such arrangement as they shall agree upon between themselves; and the pound sterling shall be reckoned at six crowns in Frederic's d'Or.

Art. 5. The above-mentioned subsidy and payments shall satisfy all demands which his Prussian majesty might be entitled to make upon the maritime powers for the expences of the army; all these expences, of what nature soever they may be, being to be defrayed by his Prussian majesty, with the exception only of the expences of bread and forage, which shall be furnished by the maritime powers.

as well for the thirty-five thousand four hundred men, whom his Prussian majesty engages to employ over and above the stipulated succours, as for those succours themselves, in a manner conformable to the terms of the treaties of alliance, subsisting between the maritime powers and his said majesty. But, in order to avoid the difficulties which might arise relative to the furnishing of these articles in kind, the high contracting parties agree that this expence shall be satisfied with money, reckoning at the rate of one pound twelve shillings (sterling money of England) per month, for each man of the sixty-two thousand four hundred to be furnished by his Prussian majesty, according to the establishment herein before mentioned, and the payment of this sum shall be made in advance, at the beginning of each month, in the same manner as that of the subsidy, and shall begin the same day. But, if it shall happen in future, that any variation shall be made, by consent of the high contracting parties, in the respective proportions of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, settled by the said establishment; in such case a new valuation of the aforesaid pecuniary aid shall be made, according to the new proportion of rations and portions which may result from the said variation, so that the said valuation may not be beyond the actual expences occasioned by the furnishing of the articles in question, according to the proportion of men and horses which shall be employed.

Art. 6. It is agreed, that all conquests made by this army, shall be made in the names of the two maritime powers, and shall remain at their disposal during the course

the war, and, at the peace, to be made such use as they shall then judge most proper.

Art. 7. The two maritime powers shall name two persons commissioned to reside in their names at the head-quarters of the Prussian army, to keep up the necessary communication and correspondence between the respective armies.

Art. 8. This treaty shall continue in its full force until the end of the present year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four.

Art. 9. The present treaty shall be ratified by all parties, and the exchange of the ratifications shall be made in the space of one month, or sooner if possible.

In witness of which, we, the Plenipotentiaries of his Britannic majesty, and of his Prussian majesty, and of the lords states general of the United Provinces by virtue of our respective powers, have signed the present treaty, and have thereunto affixed the seal of our arms.

Done at the Hague; the 19th of April, in the year of grace one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four.

(L. S.) HAUGWIZ.

(L. S.) MALMSBURY.

(L. S.) H. F. GEL.

(L. S.) L. P. VAN DE SPIEGEL.

GEL.

SÉPARATE ARTICLE,

The plenipotentiaries of their high mightinesses, not having thought themselves empowered to contract, at the present moment, any engagements relative to the payment of the subsidies stipulated in the present treaty, beyond the term of the present

present year, this treaty has been concluded only for that term; but their Britannic and Prussian majesties, being desirous of continuing the effect of the aforesaid engagements until the end of the war, will enter into farther conceit, as well between themselves as with their high mightinesses, for the renewal of the present treaty, for so long as the war shall last, on the same conditions as are therein declared with respect to the troops, to their employment, and to the payment of the aforesaid subsidies, as well as to the furnishing bread and forage, conformable to Art. 5. of the treaty; without however adding any thing for the expences of completing the troops, or for those of putting them in motion.

Done at the Hague, the nineteenth of April, in the year of grace one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four.

(L. S.) HAUGWIZ.

(L. S.) MALMSBURY.

Convention between his Britannic majesty and the states general of the United Provinces. Signed at the Hague, April 19.

HIS Britannic majesty and the lords the states general of the United Provinces, desiring to put his Prussian majesty into a situation to prosecute with vigour the war, in which the greatest part of the powers of Europe find themselves engaged, through the unjust aggression of those who have exercised the powers of government in France, a negotiation has been opened for this purpose at Berlin, which having since been transferred to the Hague, has been there ter-

minated by the treaty of subsidy, concluded this day, by which the maritime powers have engaged themselves to furnish to his Prussian majesty the sums specified in the above-mentioned treaty, to the ends which are also announced in it. In consequence of this treaty, his Britannic majesty and their high mightinesses the lords the states general of the United Provinces, desiring to come to a farther understanding between themselves upon the repartition of the said sums to be furnished to his Prussian majesty, have resolved to conclude for that purpose, between themselves, the present convention, and have named in consequence, that is to say, his Britannic majesty, the lord baron Malmsbury, peer of the kingdom of Great Britain, a privy counsellor, and knight of the order of the Bath; and their high mightinesses the states general, the sieurs Laurent Pierre Van de Spiegel, counsellor pensionary of the province of Holland and of West Friesland, keeper of the seals, and deputy of the said province at the assembly of the states general, and Henry Fagel, greffier of their high mightinesses: who, after having mutually communicated their respective full powers, and having found them in good and due form, have settled the following articles.

Art. 1. Their high mightinesses the states general shall furnish for their quota-part of the entire sum to be paid to his Prussian majesty, in order to enable him to fulfil the engagements which he has contracted by the treaty of subsidy, concluded and signed this day, the sum of four hundred thousand pounds sterling, after the same valuation which is stipulated for in the above-mentioned

mentioned treaty; which sum shall be divided in such a manner that one hundred thousand pounds sterling may be appropriated to answer part of the expences expressed in the said treaty under the name of charges of completing, of putting in motion, and of establishment, whilst the remaining three hundred thousand pounds shall be divided into nine equal portions, to answer in part the bread and expences of forage, according to the valuation of the said treaty, and in part of subsidy, which his Britannic majesty and their high mightinesses have engaged themselves by Art. 3. of the treaty to furnish to his Prussian majesty.

Art. 2. As the existing circumstances do not permit their high mightinesses to enter into engagements of subsidy for an indefinite term, it is understood, that the present convention will not be extended beyond the term of the present year; but, if unhappily the war should not then be finished, his Britannic majesty and the states general would consult together, in order to take, from time to time, all the adequate measures for renewing this convention, and for supporting with vigour the just cause, in which his Britannic majesty and their high mightinesses find themselves engaged.

Art. 3. The present convention shall be ratified on both sides, and the exchange of the ratifications shall take place in the space of one month, or sooner if it be possible.

In faith of which we, plenipotentiaries of his Britannic majesty, and of the lords states general of the United Provinces, in virtue of our respective powers, have signed the pre-

sent convention, and affixed to it the seal of our arms.

Done at the Hague, the nineteenth of April, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four.

(L. S.) L. P. VAN DE SPIEGEL.

(L. S.) H. FAGEL.

(L. S.) MALMSBURY.

Treaty between his Britannic majesty and the duke of Brunswick. Signed at Brunswick, Nov. 8, 1794.

BE it known to those whom it does and may concern: The present situation of affairs in Europe having caused a desire in his Britannic majesty that a corps of Brunswick troops should be granted to him, the most serene duke of Brunswick has seized, with all possible eagerness, the opportunity of proving his unalterable attachment to his Britannic majesty, and his zeal for every thing that can tend to the good of the country. To which effect, his serene highness has engaged himself to furnish his Britannic majesty a corps of two thousand two hundred and eighty-nine men. In order to conclude a treaty relative to this object, his Britannic majesty has named, on his part, the honourable William Elliot, and the most serene duke of Brunswick has named, on his side, the sieur John Batiste de Féronce de Rotencreutz, his minister of state and knight of the royal order of Dannebrog.

These two ministers plenipotentiary, after the exchange of their full powers, have agreed to the following articles.

Art. 1. The most serene duke of Brunswick furnishes, in virtue of the present treaty, to his majesty the

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king of Great Britain, a corps of troops, amounting in the whole to two thousand two hundred and eighty-nine men, amongst whom is included a company of horse chasseurs of one hundred and five men. This corps shall be furnished with the following artillery; namely,

Four six-pounders, a battery of six six-pounders, two three-pounders, for the corps of chasseurs.

This artillery shall be provided with every thing necessary for its complete equipment.

The composition of the aforesaid corps is according to the following statement :

	Men.
1st. The staff - - -	27
2d. A regiment of infantry	724
3d. A second regiment of infantry - - -	724
4th. A corps of horse and foot chasseurs -	454
5th. A detachment of artillery, forming two companies, including artificers, workmen, and servants necessary for the train -	360

Total 2289

Art. 2. These troops, at the time of their march, shall be well disciplined, completely armed and equipped; and his most serene highness engages himself, during the existence of this treaty, to keep the said troops on the most proper footing, in order that they may be employed with success in the military services which shall be required of them by virtue of the present treaty; the duration of which is fixed to three years, counting from the day of its signature.

These troops shall not be separated, unless the necessity of the war shall require it, but they shall

always remain under the orders of their chief, subordinate to the command of the general to whom his Britannic majesty shall entrust that of the whole army. It will depend on his Britannic majesty to retain this corps of troops in his service all the time of the duration of this treaty, to make use of them in any part of Europe where he may have occasion for them, provided it be not on board the fleet. The said troops shall take the oath of fidelity to his Britannic majesty, at their first review, before an English commissary, without any prejudice, however, to that which they have taken to the most serene duke. His said most serene highness shall moreover retain the nomination to all employments and offices that may become vacant, and the administration of justice shall, in like manner, be preserved to him.

Art. 3. This corps of troops shall be ready to pass in review, and to put itself in march, on the first of next January, or sooner if it can be done: nevertheless, as it is to be feared that, considering the difficulty of furnishing, in so short a time, every thing necessary to the equipment of the said corps, it is agreed to cause this corps to march in two divisions, one of which shall begin its march on the first of January, or sooner if it can be done; and the second, the first of February, or sooner if it can be done, without this influencing upon the payments, which are to take place for the whole corps from the first of January.

As to the expences of the march, the following regulation has been made: this corps of troops being destined to serve in the army of Brabant, it is agreed that his Britannic majesty, in order to answer the expences

pences of this long march, shall cause to be paid, immediately after the signature of the treaty, to the agent of his most serene highness at London, the amount of three months pay, on the footing of the Brabantine pay; and as to the period of the return of the said troops into the country of Brunswick, it is agreed that his Britannic majesty shall cause this return to be notified three months beforehand; and with regard to the expences of the route, two months of Brabantine pay is to be allowed.

Art. 4. His Britannic majesty will cause to be paid, under the head of levy money, for each foot soldier, foot chasseur, artillery man, &c. &c. thirty banco crowns, the crown computed at fifty-three pence of Holland, or at four shillings and nine pence three farthings English money; and for each horseman duly armed and mounted, eighty banco crowns of the same value, which makes the sum of seventy-three thousand three hundred and ninety banco crowns. This sum shall be paid immediately after the signature of the present treaty.

Art. 5. As to what relates to the pay and allowances, both ordinary and extraordinary, of the said troops, during the time that they shall be in the pay of Great Britain, it is agreed that this pay, and all the emoluments, shall commence from the first of January next, and shall continue until the day whereon the troops shall return into their respective garrisons. His Britannic majesty will moreover cause to be paid unto them the pay and emoluments for the remainder of the month in which these troops shall have returned into their garrisons.

It is moreover agreed, that if these troops shall happen to serve in the empire, they shall enjoy the same pay and the same advantages which his majesty grants to his German troops, according to the effective state in which the said corps shall be delivered, which shall be verified by a statement, signed by the respective ministers of the high contracting parties, which shall have the same force as if it were inserted, word for word, in the present treaty. So long as these troops shall be employed in the Low Countries, they shall be treated, with respect to pay and emoluments, both ordinary and extraordinary, on the footing of the Brabantine pay, it being well understood, that in the one and in the other case, that is to say, in that of the German, as well as in that of the Brabantine pay, the allowances shall not be below what has been granted in former wars to the Hessian troops: and if the nature of the war shall require that these troops should serve in other countries on the continent of Europe than in countries above-mentioned, they then shall be placed on the same footing in every respect as the most favoured of his majesty's auxiliary troops. If it should happen that they should be employed in Great Britain or Ireland, they shall be placed on the same footing in every respect as the British national troops. All these allowances for the said troops shall be paid into the military chest of his most serene highness, without any abatement whatever.

Art. 6. Every object relating to the equipment of the officers having considerably increased in price during this war, his Britannic majesty

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will cause to be paid three months of Brabantine pay to all the officers of the corps, to answer in part the expences of their equipment, which must be done with a dispatch which will infinitely increase their expence.

Art. 7. With respect to the subsidy which his Britannic majesty shall pay to the most serene duke of Brunswick, during the three years that this treaty is to last, it is stipulated, that it shall be an annual subsidy of sixty-four thousand six hundred and eighty-seven banco crowns, the crown being reckoned at fifty-three pence of Holland, or at four shillings and nine-pence three farthings English money. And if these troops should be sent back into the territories of Brunswick before the expiration of the three years, this subsidy of sixty-four thousand six hundred and eighty-seven banco crowns shall be, neither more or less, paid during three years, to be computed from the day of the signature of the treaty.

Art. 8. If it should happen that one of the regiments, battalions, or companies of this corps should suffer an extraordinary loss, whether in battle or at a siege, or by an uncommon contagious distemper, or by other accidents; or if the cannon or other military effects, with which it may be provided, should be taken by the enemy, his majesty the king of Great Britain will pay the extraordinary expences of the necessary recruits and remounting, as well as the loss of cannon, &c. &c. in order speedily to restore the whole corps to a serviceable state.

He will reimburse, in the most equitable manner, the loss of both officers and soldiers. With regard to this reimbursement, every thing that has been stipulated in the treaty

concluded with the most serene highness the landgrave of Hesse, at Cassel, the 10th of April, 1793, shall be adopted.

Art. 9. It is agreed that at the review which is to be made every spring, at the opening of the campaign, by the commissary of his Britannic majesty, the corps must be complete, or the pay of those who are wanting shall be withheld. On the other hand the pay of those who may be wanting, from one review to another, shall not be withheld, but shall be paid, without abatement, on the footing of the full complement. Instead of what was formerly paid, in similar cases, for the recruiting of one killed or three wounded, it is agreed, that each recruit furnished shall be paid for, without distinction, at the rate of twelve banco crowns a head, under express condition, however, that the payment which is here agreed upon shall only regard the recruiting which is referred to in this article.

Art. 10. The sick of the said corps shall be attended by their physicians, surgeons, and other persons appointed for that purpose, under the orders of the commander of this corps of troops; and every thing shall be granted to them which his majesty grants to his own troops.

Art. 11. All deserters from this corps shall be faithfully given up wherever they may be discovered in the countries dependant upon his Britannic majesty.

Art. 12. All transports of men and military effects shall be done at the expence of his Britannic majesty during the whole time of these troops being in the field.

Art. 13. It is agreed that the corps of Brunswick troops shall enjoy

joy every advantage granted to the most serene landgrave of Hesse, by the treaty of the 10th of April, 1793, and its secret articles. Moreover, every thing, which is not determined by the preceding articles in a precise manner, is to be hereafter regulated upon the principles of equity and good faith, which have conducted the present negotiation.

Art. 14. This treaty shall be ratified by the high contracting parties, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged as soon as possible.

Done at Brunswick, this 5th day of November, 1794.

(L. S.) WM. ELIOT,

(L. S.) JEAN BATISTE de
FERONCE de ROTENCREUTZ.

SEPARATE ARTICLE.

It is determined that this corps of troops shall enjoy Brabantine pay, being destined to serve in the army of the low countries; but the expedition with which it was necessary to complete the present treaty not permitting a state of the Brabantine pay to be added thereto, the undersigned minister of his Britannic majesty engages himself to cause to be delivered to the minister of the most serene duke, as soon as it can be done, a complete statement of Brabantine pay, on the same footing as it is allowed to the Hessian troops. In this statement of pay shall also be specified the number of rations and portions allowed as well as all the other emoluments enjoyed by the Hessian troops actually in Brabant. This communication of the statement of pay shall be made with the accustomed good faith, and without any reserve.

Done at Brunswick, this 5th of November, 1794.

(L. S.) WM. ELIOT.

(L. S.) JEAN BATISTE de
FERONCE de ROTENCREUTZ.

*Manifesto and supplement published at
Martinique, January 1, 1794.*

George R.

THE assembly, calling itself the national convention of France, having exercised in that kingdom and its dependencies the most unlimited and barbarous despotism, destroyed religion, with the government and the laws, and violated all kinds of property, have added to so many crimes, a declaration of their design to involve other nations in the same calamities, to overthrow their respective constitutions, and the fundamental principles of every civilized state; and to that end, not content with making use of secret and incendiary emissaries, they have gone the length of open hostility, by a declaration of war, wholly unprovoked, against his Britannic majesty and his allies; and his said majesty seeing himself compelled to have recourse to arms, and to prosecute a war as just as necessary, for the protection of his subjects, the security of his throne, the preservation of the British constitution, and the defence of his allies.

His majesty moreover taking into consideration how notorious it is, that the aforesaid convention and its adherents, among other atrocious machinations, have conceived the project of entirely destroying all the French colonies in the West Indies—a plan they have executed in some parts by circumstances of the most horrid nature, and by means

the most criminal and detestable; and that they have, at the same time, manifested similar intentions against the possessions of his majesty in the same quarter of the world; to put a stop, in the most prompt and effectual manner, to the execution of such projects, and to preserve his own colonies from the misfortune with which they are thus menaced, his majesty, relying on the protection of Providence, on the valour of his subjects, and the justice of his cause, has thought it expedient and necessary to undertake, by the force of arms, the reduction of the adherents of said national convention, and to deliver the island of Martinique from the misfortunes and oppression by which it is overwhelmed.

In consequence whereof, we the undersigned commanders in chief of his Britannic majesty's forces by sea and land in the West Indies, by virtue of the powers and authorities entrusted to us by his majesty for that purpose, invite all the friends of peace, government, religion, and order in the island of Martinique, to throw off tyrannical oppression, and to set itself free from the horrors of anarchy, by having recourse to the protection and government of a just and beneficent sovereign.

And by these presents, we solemnly promise, grant, and guarantee, to all those who avail themselves of this invitation, and will submit themselves peaceably and quietly to the authority of his majesty, personal security and full and immediate enjoyment of their lawful possessions, conformable to their ancient laws and customs, and upon the most advantageous terms; excepting only those persons whose absence from

the island seems to be requisite for its peace and security; and even to those persons we promise (whatsoever may have been their conduct) to furnish them the means of transport to France, or to any other place they may desire, that may not be prejudicial to his majesty's service.

We promise also, that on the establishment of peace, Martinique shall enjoy all the rights and privileges of trade possessed by the British West-India colonies.

And farthermore, we promise to all persons (except as before excepted) who, submitting themselves peaceably and in the manner before-mentioned, will and do conduct themselves as good and faithful subjects to his majesty, a full amnesty for all acts committed under the colour or pretext of any authority whatsoever, and which they may have done before the publication of these presents, guaranteeing them hereby from all persecution and molestation for acts emanating from actual existing authorities.

All persons who, in despite of the instructions graciously and beneficially manifested by his majesty, shall dare to oppose themselves to this proclamation, will be treated as enemies, and exposed to all the evil that the calamities of war necessarily produce both on persons and effects.

Given on board his majesty's
ship *Boyne*, the 1st of Jan.
1794.

CHARLES GREY, General.

JOHN JERVIS, Vice-Admiral.

By their excellencies command,

G. FISHER, } Secretaries.
G. PURVIS, }

SUP-

SUPPLEMENT.

His Britannic majesty's generals, willing by all means possible to prevent the effusion of blood, and to remove from the inhabitants of the French islands in America, all doubt of their intentions, think they ought to publish what follows as a supplement to the manifesto:

Art. 1. As they cannot be ignorant that there exists great animosity between the emigrants from the French islands in America, and those inhabitants who remain there, an animosity that would lead them to pursue each other with rage, and retard the re-establishment of peace, his Britannic majesty's generals have judged it necessary to forbid all emigrants to re-enter any of the said islands before such shall be entirely conquered; exacting thereafter a perfect tranquillity, and engaging to protect none but peaceable inhabitants.

Art. 2. His Britannic majesty's generals promise all succour and protection to the colonists who shall continue peaceable on their plantations; but they are also determined to treat as prisoners of war all those who, in contempt of this declaration, shall be taken with arms in their hands, announcing to them moreover that they will incur pains of death, if after such transportation they shall ever again appear in either of the windward islands.

Art. 3. General Rochambeau having promised freedom to those slaves who take up arms for the defence of Martinico, and his Britannic majesty's generals, sensible of the impossibility of distinguishing those *Brigands* from people of colour born free, or legally released from slavery, think it proper to apprize all people of colour, without dis-

inction, that those among them who shall be found armed, or who having fought, shall have escaped the bayonets of the British troops, shall be treated as slaves, and transported immediately to the coast of Africa, where they will be abandoned to their fate; promising on the other hand a full amnesty to those who will surrender themselves, and to those who retire to their respective habitations peaceably to renew their occupations.

Given on board his majesty's ship
the *Boyne*, 1st Jan. 1794.

CHARLES GREY, General.

JOHN JERVIS, Vice-Admiral.

By their excellencies command,

G. FISHER, } Secretaries.
G. PURVIS, }

*Proclamation by the states of the
island of Jersey, March 8, 1794.*

THE commander-in-chief having caused the states to be assembled, to communicate to them the intelligence which he has just received, that the enemy have actually collected in force on the adjacent coasts, that it is their avowed plan to make a descent in this island, and that they announce they are invited to it by the inhabitants of Jersey, with a view, doubtless, of spiriting up their soldiers, by making them believe that they will meet with no resistance, and perhaps also with a view of making bad impressions upon our august sovereign respecting the loyalty of this country: the states, after having testified their gratitude to the commander-in-chief for his attentive conduct in this critical moment, cannot forbear expressing the horror which they feel at such a calumny

as false as it is malicious, against the acknowledged fidelity of the inhabitants of this island. The states take this opportunity to assure the commander-in-chief of their zeal and their inviolable attachment to the best of kings, and to the British government, under which this island has enjoyed, for several centuries, inestimable privileges and advantages.—They declare to him, that he will always find them ready to second his efforts for the safety of the country; and knowing, from happy experience, the sentiments of the people whom they represent, the states dare assure the commander-in-chief of the devotion of this loyal people, and of their eagerness to defend their country, and to repulse the attacks of a cruel and barbarous enemy, who trample under foot all laws human and divine, and who have no other aim but the plunder and the destruction of their fellow-creatures. Wishing, at the same time, that the advice communicated by the commander-in-chief to the states, relative to the meditated invasion, and the atrocious calumny thrown out against the most faithful people, and which cannot fail to excite the most lively indignation in the hearts of the inhabitants, be publicly made known, the states have ordered that this present act, unanimously voted, be printed, published, and put up in all the parishes of this island; and the ministers are requested to have the goodness to read the same next Sunday from the pulpit.

PHILIP DE CARTERET, Clerk.

General order at St. Helena.

ENGLAND being at war with France, this is not a time for

disputes between British subjects: none of them can quarrel now but rascals. I make it public therefore, that I am determined to see the laws put in execution, as every good man would wish, and to have every bad man, who disturbs the peace here, brought before a court or jury, let him wear whatever coat he may; and if any farther disturbances arise between soldiers and sailors, I must, contrary to my inclinations, put a stop to all intercourse between them, and keep the latter from coming inside the gates. British subjects, wherever they meet, should shew that love and affection to each other, that God and nature directs. At all events they shall not quarrel here with impunity.

(Signed)

ROBERT BROOK, Governor.
St. Helena, May 2, 1794.

*Duke of York's general orders,
June 7, 1794.*

HIS royal highness the Duke of York thinks it incumbent on him to announce to the British and Hanoverian troops under his command, that the national convention of France, pursuing that gradation of crimes and horrors which has distinguished the periods of its government, as the most calamitous of any that has yet occurred in the history of the world, has just passed a decree, that their soldiers shall give no quarters to the British or Hanoverian troops. His royal highness anticipates the indignation and horror which has naturally arisen in the minds of the brave troops whom he addresses upon receiving this information. His royal highness desires, however, to remind them, that mercy to the vanquished

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is the brightest gem in a soldier's character, and exhorts them not to suffer their resentment to lead them to any precipitate act of cruelty on their part, which may sully the reputation they have acquired in the world. His royal highness believes that it would be difficult for brave men to conceive that any set of men who are themselves exempt from sharing in the dangers of war should be so base and cowardly as to seek to aggravate the calamities of it upon the unfortunate people who are subject to their orders.

It was, indeed, reserved for the present times to produce to the world the proof of the possibility of the existence of such atrocity and infamy. The pretence for issuing this decree, even if founded in truth, would justify it only to minds similar to those of the members of the national convention. It is, in fact, too absurd to be noticed, and still less to be refuted. The French must themselves see through the flimsy artifice of an intended assassination, by which Robespierre has succeeded in procuring that military guard, which has at once established him the successor of the unfortunate Louis, by whatever name he may choose to dignify his future reign. In all the wars which from the earliest times have existed between the English and the French nations, they have been accustomed to consider each other in the light of generous as well as brave enemies, while the Hanoverians for a century, the allies of the former, have shared in this reciprocal esteem. Humanity and kindness have at all times taken place, the instant that opposition ceased; and the same cloak has been frequently seen covering those who were wounded,

and enemies, whilst indiscriminately conveying to the hospitals of the conquerors.

The British and Hanoverian armies will not believe that the French nation, even under their present infatuation, can so far forget their characters as soldiers, as to pay any attention to a decree, as injurious to themselves, as it is disgraceful to the persons who passed it: on this confidence, his royal highness trusts, that the soldiers of both nations will confine their sentiments of resentment and abhorrence to the national convention alone; persuaded that they will be joined in them by every Frenchman who possesses one spark of honour, or one principle of a soldier: and his royal highness is confident, that it will only be on finding, contrary to every expectation, that the French army has relinquished every title to the fair character of soldiers, and of men, by submitting to and obeying so atrocious an order, that the brave troops under his command will think themselves justified, and indeed under the necessity of adopting a species of warfare, for which they will then stand acquitted to their own conscience, to their country, and the world: in such an event, the French army alone will be answerable for the ten-fold vengeance which will fall upon themselves, their wives, and their children, and their unfortunate country, already groaning under every calamity, which the accumulated crimes of unprincipled ambition and avarice can heap upon their devoted victims.

His royal highness desires these orders may be read and explained to the men at their successive roll-calls.

Proclamation

Proclamation of his excellency brigadier-general Whyte, commanding his Britannic majesty's forces in St. Domingo.

THE commissioners and their agents, in order to carry into execution those perfidious designs, which have proved so fatal to the lives, the laws, the liberty, and the happiness, of this once flourishing colony, have every where calumniated the British Government.

General Whyte, who has the honour to represent his Britannic majesty, assures the inhabitants of Port au Prince, and its vicinity, that the object of his majesty and of his government is to restore peace among every class of inhabitants.

Those parts of the colony, which have already placed themselves under his majesty's protection, can bear a faithful testimony that there is nothing oppressive in the behaviour and laws of the English.

A considerable part of the people of St. Domingo has been seduced from its duty; these persons are hereby invited to return to their occupations, to lay down their arms, and to forget every cause of resentment.

The English government demands, and will obtain, by force if necessary, that peaceful obedience which is due to its mild and just laws.

The mulattoes will find in the general and the government every disposition to favour their interests; they are considered by the English, who are and will continue to be their friends.

The negroes who have been so long the dupes of the vile artifices of the commissioners, will soon be

convinced that the English disdain falshood and deceit.

Let them, relying with confidence on the generosity of the British people, return to their masters, lay down their arms, and enjoy the advantages of a life devoted to industry; their present sufferings will soon be relieved, and the laws will protect them against cruelty and oppression.

The forces, which are now in this colony to support the happiness of the inhabitants, and the glory of the English nation, are but a part, even a small part, of the army destined for its service; it being his majesty's resolution to punish in a manner as certain as severe, those who will not accept the offers of this and of the preceding proclamations.

All persons who shall repair to Port au Prince, and to the English general, within the delay of eight days from the date of this proclamation, except those who have been guilty of murder, or of taking a part in the insurrection, will be received and pardoned; but all those who are taken in arms after the above-mentioned period, will be put to death as traitors.

Done at Port au Prince, the 8th of June, 1794.

(Signed) JOHN WHYTE,
Brigadier-general commandant.

Instructions to the commanders of all ships of war and privateers, that have, or may have, letters of marque against France: August 18, 1794.

George R.

WHEREAS, by an article of our instructions to the commanders of our ships of war and privateers,

privateers, having letters of marque against France, given at our court at St. James's the 8th day of June, 1793, we thought fit to declare, that it should be lawful to stop and detain all ships laden wholly, or in part, with corn, flour, or meal, bound to any port in France, or any port occupied by the armies of France, and to send them to such ports as should be most convenient, in order that such corn, meal, or flour, might be purchased on behalf of our government, and the ships be released after such purchase, and after a due allowance for freight, or that the masters of such ships, on giving due security, to be approved by our court of admiralty, should be permitted to dispose of their cargoes of corn, meal, or flour, in the ports of any power in amity with us. We not judging it expedient to continue for the present the purchase of the said cargoes on behalf of our government, are pleased to revoke the said article, until our farther order therein; and to declare, that the same shall no longer remain in force. But we strictly enjoin all our commanders of our ships of war and privateers, to observe the remaining articles of the said instructions; and, likewise, all other instructions which we have issued, and which still continue in force.

General order published by the Duke of York, at his head-quarters, Sept. 23, 1794.

IT is with the greatest regret that his royal highness thinks himself obliged once more to order the severest measures to be pursued, in order to put a stop to the most shameful acts of violence and plun-

der, which dishonour the army under his command. His royal highness is so strongly convinced of the necessity of this severity, since five men of the 38th regiment, discovered yesterday in the act of plundering, have actually been condemned to death by a court-martial, which sentence, out of humanity only, his highness mitigated into a less severe punishment. His highness, in order to prevent such dishonourable excesses for the future, orders, that hereafter, whenever a soldier should be detected in the act of plundering, the provost marshal, with his assistants, is charged to execute the offender upon the spot; and, in case of the absence of the provost, that the criminal, instead of being hanged, shall be shot.

Besides the publication of this resolution, his royal highness thinks it his duty to exhort the officers of the army under his command, and to request of them, as they value the national character (it being their duty to unite their personal honour to that of his majesty's service, as well as to that of their country), to prevent all violence and pilfering, of which unhappily they but too often have hitherto been the eye-witnesses; and, to prevent which, nothing is so necessary as a strict military discipline.

His highness wishes not to be under the necessity of taking any severe measures against the officers. His highness will expect the above order punctually executed, particularly by the commanders of regiments, and will certainly give information to his majesty, if, by their neglect, the depredations should continue, which, by this general order, his royal highness endeavours to put an end to.

Proclamation

Proclamation by his excellency Robert Prescott, esq. lieutenant-general of his Britannic majesty's forces, governor and commander-in-chief of the island of Martinico and its dependencies.

majesty's fleets and armies in the West Indies.

THE inhabitants of the different quarters of the island of Martinico are desired to meet in their respective parishes, for the purpose of choosing by ballot, for their representative, an intelligent person, of known integrity; and those deputies, after they are chosen, are requested to assemble next Sunday the 18th instant, in the town of Fort Royal, to meet the commissioners appointed by their excellencies sir Charles Grey, K. B. and admiral sir John Jervis, K. B. for the purpose of fixing in an equitable and efficacious manner, a general contribution, (the amount of which shall be made known to the representative of each parish) to be paid by all those who possess property in the colony: the commanders in chief having decided that such an arrangement would be much more convenient than a general confiscation; other matters concerning the welfare of the colony will also be proposed to them.

Given at the governor's house at St. Pierre, on the 10th of May, 1794, in the 34th year of his majesty's reign.

(Signed) ROBERT PRESCOTT.
By order of the general,
(Signed) B. CLIFTON, Secretary.

Proclamation by order of their excellencies, general sir Charles Grey, and admiral sir John Jervis, commanders-in-chief of his Britannic

NO attention having been paid to the proclamation of the 10th instant, issued by his excellency general Prescott, desiring all the good people of this colony to assemble in their respective parishes and quarters, for the purpose of choosing persons of known intelligence, and approved integrity, to represent them in an assembly, which, according to the said proclamation, was to be held at Fort Royal, Sunday, the 18th instant, to meet the commissioners appointed and duly authorized by the commanders in chief, and to confer with them on the most equitable and most expeditious ways and means to raise a sum of money adequate to the value of the conquest, destined to reward the valour, to compensate the excessive fatigues, and their consequences, sickness and mortality, and to make good the heavy expence incurred by the British officers, soldiers, and sailors, who, with unshaken firmness, and matchless perseverance, have achieved the conquest of this island, subjected it to the British government, rescued from a wretched exile the greatest number of its inhabitants, and restored them to the quiet possession of their property, the confiscation of which had already been declared.

And the procrastination of this general arrangement being the cause which prevents many well-disposed inhabitants from carrying their commodities to market, and procuring themselves what is necessary for their habitations, to the obvious prejudice of the whole colony.

The commanders in chief, in order to remove an evil of such importance,

portance, and which is daily increasing, enact and ordain as follows:

1. The civil commissaries, each in his respective parish, are to draw up and deliver, as soon as possible, exact lists of the habitations situated in the said parishes, containing the number of slaves, cattle, acres, of land, buildings, and plantations, an estimate of each of those objects, and a specification of all sorts of productions made and gathered on each estate, wherein ought to be distinguished those that, *bona fide*, had been made and collected before the 23d of last March.

2. The civil commissaries in the parishes of the different towns and boroughs are likewise to draw up and deliver a list of the houses, slaves, and servants, to be found in the said towns and boroughs, stating the proprietors thereof, the yearly rent of each house, and enumerating all sorts of property, comprised under the denomination of goods, commodities, or merchandise, in the said towns and boroughs.

3. The civil commissaries are also ordered, in their respective quarters, to demand the ledgers, and all account-books, notes, and deeds, belonging to captains or agents of the French trade, as well as an exact account of all sorts of property, falling under the description of vacant succession, in each quarter of the colony, with a correct inventory of all the goods, effects, and chattels, belonging to such persons as have been taken, arms in hand, or killed during the siege, or banished the island; and farther, a specification of all property belonging to persons of any description whatever, residing in France.

4. The civil commissaries are to

name in their reports all persons without exception, that should delay giving in the different specifications required, or be suspected of making a false declaration, or fail to give the usual assistance, necessary for the exactness and impartiality of reports of that kind; it being the intention and wish, that the intended levy be made in the most equitable manner, and in exact proportion with the means of each individual.

5. The said reports are to be made with all possible expedition, so that on Saturday, the 31st instant or sooner, they may be delivered by the civil commissaries to the commissioners appointed to receive them, and who, for this purpose, will repair either to the intendant's hotel at St. Pierre, or to the governor's house at Fort Royal; the commanders in chief having, on their part, manifested their ardent wish to adopt the mildest measures, declare herewith, that it is their firm resolution to have this present measure fully executed; or, on the failure of it, to avail themselves of the power with which they are invested, to order and enforce a general confiscation.

Given under our signature, on board the *Boyne*, Fort Royal bay, on the 21st of May, the year of our Saviour, 1794, and the 34th of his majesty's reign.

(Signed) CHARLES GREY,
JOHN JERVIS.

By order of their excellencies,

(Signed) G. FISHER,
G. PURVIS.

Copy of the letter of major James Grant, commander of the British forces at the Mole in St. Domingo,

*to general Lavaux, commander of
the French troops in the same island.*

Mole St. Nicholas, 12th Feb.

Mr. General,

I HAVE the honour to forward to you inclosed a letter from Col. Whitlock, commander-in-chief of the British forces. I am informed that its contents are of the greatest importance, and that it may reach you in a safe and proper manner, I send you an English officer with a flag of truce, not doubting but you will procure to him an honourable protection. You will be so kind as to give him your answer, which he will deliver to me at Jean Rabel, where I shall have a sufficient number of men for the immediate execution of whatever plan you may do me the honour to propose.

Should you prefer to communicate with a ship of war, there will be one cruising in the canal that is between the land and la Tortue. In addition to what may be proposed in the letter from the colonel, I take this opportunity to assure you on the honour of a British officer, that all possible care shall be taken to secure to you every thing belonging to you, and you surely do not doubt but the most honourable attention will be paid to your person.

The ship of war has orders to give you all the protection in her power.

Permit me also to assure you, that all the officers and troops of the line shall be immediately received into the pay of Great Britain, on the same footing as the troops of Dillon and others serving in this garrison.

I have the honour to be,

Mr. General,

Your most obedient
humble servant,

(Signed) JAMES GRANT.

Copy of a letter from colonel Whitlock, commander-in-chief in St. Domingo, to Lavaux, commandant at Port de Paix.

Jeremie, 9th Feb. 1794.

SIR,

IF I am not misinformed, concerning your present situation, it is such that you will not be surprised at receiving this letter. You cannot but be fully acquainted with the intentions of his Britannic majesty, to use the most vigorous efforts to take possession of the island of St. Domingo, or of that part of it which is not yet subdued by the arms of Spain.

I hourly expect considerable forces from England; the army under my command has lately been considerably reinforced.

I doubt not but you have also been informed, that all the members of that party of the national convention of France, who had sanctioned the measure for sending to St. Domingo civil commissioners, who are looked upon as the cause of the total ruin of the island, have for that crime suffered an ignominious death.

Brissot, the leader of that party, was accused of three capital crimes, the first of which is that he advised the measure of sending hither civil commissioners.

The unhappy state of France rendering it impracticable for that nation to send succours to this ill-fated country, several of the most respectable proprietors of St. Domingo were forced to apply to England for protection, which was accordingly granted to them.

I now, therefore, in the name of his Britannic majesty, do hereby offer to you the same protection, on condition

condition that you shall first deliver the town and forts of Port de Paix and its dependencies into the possession of the British government; which being complied with, the officers and soldiers serving under your command shall enjoy the same favours as have been granted to those of the mole, leaving it to the bounty of his majesty to grant to yourself the rank he shall judge you proper. I farther add, that as a reward for the confidence which I demand of you in the name of the government which I serve, the sum of five thousand crowns (*écus*) Tournois, shall be paid to you in person, or deposited in the bank of England, payable to your order, on your delivering the town of Port de Paix, with the forts, artillery, ammunition, provisions, &c. &c. without any damage or devastation having been committed on them, into the hands of the officer whom I will appoint to receive them, as also the ships of war which may be in the same port. I shall be at Leogane next Wednesday, where any flag of truce you shall please to send me, shall be received and respected.

I have the honour to send you inclosed, the extract of an English gazette, which has been sent to all the English commanding officers.

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

WHITLOCK.

ANSWER OF LAVAUX.

Etienne Lavaux, governor gen. per interim of the French Leeward islands, to col. Whitlock, commander-in-chief of the British troops.

Port de Paix, Feb. 19, 2d year of the French republic.

THE probity, the delicacy which reign in the breast of a French republican, must ever have given you full assurance, that we would respect your flag of truce. French generosity does not fluctuate with events. As amongst us no person is distinguished as a superior, we all doing the duty of a soldier, I looked upon your letter to me as addressed to the first soldier of the army, and as I conceal nothing from my comrades, it was opened and read publicly. We are animated by one and the same spirit of defence. Without enlarging on our situation, I can assure you, that we have learned to bear all the fatigues that are incident to warfare, and that, when matters come to a decision, we shall behave like the true soldiers, and would punish them if they behaved otherwise.

Impressed with these sentiments, all the forces with which we are threatened cannot shake our courage. Like the three hundred Lacedaemonians who all died at their post, after having slain a part of their enemies, we will defend our station to the last, and sell our lives as dearly as we can. If ever we are in your power, you will take us in arms, and then you will treat us as prisoners of war.

These our sentiments are inspired by an ardent desire of meriting your esteem; we shall then be admired by our country and praised by you. What would you say, what would you think, if I proposed to you to surrender to me; if you being much inferior in number, I imposed on you the hard condition of dishonour? You would answer, *I must die*

die at my post: this very answer then I make to you. You lay great stress on your information that the unhappy state of France renders it impracticable for her to send us succours; we will wait for them, and use the last arms of despair, and your nation shall learn what a republican is able to perform.

I ask my whole army to cut off my head if I prove a traitor. Permit me now to complain to yourself of the indignity you have offered me in thinking me so vile, so flagitious, so base, as not to resent an offer of 50,000 crowns Tournois. In this you have wronged yourself. I am a general: hitherto I have been worthy to command the army. You have endeavoured to dishonour me in the eyes of my comrades; this is an offence between you and me for which you owe me satisfaction; I demand it in the name of honour, which must exist among all nations; therefore, previous to any general action, I offer you a single combat till either of us falls, leaving to you the choice of arms either on foot or horseback: then, if victorious, I shall have proved myself worthy to command republicans; if I fall gloriously, the republican army will have another leader still more formidable, and every individual in the army will imitate my example.

Your quality of enemy in the name of your nation did not give you a right to offer me a personal insult; as a private person, I ask satisfaction for an injury done me by an individual.

I must tell you that the English papers you send me are not conformable to the news we receive from France. Our two nations have often made war with each other;

but always with equal weapons, cease then to attack us by tenders of money. Let us be equally generous, let us contend in honourable hostility, and let us scorn the arts of seduction.

The enemy made prisoner of war with arms in his hands commands respect, as he merits esteem. The universe has its eyes upon us; the universe will say, there still exist men who preferred death to dishonour; we shall serve as examples to all military men, and your country itself will testify its approbation. We have always before our eyes the proverb which says, the treason pleases us well, but the traitor is detested.

The commander of the road, impressed with the same sentiments will surrender the ships only to be swallowed up by the deep. A second flag of truce would be very needless, therefore, do not give yourself the trouble to send one. I invite you to read my letter publicly, as it is written in public.

I greet you in the name of the whole army.

(Signed) ET. LAVAUX.

Memorial from lord St. Helen, his Britannic majesty's minister, to their high mightinesses the states general of the United Provinces.

THE undersigned ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, has the honour to inform your high mightinesses, that he has learned by letters from the duke of York, commander-in-chief of his majesty's army in the Belgian provinces, that circumstances having obliged the allied troops to abandon Bruges, it

is actually occupied by the enemy, and that, through this accident, the British army has no longer any communication with Ostend; from which circumstance, it has become of the utmost importance, that the British army should receive the considerable reinforcements of troops and stores expected from the ports of England by the river Scheldt, the greatest part of which is already at sea: and in consequence of which the undersigned finds himself obliged to request very seriously of your high mightinesses to permit, and give the necessary orders for the free passage of the vessels conveying troops and other necessaries for the said British army, and for their passage, without any impediment.

The object of this demand being evidently of much importance to the common cause, the undersigned has no doubt of your immediate concurrence; and he farther flatters himself, that your high mightinesses, seeing the extreme necessity of this request, will dispatch the necessary orders, with all possible diligence.

(Signed) ST. HELEN.

Done at the Hague, July 29,
1794.

In consequence of this memorial the navigation of the Scheldt was declared free to all English vessels.

The free men of La Petite Riviere in St Domingo, and its dependencies, encamped at Marchand, (between Gonaives and Artibonite) under the orders of general Lavaux commander of the republicans, to Mr. Bristan, commander of the

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forces of his Britannic majesty, at St. Marc, Aug. 18, 1794.

Mr. Commander,

A BJURING the errors into which the agents of the republic have plunged us; jealous of profiting by the advantages offered us, in your just and beneficent proclamation, dated the 7th instant, we submit ourselves to the arms of his Britannic majesty. We swear fidelity to you, and beseech you to prescribe what measures you think proper to procure us peace, and tend to the preservation of the rest of the unhappy colony of St. Domingo. The frankness of loyalty, which characterizes your nation—your generous proceedings towards those who have put themselves under your protection, are very powerful motives to excite our confidence. Be assured that our entire submission to your orders, our zeal to co-operate in obtaining the return of order, shall make amends for our past conduct, and never will Great Britain have more faithful subjects. When we receive your answer, we will send you the articles of our capitulation. We are going to communicate our dispositions to the neighbouring parishes, that are still under the republican dominion, and we have every reason to think that they will yield to reason, and that, animated by the sentiments which actuate us, they will accept the protection you offer them. We are convinced that you will cause the happiness of the colony, and thereby acquire powerful claims to the public gratitude.

We have the honour, &c.

(Signed) B. CASENEUVE,
CHRIST. MORNET,
CHESNAU, Secretary.

N

To

To an application made to lord Grenville by the English consul at Amsterdam, lord St. Helen was directed to send the following answer.

Hague, Oct. 10, 1794.

Sir,

LORD Grenville having received a letter from you, in which you state, that in consequence of the progress lately made by the enemy on the frontier of this republic, a general consternation had taken place at Amsterdam, which had produced a considerable emigration of the inhabitants of that city, and that it might, therefore, be expedient, that some assistance should be furnished by Great-Britain to such other persons as might be disposed to leave that place with their effects; I am directed by his lordship to inform you, that his majesty, far from being disposed to assist or facilitate any such emigration, wishes to check and discourage it as much as possible, considering it as highly prejudicial to the interests of the republic, as well as of the common cause.

I beg leave to recommend it to you to take every proper opportunity of making known these sentiments of his majesty, particularly to those persons whose conduct they may be likely to influence. I am with great esteem and regard,

Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

(Signed) ST. HELEN.

H. PYE RICH, esq. Amsterdam.

Garezio, and other cities in Piedmont, May, 1794.

THE invincible French republicans are at your doors. They know no enemies but the enemies of liberty. They invite you to shake off the yoke of your perfidious tyrant, and you shall be treated as brethren: otherwise, you shall be dealt with as slaves. I expect your immediate answer at my camp.

MASSENA.

Equality, liberty, fraternity, or death.

Richard and Chodieu, representatives of the people with the army of the North, in order to secure to the inhabitants of the conquered countries their tranquillity, safety, and property, and to take measures to prevent all enterprises in those countries, which may be hostile to the interests of the French republic, order as follows:

ARTICLE 1. Every inhabitant of a conquered country, absent from his place of abode, is permitted to return within a fortnight from the date of this arret; after that period, those who do not return will be considered as emigrants. This permission, however, is not to extend to those who have been guilty of any crime against the republic, for which they will be pursued and treated as the enemies of the French people. It is not to extend to the inhabitants of the conquered countries, whose effects have been sequestered by laws anterior to this arret. The delay granted to the inhabitants of places actually blockaded, shall be estimated from the day on which the blockade

Proclamation of the French general André Massena, to the people of

blockade shall cease; their effects, however, shall continue provisionally sequestered.

2. All the inhabitants of the conquered Belgic provinces, under the special protection of the French republic, are charged not to favour, directly or indirectly, the arms of the combined powers.

3. All those who shall be convicted of correspondence with the enemy, either by act, conspiracy, or discourses, to the injury of the French people, shall be given up to the revolutionary tribunal of France, and dealt with according to law.

4. Every individual, now domiciliated in the conquered countries, who has quitted France in consequence of the laws of the republic, is ordered to depart in twenty-four hours, under pain of being treated as a French emigrant.

5. The military commanders are enjoined to take rigorous measures for the preservation of order and tranquillity in the conquered places, and to prevent any violence to the safety or property of the inhabitants under any pretext whatsoever. The freedom of worship must be respected.

6. The magistrates of the conquered towns and communes are enjoined, on their responsibility, to comply with the requisitions made by the commissaries of war, for the service of the republic, within the time prescribed. In case of disobedience, they will be treated as enemies to the republic.

7. All magistrates that shall be found favouring, or exciting, by their private or public conduct, or by discourses against the French revolution, any commotions against the republic, shall be given up to

the revolutionary tribunals, and considered as enemies to the French people.

8. The police of the conquered places shall be administered by the military commandants, till it shall be otherwise ordained; they must use the most active vigilance to discover the plots, and to prevent the designs of the enemies of the republic; they must be careful to prevent any public or private assembling of the inhabitants, and shall employ the military force to disperse them.

9. The inhabitants of the conquered countries shall resign their arms into the hands of the military commandants within the space of twenty-four hours after the publication of the present arrêt. Those convicted of secreting them shall be given up to the military commission, and punished with death.

10. Assignats shall be received at all the public banks, and in all commercial transactions: those who shall refuse, deny, or forge, and those who shall circulate false ones, are to be given up to the criminal tribunal of the department of Pas de Calais, and punished conformably to the laws of the republic upon that head.

11. To prevent the disaffected from raising the price of merchandise and wares of the country, on account of the introduction of assignats, the maximum established in the city of Lisle shall be adopted in all the conquered countries of West Flanders.

12. The imposts and other duties established in the conquered countries, under whatever denomination they may exist, shall continue to be received for the use of the republic.

13. The soldiers of the republic shall observe the strictest discipline in the conquered countries, and refute by their conduct the calumnies of their enemies. The commanders of corps and the generals shall cause to be given up all those who commit disorders, the effect of which would be to favour the designs of the enemy.

Done at Lisle, 4th Messidor, (22d June) in the 2d year of the republic, one and indivisible.

(Signed) RICHARD,

A true copy. S. BOURGER,
Commissary in chief.

Decree of the convention, on the 5th of July, 1794.

THE national convention decree, that all the troops of the combined tyrants, who remain garrisoned in French towns, invaded by the enemy on the frontiers of the north, and who shall not surrender at discretion, within twenty-four hours after being summoned by the generals of the armies of the republic, shall not be admitted to any capitulation, and shall be put to the sword.

Proclamation circulated at Brussels.

French republic, one and indivisible—liberty, equality.

Ghent, 20th Messidor, (8th July) the 2d year of the French republic.

RICHARD, the representative of the people, sent to the

army of the north decrees, as follows :

1. The persons and property of the inhabitants of the conquered countries, are put under the immediate protection of the French soldiers.

2. Every individual belonging to the army who shall be found a quarter of a league from the posts, camps, or cantonments occupied by the French troops, and who cannot justify his conduct by the sanction or leave of absence from his officers, shall be considered as a plunderer, and punished with death.

3. All the generals, captains, and subordinate officers, are made responsible for the rigid execution of this decree.

4. The French soldiers are required, in the name of their country, to denounce to their chiefs all those who may be found aiding by excesses or acts of depredation, the cause of the enemies of liberty, or by violating the principles upon which the French republic has been instituted.

5. The present decree shall be read at the head of every corps, and their officers shall notify the same to their generals by a certificate from their administrative council. It shall besides be printed, stuck up, and publicly read three times every decade, until otherwise ordered.

(Signed) RICHARD.

And sealed with the seal of the representative of the French people.

Certified according to the original,
SOUHAM,

The general of the division.

Proclamation

Proclamation published in French and Flemish, relative to the circulation of assignats.—Liberty, equality.

THE representatives of the French people, sent to the armies of the North, the Sambre, and the Meuse, hereby decree :

1. That the assignats of the French republic shall be circulated in Brussels and other conquered countries in the same manner as metal money.

2. All the inhabitants, whether merchants or others, are hereby prohibited from fixing two prices for their commodities, and from refusing or discrediting assignats, under the penalty of being regarded as the enemies of the republic, and sent to take their trials before the revolutionary tribunals of France.

L. B. GUITTON, RICHARD.
23d Messidor, 11th July, 2d year
of the republic, one and indivisible.

Department of Guadaloupe.—Liberty, equality.

Address to the republicans of the sea and land forces of the republic now at Guadaloupe, from the commissioner deputed by the national convention to the windward isles.

Citizens,

THE Romans, reduced to their capitol, emerged to liberty more terrible than before. Free-men find resources in the most pressing extremities. See, brave *sans culottes* and intrepid marines, what has been your situation ! few in number, and without generals, you have vanquished armies; you were

reserved to exhibit to the universe a spectacle the most astonishing. Enjoy your triumph with exultation, even your enemies admire your virtue and your courage.

***** Pitt, and their slaves, had sent, at a vast expense, land and sea forces to effect the conquest of the French possessions, an enterprise of no difficulty, because they then contained none but masters and their slaves. One republican battalion, two frigates, three transports, (a contrast how striking !) have defeated the savage Jervis, with six ships, twelve frigates, and eight small sloops of war ; and the hypocrite Grey, with twelve battalions and his horde of aristocrats : you have made them bite the dust ; great numbers have fallen into our power, while, during a combat of forty days, not a single republican has been made a prisoner.

Your resolution in remaining at your post, notwithstanding the fire of the enemy, in spite of the bombs and red-hot balls which they incessantly discharged upon us for thirty days ; your exemplary conduct has even excited their admiration ; not a complaint has been raised against you : you have respected property, though you were in a country conquered and taken by assault, and though immense wealth has been exposed to your view, You have thrown no person into mourning ; you have caused no tears to flow ; no mother has demanded of you her slaughtered son ; no wife her butchered husband ; no children their murdered father But can our barbarous enemies say thus much? You have heard the cries of the wretched, from whom they have, by cruel massacres, torn fathers, husbands, and children.

N 3

You

You have treated your vanquished foes with generosity, even while the ferocious English generals have caused your wounded brethren to be assassinated on the field of battle, you have covered yourselves with glory. Humanity shall gratefully acknowledge and transmit your names and actions to posterity, your enemies have overwhelmed themselves in infamy, and shall remain an object of horror to future generations; such is the enthusiasm of liberty, which counts not her enemies, and which triumphs over numbers. Yes, citizens, fortune smiles propitious on the daring; and victory rewards courage.

Republicans, let the grandeur of these ideas inflame your valour; "they who have fought for liberty, have ever been successful." Call to your recollection the Swiss and the Americans.

Citizen colonists, who, ever firm in your principles, have been able to resist the perfidious insinuations of our enemies; and you, citizens of colour, who, enjoying the advantages of the French nation, have shared our successes, in combating for your liberty, imitate your brethren the *sans culottes*; they will always shew you the road to victory, and consolidate with you your liberty, and that of your children.

Republicans, the commissioner seizes this opportunity to declare, in the name of the national convention, that you have deserved well of your country; and invites you to persevere in the sentiments which have animated you to the present moment. For himself, he will continue to merit your esteem, by exhibiting to you an example of civism and courage.

At Port de la Liberté, island of

Guadaloupe, heretofore Point Petre, the 1st day of Thermidor, (July 19, 1794,) second year of the French republic, one and indivisible.

(Signed, &c.) VICTOR HUGHES.

Sealed with the seal of the commission, and signed by the commissioner, and by his secretary.

VIEL, *Secretary to the commissioner.*

French proclamation to the army of the western Pyrenees and the Spaniards of the frontier, published in the end of July, 1794.

Brave soldiers,

THE moment of victory has at length arrived, which proves that this army is the worthy sister of those of the north and south. That, by their example, you will also avenge your country, overturn the despots, and sacrifice their satellites; that, like them, after purifying the land of liberty, sullied by the presence of slaves, you will bear the triumphant arms of the republic into the territory of the enemy, and there display the tricoloured standard, of freedom. In penetrating into the enemy's territory, brave soldiers, we need not stimulate your courage—you are always eager to combat and to conquer; but we recommend to your consideration what the French people have proclaimed every where—war to the palace—peace to the cottage—war against tyrants and their satellites—peace to the peaceable citizen—to the humble shed of the indigent—to the abode of the useful labourer, and industrious artisan. This conduct, as it arises from our feelings, is also dictated by our interest.

The

The Spanish territory, upon which we now enter, must become part of the French republic. Let, therefore, devastation, pillage, and incendiary be far from us—let the fearful inhabitant behold his asylum respected, and learn, at length, to esteem a people, the avengers of the violated rights of human nature, whom kings and priests have represented to them as a people of Anthropophagi. And you, inhabitants of the Spanish fields and towns, useful labourers, industrious artisans, fly not the republican legions.—Throw yourselves into our arms, without weapons, without defence, and you will find in them protection and safety for yourselves, your families and your property. The French soldier has sworn to exterminate the men armed for tyrants; but the sword, so dreadful to such, will respect always him, who defenceless, shall implore his assistance and his clemency. He will equally respect opinions, manners, customs, and usages. Remain, therefore, in your peaceful dwellings, cultivate your fields, gather in your harvests, work at your occupations, and liberty, growing in the midst of you, will soon make you feel the immense distance between the avengers of the rights of men, and the slaves who move within the verge of despotism. The French soldier would conquer you to freedom, not by the terror of his arms, but by gaining your hearts, and illuminating your minds.

(Signed) PINET, the elder,
GARRAU, CAVAIGNAC.

Equality, liberty, fraternity, or death!

The general-verifier of assignats to his fellow-citizens.

Republicans,

THE enemies of our glorious revolution do not cease to attack it by the most vile and most criminal methods. The coalesced despots against it have not blushed to rank themselves among the forgers of assignats.

Crimes cost nothing to tyrants in the war which they wage against a people who combats for the sacred rights of man. These royal robbers (brigands) have established fabrications of false assignats; and in this emulation of turpitude, the English government shews itself zealous of occupying the first rank. The proof of it results from the most exact information, which has been taken on account of this false paper, of which Liege, Flanders, Holland, and Germany, are like so many magazines, destined at length to vomit the poison on the territories of the republic.

But their criminal attempts have been baffled. Long since, measures have been taken which are crowned with success; and still farther to exterminate the false assignats among us, the following ordinance is to be published and attended to, in all the conquered countries, as well as in France; and that no person may pretend ignorance thereof, it is to be published in the two languages, and stuck up conspicuously as usual.

(Signed) DEPEREZ,

The general-verifier of assignats.

PROCLAMATION.

1. It is hereby enjoined to all citizens of every rank and description

Address from the general-verifier of assignats at Bruges, August 21, 1794.

tion whatever, who are in possession of assignats, either belonging to them, or to any other person or persons whatever, to bring them within the space of twenty-four hours to the verifiers to be verified, at the Maison de France, in all the different towns now possessed by the French republic; otherwise they shall be treated as suspected persons and imprisoned, until a peace, in some town in the department of Pas de Calais.

2. Any persons or persons knowing of a dépôt of false assignats, and not making an immediate declaration of the same, to be ranked as an accomplice, and punished as such.

3. All shipping, merchants, and others, are required daily to bring the assignats they receive, within twenty-four hours after the receipt of them, to be verified, or in default of so doing, to be treated as suspected.

4. Every person, or persons, who shall be found endeavouring to pass false assignats are immediately to be denounced by the party, or parties, to whom such assignats are offered, or, those neglecting so to do, shall be brought before the criminal tribunal of the department of Pas de Calais.

Seen, and judged proper to be affixed in the usual manner, in my presence.

LAURENT, general.

AGEYMAS, commandant
amovible.

(Signed) BEYTS.

*Address from the national convention
to the French people, Oct. 9, 1794.*

FRENCHMEN, in the midst of
your triumphs, your ruin is

meditated. Certain perverse men would raise the tomb of liberty in the bosom of France. To be silent we should betray ourselves, and the most sacred of duties is to enlighten you in the perils which surround you.

Your most dangerous foes are not those satellites of despotism, whom you are accustomed to vanquish; but their perfidious emissaries, who, mingling among you, combat your independence, by imposition and by calumny.

The heirs of the crimes of Robespierre, and of all the conspirators whom you have overthrown, labour in every sense to mislead the republic; and covered with various masks, they seek to lead you to a counter-revolution through the disorders of anarchy.

Such is the character of those whom ambition pushes on to tyranny. They proclaim their principles; they decorate themselves with sentiments which they have not. They call themselves the friends of the people, and they aspire only to authority. They talk only of the rights of the people—they strive only to wrest them from their hands.

Frenchmen, you will suffer yourselves no longer to be deluded by these fallacious insinuations; instructed by experience you will be deceived no more. The evil has pointed out the remedy. You were on the point of falling into the snare of the wicked—The republic was about to perish—you merely exclaimed "*vive la convention!*" the wicked were confounded, and the republic saved.

Remember that so long as the people and the convention are one, the attempts of the enemies of liberty will expire at your feet, as the foam

foam of the ocean breaks upon the rock.

Restored to your pristine energy, you will no more suffer a few individuals to impose on your reason, and you will not forget, that the greatest misfortune of a people is a continual agitation. They know this well who would drive you from the slumber of death into the arms of tyranny.

Rally at the voice of your representatives. You will never lose sight of this truth, that the assurance of liberty is at once in the force of the people, and in its reunion to the government which has merited its confidence.

On our side, the convention, constant in its course, supported by the will of the people, will maintain by reforming it, that government which has saved the republic.

Yes, we swear—we will remain at our post until the consummation of the revolution; until that hour when the triumphant republic, giving the law to its enemies, shall be able to enjoy, in the security of victory, those fruits of a constitution, as solid as the peace they shall have imposed.

We shall know how to spare error and to strike only at crime: be inexorable only to immorality. The immoral man ought to be rejected by society as a dangerous element corruptible by his nature, and therefore always ready to rally round conspiracy.

Your representatives will not suffer the public sanctions to be exercised by others than the true friends of the people—they will banish far from them the perfidious, who talk of the rights of the people only to engross them.

After having thus expressed its solicitude, manifested its thoughts and intentions, the natural convention states to the French people, those sacred principles and eternal truths the central force of their union.

A nation cannot govern itself by the flexible decisions of caprice, the sport of the passions—it is by the authority only of the laws that it can do so.

The laws are the securities for our rights. This previous security is sought by man when he enters political associations. This they afford him by the aid of government, which confines the citizen within the circle of his duties.

Every thing which would violate those rights is a crime against the social organization. Individual liberty must have no bounds, except where it trenches upon the liberty of others. The law must ascertain, and mark those boundaries.

Property must be sacred. Far from us be those systems dictated by immorality and idleness, that erect into system the commission of theft, and diminish the salutary horror it inspires. Let the power of the law therefore secure our property, as it secures the other rights of the citizen.

But who should establish the law? The people alone, by the organ of those representatives to whom it has delegated this power. No particular authority—no reunion is the people—nor can it act, not even speak in its name.

If any audacious hand should attempt to seize the rights of the people, upon the altar of the country, the convention will discover with greater eagerness their delegated power

power to the usurper, as they owe an account to the people of the attacks made upon its sovereignty.

In their firmness the national convention will not depart from wisdom—they will attend to all remonstrance, but they will not suffer the right to enlighten and admonish, to become a means of oppression and debasement—nor that any voice shall be louder than that of the national representation.

Against the intriguers, and those who yet may regret royalty, they will preserve the most vigorous posture. They will maintain the measures of security, which the public safety demands; but they will never consent to their arbitrary extension, and that suspicion should be a source of calamity.

Frenchmen, consider as your enemies all those who attack, obliquely or directly, the liberty, the equality, the unity, and the indivisibility of the republic.

Fly those who speak to you of blood and scaffolds incessantly, those exclusive patriots, enriched by the revolution, who dread the operation of justice, and who reckon upon finding their safety in confusion and anarchy.

Esteem and search out those laborious and modest men, those good and pure beings, who fly from public employments, and who practise incessantly, without ostentation, the republican virtues.

Never lose sight of this axiom, that if a rapid and violent movement is necessary to make a revolution, calmness and prudence must terminate it. Unite yourselves about one common centre, the love and respect for the laws.

Behold your brave brethren in

arms; they set you the example of that sublime obedience in their submission and devotion. Their glory is to attend to the voice of their leaders; they bless incessantly the decrees of the convention; they suffer, and cast the misfortune upon circumstances; if they perish, their last exclamation is for the republic.

And you, in the bosom of towns and villages, will you suffer yourselves to be agitated by vain debates? Will you throw into your assemblies obstacles which may retard the triumphant march of the revolution.

O Frenchmen! what grief will it be for you, what satisfaction for your enemies, to see France victorious without, and torn to pieces within! No, they shall not have that cruel pleasure.—What the convention has done in the armies, they will do in the bosom of the republic.

The warlike virtues produce the hero; the domestic virtues form the citizen; and they are these virtues, sustained and fortified by an invincible attachment to republican principles, which perpetuate in a generous nation that sacred fire, that grand character, which has made the French people the first in the universe.

Citizens, all the virtuous must concur in the establishment of a republic. You have exerted, by turns, force, for the demolition of the Bastille and the throne—the patience to support the evils inseparable from a general revolution—the courage to repulse your barbarous invaders. The time is arrived to conquer your enemies again by firmness and wisdom. Calm must succeed to so many storms. The vessel

vessel of the republic, beaten so oft by the tempest, touches at length upon the shore. Beware how you repulse it once more among the breakers. Permit it to approach the port, pressing with a tranquil course an obedient ocean, in the midst of the transports of a people free, happy, and triumphant.

Proclamation and decree of the national convention to all those who have taken part in the revolt in the departments of the west, the coasts of Brest, and the coasts of Cherbourg.

FOR two years your country has been a prey to the horrors of civil war. Those fertile plains, which appeared designed by nature to be the abode of happiness, are become the residence of proscription and carnage. The courage of our countrymen is turned against themselves. The flames devour their habitations, and the earth, covered with ruins and with emblems of mourning, refuses even a subsistence to the survivors. Such are, Frenchmen, the wounds which have been inflicted on our country by pride and imposture. Wicked men have abused your inexperience: it was in the name of a righteous God that they furnished you with parricidal arms; it was in the name of humanity that they devoted to death thousands of victims; it was in the name of virtue that they drew together a band of wretches from every corner of France—that they made it the receptacle of monsters vomited out of every country. What blood has been sacrificed to the best of dominions! and you, whom they deluded, why

did you reject the lights that were held out to you, to embrace a mischievous phantom? Why would you prefer masters to brothers, and the torches of fanaticism to the flambeau of reason? May your eyes at length be opened, and an end put to so many calamities! Weakened by repeated losses, disunited and scattered, without any other resource than despair, you still may have an asylum in the generosity of the nation. Yes, your brothers, the French people, are still inclined to think you more misled than culpable; their arms are stretched out to you, and the national convention pardons you in their name, if you lay down your arms, and if repentance and a sincere attachment urge you to fraternize with them. Their word is sacred; and, if unfaithful delegates have abused their confidence and your's, justice shall be executed on them. Thus the republic, equally terrible towards its enemies within, as without, is highly gratified by recalling its misguided children! take advantage of its clemency, and hasten to return into the bosom of your country. The authors of all your misfortunes are those who have seduced you.

It is time that the enemies of France should cease to be gratified by the spectacle of our internal dissensions; they alone smile at your misfortunes; they alone profit of them: it is necessary to defeat their impious plans. Turn against them those arms they have supplied you with for our destruction. Are the ties of nature dissolved; and has the blood of the English passed into your veins? Would you massacre the families of your brother-conquerors of Europe, rather than unite yourselves to them, and partake of their glory?

glory?—No: you are now enlightened by the voice of truth, and already many of you are returned, and find security the price of your confidence. Return all of you, and let the fire-side of each become secure and peaceful, let the lands be cultivated, and let plenty resume its reign! Let us join in avenging ourselves of the common enemy—of that implacable and jealous nation, which has thrown the brand of discord amongst us! Let all our republican energy be directed against those who have violated the rights of the people! Let the utmost vigour animate all throughout our ports; let the ocean be covered with our privateers; and let the war of extermination, with all its attendant horrors, be carried from the banks of the Loire to the banks of the Thames!—

Decreed,

1. That all persons in the departments of the east, the coasts of Brest and of Cherbourg, known under the name of the robbers of La Vendée and of Chouans, who shall lay down their arms in the course of a month after the publication of the present decree, shall not be molested or tried for the acts which they may have committed.

2. The arms shall be deposited in the municipalities and communes that shall be pointed out by the representatives of the people.

3. To superintend the execution of the present decree, the convention appointed the representatives of the people, Menou, Boudin, the official for the departments of the east, and two others for the coasts of Cherbourg, with the same powers as the representatives of the people in mission.

Proclamation to the French people to accompany the decree of the repeal of the law of the Maximum.

Frenchmen,

REASON, equity, the interest of the republic, reproved long ago the law of the maximum; the national convention revokes it; and the more the salutary motives which dictated this decree shall be known, the more it will have a right to your confidence. In taking this measure, it does not mistake the circumstances which surround it; it foresees that bad faith will endeavour to persuade, that all the evils which were occasioned by the maximum itself are the effects of its suppression. But your faithful representatives have forgot their dangers, and only look for public utility.

The least enlightened minds know now, that the law of the maximum annihilated from day to day commerce and agriculture: the more that law was enforced, the more it became impracticable. Oppression in vain assumed a thousand forms; it met with a thousand obstacles; it was constantly eluded, or it only took away, by odious and violent means, some precarious resources, which it was soon to exhaust.

It is then that law which became so disastrous, that conducted us to an exhausted state. Considerations which exist no more, justified it perhaps at first; had not the convention, in repealing it, broken the chains of industry. It belongs to industry freed from her shackles; it belongs to regenerated commerce to multiply our wealth and our means of exchange. The supplies of the republic are entrusted to unanimity and to liberty, the only bases of commerce and agriculture.

But

But after so many calamities, their benefits will not be as speedy as our wants are urgent. Every sudden transition to a new order of things, every change, however useful it be, is never without a shock, and offers almost constantly some inconvenience. The impatience of the citizens wanted at this moment to supply itself, at any price, with the goods necessary for their consumption. This cause, added to the inclemency of the season, made them undergo a momentary rise in their price. A few days more, and we shall see the happy effects of a decree, which malevolence will doubtless calumniate, which was commanded by the welfare of the people. Let all fears vanish; the government watches day and night. Your representatives expect every thing from the character which distinguishes the French nation, and the provisions shall be secured. Fraternity shall be no more an empty name among us; it shall reject alike the calculation of avarice and the false alarms, which are still more subservient to a variety of speculators, in creating a factitious famine.

You will not compromise five years labours and sacrifices; and the genius of liberty will triumph this day over all the passions, even of his wants, and of the rigour of the elements, as he has triumphed over all the tyrants of Europe.

Your enemies bestir themselves in darkness, and want to mislead the people; but they shall be deaf to the insinuations of perfidy, and shall only rally at the voice of the country.

Yesterday royalty seemed to conspire from the bottom of its grave; its blasphemies resounded to the

gates of the sanctuary of liberty. But this last cry of royal fanaticism, striking all the republicans with indignation, contributes to give them fresh energy. Justice and reason will bring back abundance by degrees. The most magnanimous nation will reap at last the fruit of her virtues; and her representatives will find their reward in beholding her happiness.

Decree of the convention, and address to the armies.

ON the 7th Praireal (26th May, 1794) a pretended design of assassinating Robespierre was discovered and attributed to the English: upon which the national convention of France decreed; *that no English nor Hanoverian prisoners shall be made.*

On the 11th Praireal. Barrere proposed to the convention, that the above decree shall be accompanied by the following address to the armies of the republic, which was agreed to.

England is capable of every outrage on humanity; and of every crime towards the republic. She attacks the rights of nations, and threatens to annihilate liberty.

How long will you suffer to continue on your frontier the slaves of *****—the soldiers of the most atrocious of tyrants?

He formed the congress of Pilnitz, and brought about the scandalous surrender of Toulon. He massacred your brethren at Genoa, and burned our magazines in the maritime towns. He corrupted our cities, and endeavoured to destroy the national representation. He starved

your

your plains, and purchased treasons on the frontiers.

When the event of battles shall put in your power either English or Hanoverians, bring to your remembrance the vast tracts of country English slaves have laid waste. Carry your view to La Vendée, Toulon, Lyons, Landrecies, Martinique, and St. Domingo, places still reeking with the blood which the atrocious policy of the English has shed. Do not trust to their artful language, which is an additional crime, worthy of their perfidious character and machiavelian government. Those who boast that they abhor the tyranny of *****; say, can they fight for him!

No, No, republican soldiers, you ought therefore, when victory shall put in your power, either Englishmen or Hanoverians, to strike; not one of them ought to return to the traiterous territory of England, or to be brought into France. Let the British slaves perish, and Europe be free.

Proclamation of the canton of Berne, in Switzerland, August, 1794.

WE, the Avoyer, the little and great council of the city and republic of Berne, &c. make known by these presents—public fame has sufficiently informed us of the deplorable scenes which have overwhelmed the city of Geneva. That republic, in whose prosperity we have constantly taken an interest, resulting from long and intimate relations as allies, and the habitual connections of neighbourhood, is delivered up to unheard-of calamities, of which it is not possible to foresee the extent, the duration, or

the consequences. At the moment that we had reason to hope for the return of peace and tranquillity, by the establishment of the new order of things, which the government had solemnly announced to us, the same as had the canton of Zurich, a band of tumultuous men attacked and overthrew by main force, public liberty and personal safety; they violated private houses, arrested individuals, and dragged them to prison. These violences were committed even against the ministers of religion, in a manner such as seemed to announce the intended proscription of religion, in a city hitherto remarked as its great supporter. Citizens were sacrificed even against the will of the majority of voters. New victims were pointed out; new attempts were made against persons and property, even in despite of oaths, of forms established, and the laws of the state; and Geneva awaits in consternation the fate which the sanguinary men, who have usurped the right of disposing of the lives and fortunes of all the citizens, are preparing for her.

We see with extreme grief the sad destiny of a city whose happiness has been at all times the object of our cares, and which, by its proximity, so nearly interests our own state and that of all Switzerland. But the knowledge we have gained of the criminal participation of many individuals of our own country aggravates still more our grief and indignation. Our paternal solicitude for the safety and honour of our country not permitting us to tolerate on our territory these men, sullied with crimes, we, by the present publication, interdict their entrance into our territories; and will that all those of our subjects who shall

shall be known to have had any part in these atrocious scenes, be instantly denounced and seized; reserving to ourselves to pronounce the chastisement which their culpable conduct, in a city so long our ally, merits. We doubt not, dear and faithful citizens, that participating in the same sentiments that animate us, you will redouble your activity and zeal in the execution of this present ordinance.

Proclamation published by the revolutionary committee of Geneva, July 20, 1794.

Equality, liberty, independence.

Revolutionary citizens !
THE revolution of the 28th of December, 1792, was more serviceable to the aristocrats than to the revolutionists. The former, always incorrigible, and invariably the enemies of liberty, have suffered no abatement of their criminal hopes and liberticidal pretensions. The moment is now arrived, when the revolutionists, wearied with living among men who have not ceased for a moment to be inimical both to them and the French republic, have been forced to rise for the completion of the work which had nearly been entered on, and to ensure the everlasting triumph of the principles of equality in our country.

Revolutionary citizens, your moderation has hitherto merely served to ensnare you, to embolden the aristocrats, and give consistency to their culpable views. It is time that the people should have justice done; and with this intention the revolutionary committee lays before you the following plan :

1. A revolutionary tribunal, consisting of twenty-one members, shall be formed.

2. The revolutionists, assembled in a body at the national lyceum, shall elect this tribunal by a single process, and according to the relative majorities.

3. The electors shall not return more than 21 citizens, and not less than 11.

4. No one shall refuse his vote on penalty of being considered as a suspected person, and treated as such.

5. Each revolutionary citizen, without any exception, shall be enjoined to repair armed to-morrow, the 21st of July, at eight in the morning, to the national lyceum, and there to vote, on pain of being considered as a suspected person, and treated as such.

6. The revolutionary tribunal shall try those who are imprisoned, as well as those who have escaped for the present, and have fled since the revolution.

7. It may pronounce sentence of death, pecuniary fines, banishment, &c.

8. Every sentence of death shall be subject to the approval of the whole body of the revolutionary citizens.

9. The revolutionary tribunal shall complete its functions within the space of six days, reckoning from the moment of its election.

10. A military committee shall be created, to consist of seven members, who are to watch over the public safety, and to execute the sentences of the revolutionary tribunal. It shall succeed the revolutionary committee, at the expiration of its powers.

The members of each circle are enjoined to give their suffrages in the

the most public manner, as all true revolutionists ought to do.

Before eight in the evening the result of the deliberation will be published, mentioning the number of the suffrages.

(Signed) ALEX. BOUSQUET.

President of the revolutionary committee.

Preamble of the decree by which the revolutionary committee was established at Geneva.

Liberty, equality, independence.

REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNAL.

Revolutionary citizens;

FOR nearly a century, liberty has painfully contended against aristocracy: the people of Geneva now struggle for the restoration of their rights. For nearly a century the country has been harrassed by the pretensions constantly renewed, of certain citizens, who persuaded themselves that the people were made for them, and that the republic was their inheritance.

The revolution of 1792 had apparently the effect of terminating for ever the reign of the aristocracy you have too long endured.

But, revolutionary citizens, those among you who fancied that the above revolution had done every thing to establish in this republic the reign of equality, were strangely abused!—Those who conceived that the constitution, latterly accepted, would secure to the people all the advantages of liberty, were much mistaken! you invited all the Genevese to the enjoyment of the rights of citizenship; but the enemies of equality continued the same, with

all their pretensions and all their prejudices. In accepting the constitution you extinguished the aristocracy of the laws; but the aristocracy of names, of riches, and of manners, lost no part of its energy and activity.

The entire mass of the aristocrats and their adherents remained in the posture of an enemy, whom a check has just humbled, but who waits the first favourable opportunity to wreak his revenge, and recover his superiority.

With an utter detestation of the principles of the constitution, they had accepted it, because it covered them, as well as the citizens in general, with its shield; and because under shelter of the severe measures it had adopted against the abuses of authority, and of the scrupulous formalities to which it subjected the course of justice, they might manoeuvre secretly with sure impunity.

Their hostile dispositions were, however, not equivocal.—Have you in reality seen them renounce their pretensions, and abjure their old errors? have you observed the dissolution of that scandalous coalition which was formed to combat equality? have you seen them embrace the excellent opportunities afforded them by our civic festivals, to fraternize with us? in short, have you seen one of them even abandon the fastidious pomp of aristocracy, to unite sincerely with us around the simplest standard of liberty? no;—but you have seen the criminal obstinacy with which some of them refused to take the civic oath, and with what repugnance others consented to pronounce it. You have heard their counter-revolutionary predictions and prophecies; and no longer ago than the last year, when the Piedmontese

Piedmontese penetrated into Mont Blanc, you saw them come out from their retreats, fly to the walls, and there collect in groups, with the manifest intention to profit by the circumstances, and recover their lost ascendancy. You have heard them sigh for a counter-revolution in France, which could not fail to bring about one in this republic; and express their wishes for the success of the confederate powers, the royalists of la Vendée, and the rebels of Lyons. You must recollect their derisions, bravadoes, and demonstrations of joy, at the news of the miscarriages occasionally sustained by the French republican armies. You have heard them boast of rendering our revolution abortive, by the derangement of the finances; and you have seen them concur towards this aim, by rejecting the first plan of an edict on public contributions, manifesting at the same time similar views relative to that which was to have been presented to the sovereign council on the 19th of the same month.

You may, perhaps, have been ignorant that their emissaries in Switzerland have made the strongest efforts to deter our allies from acknowledging our constitutional regimen; and that some of them, whose names are not as yet known, took measures a few weeks ago to co-operate in a counter-revolutionary plan with the French emigrants, having no less a tendency than to light up a new Vendée in the departments which border on our territory; to provoke hostilities between the French republic and the Helvetic body; and to make our city the centre of union for the aristocrats, and a point of support for their liberticidal measures.

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Their incorrigible attachment to aristocracy, their counter-revolutionary wishes, their plans, and their arrangements, were not unknown to the French; and this is what served to prejudice the latter so strongly against our republic. They could not conceive but that with us the revolution in favour of liberty would terminate in giving to the aristocracy an intire freedom to intrigue with impunity; and they conceived that they ought to mistrust a people who boasted of having bestowed a triumph on the principles of liberty and equality, and who had at the same time allowed a tranquil residence among them to a multitude of aristocrats who did not even take the precaution to dissemble their aversion for liberty and equality, and their joy at the triumphs of the enemies of the French republic.

Remark also, that their number and their union gave them a powerful influence in the assemblies of the sovereign council. Their suffrages, united to those of so many pretended patriots, of so many whose lukewarm and indifferent dispositions made them unworthy of that title, might with facility have enabled them to subvert the laws most favourable to the people, and the institutions most essential to their happiness.

Revolutionary citizens, it is time that this contention should terminate. It is time that the people should, without obstacle or impediment, set about the organization of their happiness. They are wearied with having to watch unceasingly the enemies by whom they are surrounded, and with wasting their time in disconcerting their plots. The compass of our walls is too

O

narrow

narrow to contain two classes of people so opposite in their principles and manners. There will be no peace among us until there shall be but one party in the republic—that of equality, liberty, independence, and fraternity: until the enemies of the people shall be for ever prevented from revolting against them.

The experience of what has passed ought to instruct you. How has it been contrived, that at various times the momentary successes of the friends of liberty were soon followed by great miscarriages?—that the transitory checks of aristocracy were the fore-runners of the most signal successes on their side? It is because the friends of liberty were so simple as to think that the exacting of laws was sufficient for their security. What is it that has propped the criminal audacity with which aristocracy has unceasingly renewed its pretensions and its enterprizes?—Impunity, and the clemency of the people, which has encouraged their enemies to defy, to combat, and to make a sport of them. You must have perceived, revolutionary citizens, that aristocracy needed a lesson which it should never cease to remember; that it should be for ever sickened from a repetition of its criminal projects. It is for the accomplishment of this aim that you have established a revolutionary tribunal, charged to make an example, as well of the chief aristocrats who wish to found their supremacy on the degradation of their fellow-citizens, as of the subaltern aristocrats who have degraded their qualities of man and citizen, by becoming the servile tools of the upper aristocracy.

By this terrible measure we must

begin; but it will not be sufficient to complete the revolution. There are still greater additional plans to be adopted to consolidate its success, to purify the air of our country of every aristocratic infection, and to obtain for the country a satisfaction for all the damages and wrongs it has sustained from its perverse children. It is to be our task to accomplish a revolution of principles and manners, to regenerate the public mind, and to found, without any delay, institutions calculated to ensure the prosperity of the people, to form true citizens, and to bestow happiness on all. The revolutionary tribunal, engaged in the trial of prisoners, cannot efficaciously attend to these objects. It is, notwithstanding, urgent to provide for them; and this tribunal ought therefore to be so organized, as to facilitate its labours, and to procure the means of reaching its high destination with celerity and regularity. We, in consequence, offer for your consideration and discussion the following plan:

I. There shall be added to the 21 members of the revolutionary tribunal, 11 other members to be named by the revolutionary clubs.

II. These 32 citizens, in conjunction, shall instantly chuse 11 of their own body to form a revolutionary committee.

III. The remaining 21 members shall compose the revolutionary tribunal, properly so called, to be altogether engaged in the trials.

IV. The revolutionary committee shall be charged—

I. To regulate the mode and maximum of the confiscations and indemnities towards the republic.

2. To

2. To adopt all the measures calculated to ensure the success of the revolution, as well as those which concern the public safety.

3. To form the plans of such public establishments as will concur towards the happiness of the people.

4. To superintend all the objects of an administration, purely revolutionary. And,

5. To lay before the revolutionary societies such extraordinary measures as circumstances may require.

V. The powers of the committee shall continue for one month after the functions of the revolutionary tribunal shall have ceased.

VI. With respect to whatever does not belong to revolutionary measures, the constituted authorities shall continue to exercise their functions, each of them conforming in this respect to the customary regulations.

(Signed) BOUSQUET, President.

VOULAIRE, Secretary.

*Proclamation published at Geneva
in August, 1794.*

Equality, liberty, independence.

REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNAL.

Revolutionary citizens,

THE tribunal you established, to do justice to the people on their enemies, has at length terminated its labours; it has now to discharge an essential duty, that of submitting to you an account of its operations.

Engaged in so arduous a task, the members of the tribunal have had for a basis no rule whatever, no particular law, no organization:

and notwithstanding, when they entered on their functions, they found on the books of the gaoler more than 400 prisoners; they accordingly began by establishing the offences which were to be submitted to their judgement, and these they divided into the seven following classes:

1. The resolution for the guarantee, and of consequence, for the entry of foreign troops.

2. The armaments against the patriots, both in the city and territory.

3. The machinations against the establishment of equality and liberty.

4. The machinations against the independence of the republic.

5. The manœuvres known under the title of stock-jobbing, by which the public credit has been injured, several families ruined, and the state embroiled with the French republic.

6. The manœuvres practised on our neighbours and allies, the Swiss, to engage them to break the alliance. And,

7. The manœuvres set on foot to corrupt the public morals.

The accused have all of them been examined by the revolutionary tribunal, as well by public and private interrogations, as by precepts taken. The following is the total amount of the sentences pronounced, the detailed list of which, with the names, will be printed and published at the end of this report:

Thirty-seven sentenced to death, twenty-six of whom are in a state of outlawry.

Ninety-four sentenced to perpetual banishment, twenty-eight of whom have not appeared before the tribunal.

Four sentenced to exile of a longer or shorter duration.

Two hundred and sixty-four sentenced to domestic confinement for a longer or shorter period.

Ten sentenced to perpetual imprisonment in the *Maison de Force*.

Seven sentenced to imprisonment in the same house of detention for different terms.

Three bailiffs, or common sergeants, have been deprived of their posts.

Eighty-nine have been dismissed. This makes a total of 508 individuals.

Thus are the people at length avenged; and thus is the struggle, which lasted for a century between the oppressors and the oppressed, terminated. Independence has suffered no outrage; liberty and equality triumph; and national justice has for ever taken up her abode in the republic.

In the midst of the immense labours with which it has been charged, the tribunal has not been able to pay an attention to all those who, having conducted themselves in a way contrary to liberty and equality, were perhaps deserving of punishment. For this purpose, it would have been necessary to protract the existence of the tribunal a third time: but every citizen must be satisfied, that the lesson which has been given, as terrible as it is just, ought to be sufficient. If, however, such should be the result of the immediate events, that the aristocracy, now so completely subjugated, should again dare to raise its head; that those who have not been tried should presume to avail themselves of that clemency, by employing any manœuvres whatever, recollect, revolutionary citi-

zens, that in such a case there remains an authority capable of repressing these attempts. The revolutionary committee has the immediate power of punishing them, as will appear by two clauses of the resolution by which it is constituted. They are as follow:

Art. 4. Section 2.—To take all measures calculated to secure the success of the revolution, as well as all those relative to public secrecy.

Section 5.—To propose to the revolutionary societies every measure which circumstances may call for.

Let those tremble, then, who may form the culpable project of impeding the progress of the revolution in any manner whatever, and of thus preventing the attainment of the aim which every good citizen ought to have in view, that of making the Genevise at length a nation of brethren.

It becomes the tribunal to remind the revolutionists, that, having been established by them, it has never for a single instant lost sight of the direct and immediate power of its constituents. That conformably to this principle it has considered it as a duty to attend to all the requisitions made to it in the name of the revolutionary mass; and that thus all the operations and sentences of the tribunal, against which no protest has been made, are confirmed by the tacit approbation of the revolutionists. The tribunal has not neglected to provide for the means of executing the sentences it has passed: and to the end that no doubt should remain on that head, declares that it has charged the revolutionary committee to carry these sentences into execution without abatement.

abatement or reservation, to be watchful in observing all the infractions which those against whom they have been pronounced may attempt, and to apply the penalty annexed to all such attempts. It has at the same time enjoined the revolutionary committee to invest with the same powers the ordinary tribunals, whenever the revolutionists shall think proper to break up the said committee.

Revolutionary citizens, now that the crisis of the revolution is passed; now that the vengeance of the people has been exercised, the ideas of the citizens ought to be directed to the means of securing the prosperity of the nation. To attain this end, each citizen ought to use his best endeavours to convert the revolution itself to the advantage of the people. For this purpose you have a revolutionary authority to which this charge is intrusted: its principal duty being to determine on the restitutions to be made by the enemies of the people, and of course on the contributions which the country has a right to exact from every citizen proprietor. It is to make a just application of the sums which may result from this measure, by appropriating them to public establishments, agricultural rewards, manufactories, &c. This plan demands the concurrence of all the citizens, who are well informed on any of these heads: and the country accordingly puts them in a state of requisition. Be confident, revolutionary citizens, in the issue of the revolution. Confine yourselves at this time to the customary vigilance it behoves every citizen to observe; resume your civil duties; return to your manufactories and avocations; and say to yourselves, that next to

the love of the country, the love of industry is your chief duty. Recollect that tyrants employ two principal means to enslave nations—idleness and corruption. Men who aim at being independent: always become so; and there can be no republic where debauched and corrupted men are to be found. The country requires that in this revolution all the virtues should be displayed, and morality, both public and private, prevail in all the actions of the citizens. It demands a complete regeneration; and be confident of it, revolutionary citizens, you will in vain have brought about a revolution to crush aristocracy, and all its vices; you will in vain have repressed the abuses of riches, if you neglect to proclaim justice, probity, and virtue, not by words, but by deeds and good examples; you will otherwise, sooner or later, witness the return of corrupters and corrupted. The members of the tribunal return into the class of simple citizens: in that quality they hasten back with earnestness to their fire-sides, and unite themselves in every particular to the revolutionary citizens to defend the equality, the liberty, and the independence of the republic.

Patent for the opening of a loan in a coin of inferior money, to the treasury of his Prussian majesty, published by his government.

WE, Frederick William, by the grace of God, &c. It having been submissively proposed and represented to us, that the present considerable expences in small money, which are occasioned by the
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emergencies of the war, are creating a pernicious increase of that sort of money in the country, which, in becoming incommodious to the public, might produce an interruption of the commerce of the interior; and, therefore, in order to prevent the disadvantageous consequences of this circulation of the enormous quantity of the small money, and at the same time to procure means to proprietors of considerable quantities of that class of money, to dispose of it without difficulty or disadvantage, we, with our usual paternal care, have determined to open a loan, to be accepted from our excise-officers in all provinces, in small money, at four per cent. interest per annum; the whole to be under the direction of our minister of state, count Struensee, and the bills to the bearer will consist of the sums of 25, 50, 100, to 1000 rix-dollars.

Given at Potsdam, November 18, 1794.

(Signed)

FREDERICK WILLIAM, Rex.

Letter from the duke of Brunswick to the king of Prussia.

THE motives, sire, which make me desire my recal from the army are founded upon the unhappy experience, that the want of connection, the distrust, the egotism, the spirit of cabal, have disconcerted the measures adopted during the two last campaigns, and still disconcert the measures taken by the combined armies. Oppressed by the misfortune of being involved, by the errors of others, in the unfortunate situation wherein I find myself,

I feel very sensibly that the world judges of military characters by their successes, without examining causes. Raising the siege or the blockade of Landau will make an epoch in the history of this unfortunate war; and I have the misfortune of being implicated in it. The reproach will fall upon me, and the innocent will be confounded with the guilty. Notwithstanding all misfortunes, I would not have given way to my inclination of laying at your majesty's feet my desire of relinquishing a career which has been the principal study of my life: but when one has lost one's trouble, one's labour, and efforts; when the objects of the campaign are lost, and there is no hope that a third campaign may offer a more favourable issue, what part remains to be taken by the man the most attached to, the most zealous for, your majesty's interests and your cause, but that of avoiding farther disasters? The same reasons now divide the powers which have hitherto divided them: the movements of the armies will suffer from it, as they have hitherto done; their motions will be retarded and embarrassed, and the delay of re-establishing the Prussian army, politically necessary, will become, perhaps, the source of a train of misfortunes for next campaign; the consequences of which are not to be calculated. It is not war which I object to; it is not war which I wish to avoid; but it is dishonour which I fear in my situation, where the faults of other generals would fall upon me, and where I could neither act according to my principles nor according to my prospects. Your majesty will, perhaps, remember what I had the honour to represent to you the day you quitted

Escheveiler :

Eschweiler: I exposed all my embarrassments, my troubles, and my misfortunes; I exerted all my efforts to prevent any inconvenience: unfortunately the event has proved the insufficiency thereof: it is therefore only the intimate persuasion I have of the impossibility I am in to effect what is right, which dictates to me the measure of requesting your majesty to appoint a successor to me as soon as possible. This measure, however afflicting to me, is nevertheless a consequence of those sorrowful reflections I have made upon my situation. Prudence requires I should retire, and honour advises it.—When a great nation, like that of France, is conducted by the terror of punishments, and by enthusiasm, an unanimous sentiment, and the same principle, ought to prevail in the measure of the coalesced powers. But when, instead thereof, each army acts separately and alone of its own accord, without any fixed plan, without unanimity, and without principles, the consequences are such as we have seen at Dunkirk, at raising the blockade of Maubeuge, at the storming of Lyons, at the destruction of Toulon, and at the raising of the blockade of Landau. Heaven preserve your majesty from great misfortunes! but every thing is to be feared, if confidence, harmony, uniformity of sentiments, of principles, and of actions, do not take place of the opposite sentiments, which have been the source of all misfortunes for two years past. My best wishes always attend your majesty, and your glory will be my happiness.

Oppenheim, Jan. 6, 1791.

The duke of Brunswick to the prince royal of Prussia.

Mentz, Jan. 12.

THE concern which your royal highness has been pleased to testify on account of my retreat from the army, inspires me with the most heart-felt gratitude. Nothing but a conjunction of circumstances, as disastrous as uncommon, could have prevailed on me to adopt a measure which is so afflicting for myself.

I have been highly flattered by the opportunities I have now and then found to approach your royal highness, and to admire in you those talents which cannot fail to place you among the great men of our age. Europe stands truly in need of them at a time when near 400,000 combatants, and 80 line of battle ships, supported by an intestine war, have in vain endeavoured to crush that confederacy of crimes which is tyrannizing over France.

I am eminently happy to find that my zeal in serving a good cause has not escaped your royal highness's notice. Very unfortunately, indeed, the movements of the army have been often checked at the very time when the greatest energy and exertion was required.

If, after the surrender of Mentz, Houchard had been attacked, forced back, and defeated, the reinforcements which strengthened the army of the North would not have reached it; and of course the check near Maubeuge would have been avoided. Saar Louis, ill provided with provisions, and destitute of all protection from bombs, would, in all

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probability,

probability, have been reduced within a fortnight. Alsace might then have been turned by the Saar. The possession of the Lauter would have afforded more solid advantages; and if, by all possible means, the junction of the armies of the Rhine and the Moselle had been prevented, and the point of Bouquenon gained, Strasburgh would have been threatened, and Landau very likely subdued.

I beg your royal highness's pardon for expressing my regrets. Complaints are useless, I know; but sometimes they afford a momentary relief: permit me only to add, that if you have any influence over my successor, I would wish you to prevail on him to employ all his credit to prevent the frittering of the army into too numerous detachments; the consequence of which is, that being every where too weak to act on an offensive plan, our troops are obliged to confine themselves to defensive measures with the enemy we have to combat, which is a fault productive of the most pernicious consequences.

It is with the sincerest regret I leave an army which has inspired me with the highest esteem, admiration, and attachment.

Letter written by the king of Prussia to the elector of Mentz.

Berlin, Jan. 31.

THE extraordinary urgency of the present circumstances induces me to write this letter to your highness, in full assurance of your highness's perfect knowledge of the situation of Germany, our country. The dangerous crisis in which this

country is thrown by a war without example, with a formidable, furious, and destructive enemy, who already menaces the six frontier circles; to enter them with fire and sword: such a crisis is too well known to your excellency, not to see the necessity of concurring with me and with every state, animated with a patriotic zeal, in the most proper measures to ward off the danger.

Among all the measures which the empire can employ, there is none which appears to me more inefficacious against an enemy, whose numbers diminish not, and who oppose a fanatic fury in battle, the resources of tactics, and a numerous artillery; nothing, I say, is more insufficient than the general armament of the inhabitants of the circles which has been proposed. This measure, so dangerous, and so singularly delicate in itself, is still more inadmissible, because it can in no ways accord with the defence of the empire by my troops; and their retreat must infallibly be the consequence.

As it is impossible for me to continue a war so far distant from the frontiers of my estates, and which is so expensive, I have, some months since, frankly opened myself on this head to the principal powers who take part in the war, and I have entered on negotiations with them, which cannot yet be terminated.

It is for this reason I now find myself obliged to demand of the empire to charge itself with the provisioning of my army.

In reality, the necessary measures on this subject have been lately made at the diet; but your highness will consider that it is impossible to wait its decision; so that the only thing which remains to be done, is, for

for the six frontier circles, who have most need of defence, to assemble immediately, for the purpose of furnishing the said provisions provisionally, until the diet has made its *conclusum*.

In consequence, I beg of your highness, in the most pressing manner, that your highness, in virtue of your quality of arch-chancellor and director of the circle, would immediately convoke the said six circles.

The speedy convocation of the six circles, and their furnishing my army with provisions, is the only means of saving Germany at this grand crisis. Without this, it will be impossible for me to make my troops maintain the field any longer against the enemy. I shall not fail, though with regret, to order them back into my states, for their own defence, and to abandon the empire to itself and to its fate.

It is in the hands, therefore, of your highness, that I put the safety of the empire; and, confident of your wisdom and patriotism, I expect you will employ the means which the laws of the empire give you, in such a manner that my views, directed to the good of the country, may be fulfilled; and that, by my troops being supplied with provisions, I may be able to assure the empire of the most efficacious protection and defence.

Declaration of the king of Prussia to the diet of Ratisbon, made in the beginning of Feb. 1794.

THE electoral minister of Brandenburg notifies to the diet, now assembled, that the king his

master, perceiving the indispensable necessity of continuing the war against the common enemy, is not adverse to the increase of his army on the Rhine to 80,000 fighting men; but as the hostilities on the part of the French are rather directed against the empire, than against his majesty's own territories, nothing more can be required of him than his simple contingent. Being willing, however, to forego all these considerations, the king is ready to fulfil his engagements, provided the following demands are previously complied with:

1. That each of the princes and states of the empire shall furnish immediately, and without delay, the contingents of men prescribed.

2. That the empire shall provide for the subsistence of the Prussian troops, by reserving for them 20,000 rations of bread, and 24,000 rations of hay and corn daily.

If the Germanic body should refuse to acquiesce in the just demands of his majesty, so far from sending any future force to the succour of the empire, he will feel himself under the necessity of recalling his troops on the Rhine, and leave no more than the simple contingent prescribed by the terms of alliance between the states of Germany.

Memorial of M. de Dohm, the Prussian minister, to the circles of the Lower Rhine and Westphalia, dated at Cologne, the 12th of February, 1794.

THE war without example, which his majesty the king has maintained during two campaigns, against a furious nation, not upon the frontiers of his own dominions,

dominions; but in countries very distant, and already almost entirely exhausted, in the midst of the greatest scarcity of provisions, of difficulties of every species, without sparing the greatest sacrifices, and under the necessity of carrying out of his own states enormous sums in specie;—such a war must necessarily have undermined the strength of Prussia in a proportion much greater than that of the powers who are situated nearer to France. His majesty, for this reason, finds himself absolutely incapable of co-operating, with his own resources alone, in a third campaign, with the same activity that he hitherto has done; he is, on the contrary, under the necessity of withdrawing, in a few weeks, his troops from the frontiers of the German empire, which he has till now so well protected and defended, and of ordering them to retire to his own dominions, if some method or other is not found to provide for their pay and support. The king has, some months since, made a free overture on this subject to the coalesced powers, from which there have resulted negotiations, of which the issue will, no doubt, be satisfactory; but of which the result cannot be so immediate as the necessity of commencing a new campaign. In the uncertainty in which his majesty is thus placed, whether he will take a farther part in the war, and in the impossibility which arises from that circumstance, of making the necessary dispositions for the future support of the Prussian troops, he has commanded this state of things to be laid before the diet of the empire, and proposed at the same time, that the empire, in a body, should charge itself from the date of the 1st of February, with

the pay of the army destined to act against the enemy: that a prompt decision should be taken on this subject, and that the re-partition of the quantum on the circles should be decreed. The urgency of the present conjuncture so strongly justifies and supports this proposition, that it is not to be doubted but the empire in general will acknowledge the injustice of expecting that his Prussian majesty will any longer continue, with his own forces alone, to the great prejudice of his dominions, those sacrifices which he has hitherto made with so much disinterestedness and patriotism; but that, on the contrary, after so many Prussians have perished in the defence of the empire, and the sacred person of his majesty, and those of the princes of his family have been exposed to such multiplied perils for the same object, it now is the duty of the states of the empire to concur seriously, by all the means in their power, after the example of his majesty, to avert a danger with which they themselves are threatened. Although his majesty is convinced that these undeniable truths will make a due impression on the diet, and that the decision of that body will be conformable to his expectations; yet, considering the nature of the deliberations of the diet, that decision will demand more time than the urgency of the danger permits; since if the king is to continue to defend and protect the empire in the campaign which is about to be opened, the empire must charge itself, without delay, with the support of the Prussian army. In this state of things, the only expedient that remains, is, that the six anterior circles who are the most exposed to danger, and who have

have the most need of protection, namely, those of Franconia, Bavaria, Suabia, the electoral circle of the Upper Rhine, that of the Lower Rhine, and of Westphalia, should take upon themselves, provisionally, from the date of the 1st of February, under the reserve of the eventual decision of the diet, and until its full completion, the support of the Prussian army which acts against the enemy. The provisions to be delivered to it will comprehend daily 41,966 rations, and 82,154 portions, with the necessary wood, straw, carriages, &c. and that after the decision of the diet shall have taken place, they shall receive from the other circles an indemnification in money, proportionate to their advances.— That this measure, which circumstances render so indispensably necessary, may be as soon as possible carried into execution, the king has requested his serene highness the elector of Mentz, as arch-chancellor and director of the empire, to convoke without delay, in an assembly at Francfort, the above-mentioned circles, with the reserve of what is due in such cases to his imperial majesty, as chief of the empire, for the collection and partition of the provisions, that measures may be taken in concert with the Prussian commissary, deputy to this assembly of the circles, the baron de Herdenberg, without delay, and without observing the formalities useful in other cases, but in this destructive, to determine the place, the manner, and the time of delivering them. The undersigned is commanded at the same time to give this information to the circles of the Lower Rhine and Westphalia, and to request of them to de-

liberate immediately upon an object so important and so urgent, and to send to Francfort a deputation which may co-operate towards it. The reasons, which make the greatest celerity necessary, are too evident to require any farther illustrations; the tearing asunder all the bands of society; the subversion of all constitutions, political and ecclesiastical; the annihilation of all property, and the destruction of every species of happiness and prosperity, among all classes of men; such would be the melancholy fate of Germany, if our country were to be conquered by a nation which breathes only murder and pillage: and this conquest would be the almost inevitable consequence of the retreat of the Prussian army, to which his majesty would, by different reasons, be infallibly compelled, though with regret, if the anterior circles did not resolve without delay, the provincial maintenance which is demanded of them, and did not immediately make the necessary dispositions to that effect. His majesty, full of confidence in his co-estates of this circle, assures himself that, penetrated by the urgency of circumstances, they will conduct and accelerate this negotiation with all the zeal which is inspired by the defence of their own existence, as well as that of all Germany. At the same time that the undersigned has the honour to recommend, with the greatest confidence, this affair to the patriotism of the two high co-directors, he must request that this proposition, made on the part of the king of Prussia, may be immediately communicated to the whole circle, and that the assembly of the circle, at present separated, may be called together,

together, to take the affair into consideration, and to send a deputation to the assembly of Franconia, for which the letter of convocation of the elector of Mentz will soon be issued, and of which the opening will very probably be fixed for a very early period. The undersigned ventures to hope, from the sentiments of enlightened patriotism of the two high co-directors, that they will co-operate with all their efforts, for the attainment of so important an object; and it is in this hope, that he will expect their declaration to be communicated to his court.

DOHM.

Declaration of the king of Prussia against the proposition for a general armament of the inhabitants of the empire, made in Feb. 1794.

I. **W**HEN the proposition for a general armament of the subjects of the empire was made, at the assembly of the diet, the king of Prussia represented such essential difficulties against this measure, that he could not have expected that the proposition would have been carried to a *conclusum*.

II. For this reason, his majesty finds himself under the necessity of laying them again once more before the six nearest circles, with this observation, viz. "That if the said circles cannot determine with themselves to withdraw the said *conclusum*, and render it of none effect, he will be forced, however contrary to his inclination, to withdraw his troops, as he cannot expose them to the danger which must necessarily result from this measure.

III. The reasons that his Prussian

majesty opposes to a general armament of the inhabitants of the empire, are the following, viz.

1. By employing the peasants against the enemy, agriculture will want hands.

2. That there are not arms sufficient to give to such a mass of people.

3. That it is impossible, in so short a time, to teach the manual exercise to the inhabitants.

4. It has been found, by the experience of the two last campaigns, that the soldiers opposed to the French must be perfectly exercised to make head against them.

5. Lastly, independent of the above reasons, it is infinitely dangerous, at a time like the present, when the French are watching every advantage to insinuate their principles, to assemble such a mass of men, whose ideas upon forms of government must be various, and among whom consequently dissensions might arise, disastrous in their consequences both to the armies, and to the constitution of the empire.

Declaration of his Prussian majesty, delivered to the states of the Germanic circles, assembled at Frankfurt, in February, 1794.

HIS majesty the king of Prussia could not but hear with the highest displeasure, that designs were imputed to him, tending to secularize bishoprics and chapters, to suppress them, and to appropriate to himself certain cities of the empire, in order to indemnify himself for the immense sums which he has expended for near two years, to carry on the war against the French, and to defend against them the Germanic

Germanic empire and his illustrious allies.

His majesty, confident that his designs are pure, might pass in silence over such rumours, and content himself with the conviction, that they would find no belief on the part of the well-disposed states of the empire: but to give the most ample satisfaction, and to confound the malevolent, who invent similar stories purposely, and perhaps to excite distrust, the undersigned has orders formally to declare, that while his majesty makes war upon the French, he has never any view but the defence of the Germanic empire, and the maintenance of the constitution; that it never was his majesty's design to make conquests for himself; and that if conquests are made from France, the empire will have its share; that he never conceived the least idea of indemnifying himself at the expence of the empire, whose constitution has always been sacred to him, and for whose maintenance he has already made so many sacrifices, as is generally known.

The undersigned finally declares, that his majesty will never belie those intentions in future, and will be always ready to secure and guarantee to the Germanic empire its territory and constitution, and to its states in particular, both spiritual and temporal, their possessions and rights; in a word, the inviolable maintenance of the whole Germanic body, provided the empire, and above all, those six circles which are most exposed to danger at the present, will co-operate as much as the constitution and patriotism require of them.

(Signed) BARON HOCHSTETTER.

Letter from the king of Prussia, to the prince of Saxe Coburg.

I AM eager to inform you, that in consequence of the negotiations which have hitherto been carried on, it is my intention to give orders to my field-marshal Mollendorff to leave behind a corps of 20,000 men, under the command of lieutenant-general Kalkreuth, to withdraw with the rest of my army from the environs of Mentz, and to march towards Cologne. I request you, for that purpose, to take the necessary measures, that the retreat of the most considerable part of my troops do not turn out advantageous to the enemy, but that the fortress of Mentz, and the empire in general, remain covered against hostile invasion. It being in other respects necessary to make arrangements to procure to the troops who put themselves on their march the necessary provisions on the road to Cologne, their departure will not follow so rapidly; and those troops shall not file off at once, but by divisions—you will, therefore, have time sufficient to make the necessary disposition. I hope, at the same time, that you will have the goodness to take such measures, that when field-marshal Mollendorff shall have finished his preparations, and when, by virtue of the orders received, he shall have informed you of the days on which the troops shall depart, the execution of this resolution do not suffer any obstacle.

(Signed) WILLIAM FREDERICK.
Potsdam, March 11, 1794.

Declaration of the king of Prussia to the German empire, on his secession from

from the present continental confederacy.

THE period being arrived, in which his Prussian majesty is forced to discontinue taking that active part in the present war, which hitherto has been the effect of his generosity, and pure patriotism; on account, and in consideration of what is owing by his majesty, to the preservation of his own estates, and to the welfare of his subjects; his majesty thinks it particularly his duty to lay before their highnesses the co-estates of the German empire, the real causes and true motives by which he was induced to take such a resolution.

At the time when the French nation, in the unfortunate delusion of imaginary liberty, had not only dissolved every tie of civic order amongst themselves, but also meditated the subversion of the repose and welfare of other nations, by the introduction of their anarchic horrors, and in fact, had already fallen in a hostile manner on such territories of his imperial majesty, and of the German empire, as were nearest to them, his majesty thought proper to unite his just arms with those of his imperial majesty, and afterwards with those of the whole German empire, and those of his other allies, in order to set bounds to the destructive enterprizes of a delirious nation, and to restore peace and happiness to those as guiltless as highly endangered states. This object was ever the guide of the arms of his majesty down to this present moment, and more impressive on his mind, in proportion as the madness of the French augmented, and the danger of all Germany became more imminent. The

efforts of his majesty to set a boundary against this mighty torrent of ill-fortune on the German territories, were, it is true, at first but proportioned to the danger, but soon exceeded the most of his ability. The war was not a war with a civilized nation; and well-disciplined armies, but a war with a delirious and never-diminishing swarm of men, with a highly populous nation, provided with every resource for war to back them; a set of men who did not fight merely for victory, but who sought by fire, sword, and the poison of their pernicious doctrines, to subvert the whole social edifice of Germany.

To oppose this almost unconquerable enemy, the king, on his part, brought into the field 70,000 men, and those his choicest troops; with these has his majesty combated, even until this third campaign, under every imaginable obstacle, far from the Prussian dominions, amidst already exhausted lands, excess of dearness of the necessaries of life, and almost insupportable expence.

Besides these unparalleled efforts, his majesty has made to the common cause every possible sacrifice which the national strength of Prussia would permit; nor has he hesitated to expose even his sacred person, and the princes of his family, to every danger by which the repose and safety of Germany could be conquered from the enemy. For this object alone has so much Prussian blood been spilt—for this, such immense treasures drained from his dominions. Such a war must necessarily have more exhausted his resources than those of such powers whose dominions lay more contiguous to the scene of hostility; and thus

thus his majesty fell into an absolute impossibility of taking any longer that active part from his own means, without utterly ruining his own dominions, and entirely exhausting the property of his subjects.

His majesty, however, still remained deeply impressed with a patriotic hope of being able still to lend help and protection, and that with increased force, to the German empire; and to be enabled to do this, he entered into a negotiation with the confederate powers, proposing certain arrangements to them, the principal points of which were, besides the payment of a subsidy to him, a stipulation that the subsistence of the greatest part of the Prussian army should be provided for by the empire in general; and that, until a final plan should be concluded to this effect, that the six anterior circles of the empire, who lay most exposed to danger, and who reaped immediate benefit from the defence, should be charged provisionally with the furnishing of the same; and it was also declared to the diet of the empire, and the circles above-mentioned, that in case these frank and free proposals were not acceded to by the emperor, his majesty would be compelled to withdraw the greatest part of his troops, and to leave the empire to its fate.

Several states have made declarations suitable to the pressing circumstances in which they, and the whole empire, were placed; in particular, his electoral highness of Mentz, full of exalted and patriotic sentiments towards the empire, complied with every requisition relative to the subsistence of the Prussian troops which depended up-

on him, and summoned an immediate congress of the six circles. His majesty entertained a just expectation, that similar good consequences would every where have flowed from his patriotic intentions, and his hard-earned merits in his former defence of the whole empire. Every retrospect seemed to confirm these hopes: on one side, the past afforded the admonishing picture of the dreadful torrent of an all-subverting enemy; on the other, the noble and heroic stand of the Prussian army, and the immense sacrifices of the blood of his warriors, and the treasures of his dominions, made by the magnanimity of his Prussian majesty. Even then, that army was standing on the banks of the Rhine, the bulwark of the whole empire, and to which the enemy did not dare to penetrate; but the subsistence of that army, undertaken by the whole empire, was the sole condition under which it could any longer be effective, and which the physical impossibility of Prussia alone bearing the burden, did absolutely oblige Prussia to insist upon. Was it acceded to, then the future afforded the consolatory prospect of his majesty acting with that known alacrity—that well proved fidelity, in the defence of the empire, and the protection of its constitution, to the utmost of his power? But every impartial observer might have easily anticipated the consequences of the refusal of the required subsistence, and the return of the Prussian troops into his majesty's own states. Then might the over-powerful and delirious enemy ravage, uncontrolled, throughout the empire, and with plundering and murderous hands, unbridled and unlimited, bear down

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the Germans, their husbandry, all law, order, and property, subvert with anarchic abominations, the constitutions of more imperial states, annihilate princes and nobles, erase the temples of religion, and drive from the hearts of Germans their natural love of virtue and order, by the aids of the seductive allurements of licentiousness, and the precepts of an unfeeling immorality.

All these, and similar observations, so simple and so obvious as they were, did, nevertheless, not succeed in bringing the arrangement for the subsistence of the army to a just conclusion. This proposal was, besides this, sufficiently connected with another arrangement, which his majesty had designed to offer the confederate powers, but which it did not seem good to his imperial majesty to comply with, and which also the other states did not approve.

Moreover, this proposal gave rise to an exception, which, after so many and meritorious actions, such unparalleled sacrifices which his majesty had already made, he, in truth, had no reason to expect, and on which his majesty, not without much sorrow, finds it his duty to make some remarks.

The summoning of the six circles, by the elector of Mentz, has been represented as irregular, though in fact it is strictly constitutional. Measures there were proposed precisely contradictory to the negotiations for the subsistence, and the universal arming of the peasants was resolved on, though it is plain, that such a measure is as inefficient as dangerous, and completely adverse to the object proposed—inefficient against an enemy who presses forward in a mass with an insanity of fury, approved tactics, and a

numerous artillery—dangerous, because, when the peasant is armed, and brought away from his ordinary mode of life, the enemy may easily become his most dangerous seducer, and finally adverse to the object proposed, because such an armament is wholly incompatible with the operations and subsistence of disciplined armies. These reasons, which flowed from the most sincere conviction of his majesty, have been represented in the most odious colours; and the most false and scandalous motives have been attributed to him for his dissent to this measure; and, in order to prevent the arrangement of the subsistence, projects of extending his dominions, of secularizing ecclesiastical territories, and of oppressing the empire, have been rumoured to have been by him in contemplation; and of which his majesty's known patriotism, and acknowledged virtues, will form the best contradiction.

After what is past, every hope of the subsistence being acceded to being now vanished, his majesty does now renounce the same, and also every resolution of the empire, and of the circles relative thereto:—his majesty has therefore taken the resolution no longer to grant his protection to the German empire; but to order his army (excepting twenty thousand auxiliaries, according to different treaties) instantly to return to his own dominions.

At the same time that his majesty finds himself compelled to withdraw a portion of his troops from the defence of those states, for which they have already combated with so much glory, he expresses the most earnest wishes, that those consequences he has above alluded to may not take place, but that the exertions of his imperial

Imperial majesty, and of the empire, may eventually insure to both a full indemnity, and a general and honourable peace. To his majesty remains the just consolation, and permanent glory, of having, on his part, made such sacrifices to the defence and safety of the emperor, in the present awful crisis, as certainly few states in Europe, or members of the Germanic body, could, without much hesitation, have resolved upon.

Berlin, March 13, 1794.

Declaration made by Count Goltz, the Prussian ambassador at the diet of the German empire, on the 7th of April, 1794, in the name of his master.

HIS Prussian majesty, in consequence of the repeated wishes of the states of the empire, and the negotiations which are going forward between him and the court of Great Britain, has at last yielded to continue his troops in their present position for the protection of the empire, and this only in the confidential expectation, that the estates will speedily proceed to deliberations, upon the measures for procuring to his majesty the means of maintaining those troops, for the future, for the protection of the empire, against a powerful enemy.

Declaration of the Prussian minister, baron Hochstetter, to the circles of the Upper Rhine, dated April 5th, 1794, respecting the Prussian contingent.

IN answer to the claim made by the compt de Lechrbach, in the
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name of his majesty the emperor, as chief of the Germanic corps, the court of Berlin has resolved to declare, that the king would never refuse doing his duty as a member of the empire: but that in the case in which he now is effectively called on, he will conduct himself after the example of the other electors and illustrious co-estates; proportionably to his obligations, according to the Germanic constitution and the ancient usage.

To the above declaration the baron Hochstetter verbally added.

1. The greater part of the army, under command of field-marshal Mollendorff, will defer their march into the Prussian dominions, and remain in the places of the Lower Rhine, until farther orders.

2. This delay of the return of the Prussian troops to his majesty's dominions, however, is eventual, and will certainly cease as soon as the hopes of his majesty vanish with respect to the subsidies which he claims from the six anterior circles.

3. His majesty wishes that the states of the six anterior circles might assemble and deliberate provisionally upon the question, whether measures were to be taken for the purpose of providing for, and maintaining, the army of his Prussian majesty, for the protection of the empire.

4. There is no time to be lost; if his majesty once should give decisive orders for the army to return to his dominions, no remonstrances upon that subject would any longer be listened to.

5. His majesty has to add, to the demands already specified in his declaration to the directors of the
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treasury of the empire, the just claim of 1,800,000 rix-dollars, the expences for the siege of the fortress of Mentz.

Proclamation published by the Emperor at Brussels, April 17, 1794.

EUROPE has, during five years, witnessed the calamitous state of the wretched kingdom of France; the evils of which increasing daily, do not as yet hold out a prospect of their termination. The impious faction which tyrannizes over that kingdom, to maintain its monstrous system, has at once attacked, under the specious pretext of reform, religion, the constitution of the state, and all the bases of social order, which this faction has hastened to destroy, substituting in its place a pretended equality, absolutely chimerical.

Resolved invariably to maintain the religion and the constitution which have for ages constituted the happiness of the Belgic provinces, we are desirous, by a rigid law, to support the public wishes, strongly and generally pronounced by the horror the whole country has displayed at the French revolutionary systems.

The undermentioned articles follow the preamble in the usual form :

1. All persons, whether foreigners or inhabitants, who shall, by conspiracies or plots, attempt to introduce or propagate, in this country, the above system, shall be considered as guilty of high treason, and punished with death.

2. All those who by words or writing shall favour the propagation

of such a system shall be punished by imprisonment.

3. The associations, known under the titles of clubs and literary societies, as well as every other similar assemblage of men, whatever its denominations may be, shall be bound to inform the fiscal counsellors of the object of their society, and the names of those who compose it, for the purpose of obtaining in writing a consent from the said fiscal counsellors, which shall, however, be merely provisional. Every act of disobedience to be punished by a fine of one hundred crowns. This clause to extend to all the cities, towns, and villages, of the Imperial Netherlands.

4. Those who shall lodge informations against such as are guilty of the above-named crimes and excesses shall have a recompence, proportioned to the magnitude of the discoveries they shall make. For the crimes mentioned in the first article, this recompence shall not be less than 1000 crowns. And,

5. Informing accomplices shall have the same recompence, with forgiveness, unless they shall have been the chief and principal abettors.

Address from the Emperor to the inhabitants of the Netherlands.

The emperor and king.

REVEREND fathers in God, nobles, dear and liege vassals, dear and well-beloved: by our royal dispatch, of the 20th of April last, we announced to you the motives which induced us to have recourse to your zeal; the motives which our commissioners have since disclosed to you, concern yourselves as much as they

they concern us.—Since that period the mass of the enemy, which has precipitated itself on Belgium, rendering your danger more pressing, it becomes more necessary to employ all the means in your power, and to check the operation of that mass by all the force which it is possible to collect and combine.

Our armies have suffered, and stand in need of a large number of recruits; and although we have seen with as much satisfaction as gratitude, the sacrifices which you have evinced a wish to make, in order to excite our subjects to enter into voluntary engagements, we cannot conceal from you that, as this resource has been hitherto unproductive and unavailing, our army will perhaps be no longer in a condition to employ, against an enemy who makes such efforts to invade these provinces, that resistance and those offensive measures which have hitherto preserved them.

It would be superfluous to recal to your recollection, that hitherto our hereditary states have furnished the major part of those who have defended you, and undoubtedly our Belgic provinces, so flourishing, so populous, and so interested in the success of the war, which unhappily may be attended with their annihilation and total ruin, will not be backward in furnishing men to assist in the defence of those provinces.

It is at the present moment, while the period is not yet elapsed, that we address ourselves to you for an object more important even than that contained in our dispatch of the 30th April; we demand for our army, from all the provinces, a levy of men, and we are persuaded that, penetrated with the necessity of sa-

tisfying so just a demand, you will only pause on the mode of carrying it into execution. We do not hesitate to propose to you, that which is most conformable to reason, to justice, and to the general interests and exigencies of the moment, viz. An equitable assessment on all the districts, each of which shall be directed to furnish one man in every hundred, as far as regards its general population, and five men in every hundred capable of bearing arms.

It is to this demand that we immediately expect your consent, and your most efficacious concurrence, leaving, however, to your choice the best means of satisfying it, at the same time informing you, that this extraordinary levy is so necessary, and so pressing, that if in the execution of it you stand in need of our sovereign authority, we are disposed to grant it to you in the most extensive manner.

You have, it is true, offered several times to raise some new corps, but we have considered that it would take too much time to organize them, and to train them to the military exercise and evolutions; while, on the other hand, men, mingled among soldier, will immediately render us that service which we expect from them.

You cannot dissemble—your future existence depends perhaps on the speedy execution of such an increase of force—you see your enemies multiply at all points of your frontiers, while our armies moulder away by our victories, and by those glorious contests which they are forced so frequently to maintain.—Besides, the efforts that you will make in this respect, cannot be a grievous burthen on a

country so populous, and on a nation formerly recognized as brave and warlike.

Given at our head-quarters, at
Tournay, 26th May, 1794.

To our reverend fathers, &c.

(Signed) FRANCIS.

Proclamation issued by the Austrian government, exhorting the people of the Austrian Netherlands to rise in a mass. Brussels, June 23, 1794.

THE emperor's armies are still intire: victory has often crowned their glorious efforts; but they are wearied by continual battles: and, perhaps, the inactivity of the Belgians may diminish their ardour, when they see that it is not felt by the nation they are defending. A rapid march into the enemy's territory presented prospects more brilliant; but glory was sacrificed to your safety. Powerful re-inforcements are expected: but the danger, though momentary, is urgent; you have no time to lose. The general arming, to which we invite Belgium, implies neither a regular incorporating with the army, nor taking up arms for any length of time, nor even a difficult war; for disciplined and courageous armies support you; and the august brother of our master, the accustomed organ of his sentiments in your favour, will guide your efforts, and march at your head. Merely to arm, is at once to destroy the audacity and the hopes of the enemy.

Religion, constitution, property, the sovereign who wears you all in his heart, who came among you without guards, who trusted himself to your love, who esteems you

—These are the watchwords that will organize you; and your zeal and your courage will never deceive our hopes.

Exhortation of the Prince of Saxe Cobourg to the inhabitants of the country on the banks of the Rhine, and Moselle.

German brothers and friends,
OUR valourous armies have just quitted the fertile plains, in which they have sustained the most severe combats, during three bloody campaigns, for the preservation of your property, the repose of your lives, the security of your fields, the maintenance of your religion, the happiness of your children, the riches of your flourishing provinces, and to save those provinces from ruin and complete annihilation—plains in which they maintained, at the expence of their blood, which has flowed for three successive years, the glory of their arms, by the generous sacrifice of their lives and of their means; while they sacrificed those dearest ties, which attach men of distant nations, not less than yourselves, to their homes, and to their country; and while they voluntarily renounced all the domestic happiness they had a right to expect.

The inexhaustible resources of a nation in a state of furor, which sports with the life and happiness of man, with religion, with the duties, with the bands of civil society; its innumerable cohorts which are led to slaughter by their tyrants, and who, by lavishing their blood, purchase the fleeting shadow of an imaginary liberty; the inactivity of a blinded people, who would not listen to the approach of danger, any more than to the paternal voice of

of their good prince; the secret practices, which we hardly know by what name to call, of several of their ambitious representatives, men in whom this very people see, now too late, and abhor, the authors of their unbounded and unceasing misery. All these causes have forced our armies to retreat to your frontiers.

It is there that they are now posted, weakened, but not vanquished; fatigued by an unequal contest, but not humbled by discouragement, nor subdued by despair. It is there that they form, as it were, an advanced wall of defence for the Germanic liberty; to act as a rampart for your religion, your laws, and your families. The Meuse is the line of separation between the total loss and the preservation, between the overthrow and the maintenance of all these; between misery and happiness.—Rise then, German brothers and friends! On you will depend the making it possible for your deliverers to live or die for you defence. I myself, a German prince, full of solicitude, not less for the safety of my country, than the preservation of my warriors, I call upon you. Procure us subsistence, bring us provisions from your magazines.—Think that in forwarding to us these painful succours, you secure at the same time your approaching harvest.—Share with us your savings.—To obtain what we want, employ the treasures of your churches. Give your utensils and vases of silver to the emperor, for the pay of your defenders. You will receive receipts for the payment in due form, and you will be paid interest for the pecuniary aids you have thus procured. Replace the resources

of Belgium, which have been cut off from us, and now flow for our enemies. Nurse and relieve, with a solicitude full of charity, our sick and wounded.

Rise, courageous inhabitants of the fair countries of the Rhine and the Moselle! Arm yourselves, ye valourous men! Line your rivers and your defiles! Accompany our convoys! Watch over our magazines! Rise by thousands and fight with us for your altars, for your habitations, for your emperor, for your liberty! We will not lead you beyond the rivers of your country! We will not depopulate your provinces; but you will secure the positions at our backs, and you will guard your own confines. Assuredly, German citizens, we are not deceived with respect to you; we have reposed our confidence in the good sense of Germans; we trust to the hearts and the blood of the German nation. For three years your emperor has borne the heavy burden, and distant nations have fought for your defence. You yourselves must see, that your turn to take arms is now come. Then I, as commander-in-chief of a faithful, approved, and courageous army, promise, in the name of my troops—To spare you, we will observe a rigorous discipline; for your happiness, we will shed the last drop of our blood; as we have fought for you, we will die for you; and never shall the free, the happy Germany, bow down the head beneath the steel of the guillotine.—Never shall her peaceful habitations exchange their generous morals, their tranquil simplicity, their guardian laws of property, their consoling religion, for the licentiousness, the calumniating spirit, the legalized

system of spoil, the incredulity imposed by force, of the French:

But if, on the other hand, you should be so unfortunate, like those inhabitants of the Belgic provinces who now groan in the bosom of calamity, deprived of their property, of their liberty, of their altars, as to suffer yourselves to be misled by secret seducers, we shall find ourselves obliged to pass the Rhine, to leave you a prey to your enemies, and to withdraw from you, without ceremony; whatever the enemy might find among you for their subsistence.

Done at our head quarters, at
Fouron-le-Compte, July 30,
1794.

(Signed) The PRINCE OF CO-
BOURG, Field-
marshal.

Note delivered, by the Austrian envoy at the diet of Ratisbon, on the part the emperor; to demand the sense of the Germanic states, respecting the necessity of arming all the inhabitants on the frontiers of Germany, and the furnishing of a triple contingent on the part of the said states.

ALL Europe knows the manifold and just grounds which have compelled the Germanic empire, united under its supreme chief, to declare a general war, for the maintenance of the most binding covenants and the most sacred treaties; for the preservation of social order, from a wild, destructive, and most anarchic tyranny, falsely called freedom; for the defence of an acknowledged religion from pestilential atheism; for the support of the constitution of the empire against

an arbitrary, horrible, and universal revolutionary power; for keeping up the imperial honour; for the protection and future security of the imperial privileges and the frontiers, and for obtaining a suitable and entire satisfaction against the common enemy of all public order, against the most wanton disturbers of all the beneficent ties of social happiness, and the most cruel despots and violaters of the most sacred rights of mankind.

Equally well known are the different splendid victories, from the first day of the opening of the last campaign, which were gained blow upon blow by the most incredible bravery of the German troops on the Rhine, the Ruhr, the Maas, the Mayne, the Moselle, &c. which were happily followed by the deliverance of the united Netherlands, invaded in the most lawless manner, and the emancipation of many other German districts and important countries, from the sway of false French liberty; the capture of Condé, the re-capture of the city and important fortress of Mentz, the taking of Valenciennes, Quesnoy, &c.

But this campaign, so glorious for battles, sieges, and conquests, could not bring back the French to a more equitable and more just sense of reason, principle and action, towards the Germanic nation offended to the highest degree.—That faction, hostile to the human race, which styles itself the national convention of France, strengthens daily her power of resistance by the most terrible means, by numberless arbitrary confiscations, by the plundering of the churches and the rich, having already seized the property of the clergy, nobility, and

and crown, and by the most desperate measure of a general requisition of all fighting men, supported by that most terrific instrument the guillotine.

The violent decrees, compelling the people to rise in a mass, have given additional force and strength to the numerous hostile armies now in the field, so that they succeeded at last, after renovated, daily, and most violent attacks, notwithstanding the steadiest countenance and most gallant resistance, on the part of the German warriors, to re-take by their superiority a part of their conquests; a loss which, in all probability, would not have ensued, if the contingents of the empire had been properly sent.

This general requisition of all the fighting men affected a great superiority, and changed intirely the mode of making war, increased the dangers and difficulties of this coercive war, and seems in some manner to necessitate the rising in a mass of the inhabitants of the frontiers of the Netherlands, anterior Austria, Brisgau, and other places, in order to procure safety to the property of the loyal subjects of the empire, against the ravages branded with the wildest excesses, occasioned by an enemy driven to despair, by the misery which reigns in their own country, and emboldened by their recent successes.

(Signed) COLLOREDO.
February, 1794.

Substance of an Imperial decree of ratification, dated Vienna, the 14th of June, 1794, and presented to

the dictature, in the diet of Ratisbon.

SINCE the extraordinary manner in which the French seem determined to carry on this war, namely, by violence and force, to oblige all the men of their nation, able to carry arms, to march against the combined armies, by which means they increase their hostile forces to extraordinary numbers; and since the danger to which the German empire is exposed from the invasions which such innumerable hordes are induced to make, from motives of hunger and desire of plunder, measures are required more than ever to strengthen the military forces of the empire: it is therefore adviseable, that the army of the empire should be re-inforced by a regular and well-equipped army, procured by the means of subsidies.

His imperial majesty, therefore, proposes to the empire to enter into a treaty with his Prussian majesty, in consideration of reasonable subsidies, to furnish a certain specified corps of his troops for the service of the general cause. His Prussian majesty, from his character of a generous and distinguished member of the Germanic empire, will undoubtedly oppose no obstacle to such a treaty, particularly as there exists already a corps of such brave troops (over and above the number of Prussian troops serving as contingents in the army of the empire) on the very spot where they might be serviceable to the general cause, and ready for action, in a very short time. These subsidies ought to be offered in ready money, and his Imperial majesty

to be authorized to enter into a negotiation with the king of Prussia, for that purpose, in the name of the empire.

His Imperial majesty, for the reason above stated, requests that the contingent troops, still due from several of the states of the empire, should be sent into the field against the most cruel of all enemies, as soon as possible.

Substance of a decree of the Imperial court, dated Vienna, 13th August, 1794, and presented soon afterwards to the diet at Ratisbon.

UNFORTUNATELY, since the month of last January, the necessity of increasing the forces of the empire is become most urgent.

The war, on the part of the enemy, from the violent measures taken by the ruling party in France, and from the formidable superiority of numbers of their armies, having taken the appearance of the most obstinate offensive war, renders even the defensive operation of the combined powers not only painful and difficult, but requires an extraordinary exertion, combination, and union of power, to resist the destructive enterprizes of enthusiastic hordes, encouraged by various and alarming successes. Which exertion and extraordinary efforts, on our side, are the more pressing, and require the speedier to be put into execution, as there is no time to be lost, lest the evil should rise to a degree, which would render the united forces of the empire insufficient to stop its progress.

The country being in danger, ought to sound the alarm bell

throughout the German empire.—The measure of a quintuple contingent cannot but be an afflicting effort for the paternal heart of your Imperial sovereign. His majesty, however, hopes that such a measure considering the present urgent circumstances, and the population of the German empire, will not be looked upon as extravagant. The emperor thinks it almost unnecessary farther to declare, that, on account of the sacrifices made, during the three last obstinate campaigns, in men and money, his majesty, without the co-operation of the states of the empire, is totally incapable, by himself, to continue the protection of the empire, his domestic resources being entirely exhausted, by having already strained all the political nerves of his hereditary dominions, for the defence and protection of the empire.

Memorial from the Imperial minister, count Schlick, to the assembly of the circle of the Upper Rhine, presented on the 16th of August, 1794.

THE undersigned Imperial minister is expressly charged to submit, instantly, to the illustrious diet of the circle of the Upper Rhine, the following most important observations :

His Imperial majesty has not failed to make, to the most powerful individual members of the empire, all the representations, admonitions and demands which were to be expected from his sincere love for his country, and from his active care for the general welfare of the empire. Every thing which the Imperial

Imperial court foresaw and predicted, has taken place: the time for speculating upon possible disasters is past; and the imminent dangers with which we are surrounded demand the most prompt and efficacious measures; unless we wish to renounce at once the welfare of the empire, and abandon again to the usurpation of the French, the territories and provinces of the empire, from the mouth of the Rhine to its source.

The present war involves in it the fate of our constitution, our religion, and our properties. The Imperial court has more than once represented, with energy to its allies and co-estates of the empire, that a powerful nation, to which all means were alike, which set at defiance every law of religion and morality, must inevitably triumph, if other nations did not unite their forces, and prepare themselves to make in time a vigorous resistance.

The Imperial court did not fail to observe, that it could not alone defend the empire. It is not only during this bloody war and the course of its fluctuating events, that the Imperial court has submitted these reflections to the empire; but even before the commencement of a war, which the court of Vienna did every thing to avoid, it did not fail to make known to the states which demanded its protection, that the enterprize was full of danger, and that the resources of the house of Austria were limited.

Upon the first explosion of this terrible war, a proposal was made, for putting at least the frontiers in a state of defence and security: during the last *interregnum*, an association, and a strict union of the anterior

circles, proportioned to the danger, were proposed, because these provinces were most exposed to the devastation of the enemy; because the resolutions of the whole empire would require time, and the distant states, by means of their complicated forms, would save themselves as long as possible from any active co-operation. Although this proposal was generally admitted to be proper as well as constitutional, yet, through certain formalities, it has failed of its effect.

The house of Austria was flattered that after the election of the emperor, grand and energetic measures would be adopted by the whole empire; but in the mean time, from the above prudent precautions being neglected, those provinces were left totally defenceless, when it was found necessary to remove the body of Imperial troops commanded by count d'Erback; the consequence was, that Mentz fell into the hands of the enemy, a misfortune of which the magnitude may be estimated, when we consider that almost the whole of a second campaign was spent in attempts to retake it.

On the declaration of war several of the states represented the extreme urgency of public affairs, and resolved that without losing a single moment in preparation, an Imperial army should be regularly constituted. In order to carry this resolution into effect, his Imperial majesty permitted his contingent to join the allied powers. But the want of money equalling this accession to their force, it was agreed, that the states of the empire which could not raise and equip soldiers, should furnish their contingents in specie, according to a very moderate computation.

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The Imperial court, with the strictest honour and punctuality and much to its prejudice, has replaced those contingents. The circles would have found it inconvenient and oppressive, if the mode of furnishing their respective contingents had been adopted which is prescribed by the decree of 1681. Some states have renewed their application for a diminution of their quota in their matricular registers of the empire; others have urged their inability; and some of the most active states have withheld their contingents, under the most frivolous of all pretexts, that an Imperial army had not been formed.

After the victories of the allied army in the circle of Burgundy, victories, purchased by torrents of blood and a profusion of treasure, the king of Prussia, at the commencement of the present campaign, threatened to withdraw his troops, assigning, as a reason, that he had not a subsidy for their support. In this interval of inactivity the enemy procured reinforcements, and became exceedingly numerous and formidable. Under these circumstances the only alternative was to insist upon the inhabitants of the circles to rise in a mass, and in order to obviate every difficulty, to expedite the organization of the army in a constitutional manner.

Thus his Imperial majesty has uniformly and invariably acted as became his dignity, and the paternal care which he has always evinced for his subjects. But the arming of the inhabitants on the frontiers was a measure which proved abortive. Some of the states had not sufficient confidence in their subjects, and others dreaded the expence.

The Imperial army is not complete at this moment. Two thirds of the empire are already conquered, and the enemy is triumphant every where. The states will not, or some say, cannot, contribute, and that is the only pretext by which they evade the contingents of the empire.

This then is the support which the Imperial and royal court has so much desired of the empire, which it has expected in full confidence of the public spirit and the love of their country; this is the effect of the pressing instances which his Imperial majesty has generously seconded by his own example. All the world knows how much this court has done for the defence of the empire, and for the common cause. At the first breaking out of the war, he sent to the field a numerous and well-provided army; he abandoned all secondary views, by not contracting any other engagements than those which were judged productive of general utility. The war of the empire being decreed, he, to his own detriment, relieved the states from the performance of their contingents; at the first unfavourable blow which affected the empire, his majesty sent speedily to its succour the army of the reserve from his own hereditary states, and maintained it at his own expence; and thus he employed all the force of his house to save the Germanic body.

The Imperial troops have almost singly, and without any assistance, covered the circle of Suabia, and thus have hindered the enemy from penetrating as far as the frontiers by ascending the Higher Rhine. They have conducted themselves valiantly in those quarters, and had
a great

a great share even in the re-taking of Mentz. Notwithstanding the well-founded immunities of his house, his majesty has given in Austrian Flanders and in the country of Brissaw, the first useful example of arming the inhabitants; and, at the first proposition of organizing a separate army of the empire, he immediately furnished an extraordinary contingent of 37,000 men. This conduct merits consideration the more, in that the other states, who take hold of every pretext to refuse their contingents, if they had been in the place of the Imperial court, and possessed of such an exemption, acknowledged by the emperor and the empire, and solemnly maintained upon every occasion, would have regarded the demand of such a succour, under the name of a contingent, as an infraction of their rights, as members of the Germanic body.

The putting on foot such numerous armies, the great expence of maintaining them with the current coin of the empire, the events of the war which have succeeded each other with such rapidity and changes of fortune, have required immense sums, which it was necessary to send from the hereditary states into foreign provinces; and, to supply this, his majesty has sacrificed, with an unexampled generosity, his own revenues, the voluntary subsidies of his faithful subjects, and his individual abilities.

To these sacrifices ought to be added others equally great and distressing. His Imperial majesty, besides his numerous contingent, has kept up a considerable force from Basle to Philipsbourg, for the general defence of the empire. He has even employed, for the protec-

tion of the Germanic body, 20,000 men, as stipulated in the treaty with his Prussian majesty, notwithstanding the important services which those troops might have rendered in defending his own possessions in the Low Countries. He still undertakes, however, to supply them with bread and forage.

Another sacrifice, of no less importance, and of greater prejudice to his majesty's hereditary states, is the Imperial court has not applied to the court of Great Britain, its faithful ally, to oblige the 62,000 Prussians, subsidized by the maritime powers, to march into the Low Countries. According to the express terms of the treaty, these troops were at the disposal of these powers, and to act in support of the common cause. They would have been employed to the greatest advantage in the Low Countries, and by co-operating with the allied armies, might have averted the calamities which have taken place.

These extraordinary efforts, these grievous and irreparable sacrifices which have not been seconded with energy and alacrity, can only protract for a short period the last melancholy blow, which the empire has too much reason to apprehend from the conquest of the provinces on the banks of the Rhine, and on the other side that river. However, as his majesty's states are in fact drained of their men and money, by the favourable, as well as by the adverse occurrences of this destructive war, the extreme remedy must now be resorted to, in order to prevent the annihilation of our troops, should we be inclined still to parry off the mortal blow, which threatens the subversion of the constitution and government of Germany.

The

The enemy, availing themselves of the perplexed state of public affairs, increase their exertions in all quarters, and seem determined to prevent the defection of the armies, depressed by a series of fatigue and defeats. Their progress has been so rapid, and their army so formidable, that the Imperial and royal court will be unavoidably obliged to withdraw its troops, and to station them within its own frontiers, if the empire does not think proper to oppose to the irruption of the French an adequate force, and to co-operate with his majesty at this awful and momentous crisis. His majesty's solitary efforts would be fruitless, if he were to attempt to cover the frontiers from Basle to Luxembourg; and it cannot be denied, that an army, exhausted by fatigue, without opportunity of recruiting itself, receiving assistance from no one, and at a distance from home, ought to make an effort to reach their own country, where they would be better furnished with necessaries, and supported by the faithful inhabitants of the Imperial and royal states. It would appear at least equitable to hazard his last effort in defence of his own dominions, when we have before our eyes the melancholy truth, that, with the most upright and sympathetic intentions, it is impossible to protect his friends and neighbours.

The spiritual and temporal communities of the superior and lower classes are still possessed of treasures which remain untouched, but which might be beneficially applied. The people of property of every description have a credit, which they ought to lend to raise great sums of money, to complete that, which the house of Austria, after such an im-

mense influx of money into the empire, only drawn from its own hereditary dominions, is no longer able to afford by itself.

It is only by such an influx of money, that the standing armies can be supplied with what is most necessary for their preservation, that the fortresses can be put in a proper state of defence, and that the masses, who are to hasten to the frontiers, will be supported.

The undersigned minister plenipotentiary is charged by the emperor and king most solemnly to declare, in his Imperial majesty's name, that, if the Imperial royal court is abandoned at this decisive crisis, it will not be able to save the empire; but it will console itself with the idea of having done all that could possibly be done for the country; and that the Imperial court will be obliged to make it responsible, before God and to posterity, for all those misfortunes that will then unavoidably crush the provinces of the Germanic empire, and for the misery which may then spread infections all over Europe, by the propagation of principles of anarchy; nay, the Imperial court will make responsible those who, by neglect, by inactivity, or even by mercenary private views, shall have omitted conscientiously to exert themselves for the general preservation.

(Signed)

COUNT VON SCHLICK.

Done at Frankfort,

Aug. 12, 1794.

The emperor issued an edict, dated the 28th of October, 1794, to the directors of the circles of the empire,

pire, containing an exhortation to the following effect.

1. **T**HAT vigorous measures should be taken to recruit and increase the army of the empire to triple the number of troops of which it consisted hitherto, which shall be effected in the speediest manner possible, that the reinforcements should arrive at the army on the 1st of February next.

2. That all the states of the empire, who have already troops upon an established footing, should in these pressing and dangerous times march them immediately to join the grand Imperial army for the defence of the empire.

3. That his Imperial majesty expects that no state will shew, from individual interest, or from other false principles, any backwardness against contributing to the general defence of the empire. His majesty would never have manifested any suspicions respecting this point, if unfortunately experience had not shewn him, that from the time the increase of the army had been determined to be of triple the number of the former establishment, that the measure has not yet been accomplished to this day.

His Imperial majesty, however, from the confidence he placed in the princes who are invested with the directions of the circles, hopes that they will take the most vigorous measures to enforce the recruiting of the army of the empire.

The circles of the empire having received, early in November, the preceding circular letter from the emperor, relative to the real performance of their contingents for the support of the army of the empire.

Count Schlick, the emperor's minister with the circle of Franconia, also presented a memorial to the assembly of that circle, in substance the same with that presented to the circle of the Upper Rhine, on the 16th of August; and containing complaints of the enormous extraction of specie which has been made from the hereditary states of Austria for the countries of the empire, and of the scarcity of money which necessarily results from this, even for the pay of the Imperial army; because, the circles not having provided either for the subsistence of that army, or the regulation of the price of necessaries, those necessaries either fail entirely, or cannot be procured for the troops under an enormous price. These circumstances necessitate the proposition which is the object of this memorial, made in the name of the Imperial court to the circle of Franconia.

"To put the subsistence to be furnished by the country into speedy requisition, according to the existing necessity.—To accept in return an indemnity, regulated according to the medium price for the last ten years; the payment to be made in notes, instead of money, which it is absolutely impossible to furnish at the present moment."

The circle of Franconia immediately commenced its deliberations upon this proposition; but, at the same time, testified its desire to see an end to this ruinous and bloody war; in which respect, it is seconded by the other circles of the empire, particularly that of the Upper Rhine; which, on the 14th of November, sent the strongest and most pressing representations to the emperor and to the king of Prus-

sia, to obtain their effectual concurrence to a pacification.

The note delivered by the Imperial minister, Count de Schlick, to the states of the Upper Rhine, on the 16th of August, 1794, in which the emperor claims a speedy supply of money and men against France, was also delivered to the circles of Franconia and Suabia in the end of September, where the Prussian minister seconded it with all his power, and presented the following note.

HIS Prussian majesty seconds the request of his Imperial majesty, since both courts, after having indefatigably continued the war, and made immense sacrifices, have a right to require of the other states, that they do oppose with all their might the danger which increases every day, and to furnish without delay every thing that Germanic good sense and spirit deem requisite.

Meanwhile, his majesty the king of Prussia cannot but signify, that the Imperial court laid a false construction on the treaty for a subsidy between Prussia and England; who, though she pledged herself to pay the subsidy, has no right to dispose at her own pleasure of the Prussian army, which is forthwith to remain to defend Germany in that quarter where his Prussian majesty will deem it most expedient, or whenever the allied powers have agreed, or will agree with Prussia to let it act.

Conclusum of the circle of Franconia addressed to their majesties the em-

peror and the king of Prussia, for the purpose of obtaining a peace, or at least a speedy truce; agreed to in November, 1794.

CONSIDERING the most dangerous turn which the present war against France has taken, in several events which succeeded each other; considering the most imminent danger which is more and more approaching, with rapid strides, the frontiers of the circle of Franconia; considering farther, not only the afflictive apprehensions which his Imperial majesty has reiterately manifested, that it might happen, that the august house of Austria would find itself so much weakened, as to be under the necessity of retreating to its own frontiers, without being capable any longer to save the territories of the Germanic empire; and that his majesty the king of Prussia has likewise recalled a considerable number of his brave troops from the theatre of war, to protect his own dominions, and signified that, according to circumstances, the remainder might also be withdrawn; and, considering the internal concerns of this circle, render the repose and the momentary re-establishment of this circle at least necessary at this present period; the general circle, by virtue of a repeated proposition of his most serene highness the prince of Saxe Cobourg Saalfeld, and of Saxe Meiningen, as a venerable co-state, on the part of Henneberg Roembild, has unanimously resolved:

1. It is understood of itself, and there can be no doubt in this respect, that there is by no means any design to encroach upon the deliberations of the empire in general upon the important question—how the

the country, under the dangerous circumstances which have occurred, shall save itself, not to lose sight of the necessary order which ought to take place agreeable to the constitution, and with relation to the whole empire?

2. But whereas, it cannot be unlawful or suspicious to any single state of the empire, and less still to the constitutional union of a whole circle, whose union has for its original and primitive end, the public safety, in case of the most urgent necessity; and when its deliverance and conservation are at stake, to have recourse to the supreme chief of the empire, as likewise to the principal co-estates and the respective powers, in order most humbly to supplicate his majesty, by a respectful representation as well of the interior concerns of this circle, as on account of the danger constantly increasing from without, to take such convenient and efficacious measures as his majesty shall judge proper; through which, by means of a previous truce, the cessation of hostilities, and an ever desirable peace may be, as much as possible, obtained.

3. Afterwards to interest in the same manner his Prussian majesty, as a sublime co-estate of the empire, and particularly this circle, to co-operate to this end by an active assistance, and to favour the desired effect, particularly to solicit him, with equal respect and urgency, not to withdraw his brave troops, at least as far as it concerns the constitutional exigency of the political state of the empire and the circle, from the defence of the Germanic domains, at the most critical and most dangerous moment, but to

continue generously to employ them with their whole force, wherever they shall be wanted.

4. Farther to expedite, with all possible dispatch, this proposition to his Imperial majesty, by means of an estafette, and to transmit a copy thereof without delay, besides a memorial for the information of his excellency count Von Schlick, privy counsellor and minister of his Imperial majesty; and to transmit to the Prussian minister, resident here, the letter of solicitation to his Prussian majesty, accompanied by a copy, with a request to expedite the said letter as soon as possible.

5. To commence a sincere and social correspondence, on this important business, with the circles of the empire, namely, the electorates of the Rhine, Upper Saxony, Bavaria, Suabia, and the Upper Rhine, by communicating to them this present resolution of the circle, as likewise the above-mentioned letters of solicitation to their Imperial and Prussian majesties.

6. Finally, not to be dissuaded by the measures taken by these presents, for pursuing most eagerly the conclusions of the empire, and the lawful re-establishment of its political state; and from continuing, without delay, the preparations of defence, in order to remain always faithful to all duties, which ought to be more and more acknowledged in a situation of affairs like the present, for the sake of self-preservation, as likewise for the general and local relations of the state.

Answer of the king of Prussia to the representations of the circle of the Upper Rhine, in favour of peace,
made

made on the 14th of November, 1794, and in substance the same with the conclusum of the circle of Franconia.

lowing requisition of count Hardenberg, the Prussian minister of state, was circulated.

WE are much affected by the present dangerous crisis that involves the German empire, and with the warmest degree of sympathy we are fully convinced, that peace only is the most certain means of saving it from the effects of an unhappy issue of a just war of defence. Nothing, therefore, can be more important, or more agreeable, to us than an energetic contribution of every exertion in our power, for the obtaining of so desirable an object as speedily as possible; and, previous to this, a suspension of arms. We shall willingly seize every occasion that may contribute towards a happy issue of affairs, hoping that the representation submitted to us, and sent to the emperor, by the laudable assembly of the circle, will not fail of its object.—In the mean while, our whole army shall remain upon the Rhine and the Mayne, to cover and defend the contiguous parts of the empire, and the right shore of that river.

After the above proceedings, the twenty thousand Prussians, who were on their march to the frontiers of Poland, received orders from Berlin, to return to their former situation on the banks of the Rhine; on account of that event, and in order to prepare the necessary provisions for them in the places through which they were to march, the fol-

WHEREAS the motives which induced his Prussian majesty to order a corps of 20,000 men from his army, destined for the defence of the German empire, to march to Southern Prussia have at present been removed by the happy occurrences which happened in those countries; his majesty, being besides convinced, that, in order to procure the accomplishment of the anxious wishes of several of the states of the empire to obtain a speedy peace, his majesty thinks it indispensably necessary to oppose to the enemy the most vigorous preparations of war, and to prevent their farther progress. His majesty, therefore, has come to a resolution to order this corps of 20,000 of his troops to return to their former position on the Rhine, for the purpose of securing the German frontiers against the dangers with which they are threatened.

The undersigned minister of state to his Prussian majesty, not having due time to make formal requisitions, in order to procure the free passage for those troops through the different places on their route, and which might in a great measure oppose their salutary march, has to request, that by this, his undersigned requisition, these troops not only should be permitted to pass freely through the different towns on the road towards their destination, but also to find quarters every where, and to be supplied with provisions, and other articles of necessity, according to the regulations establish-

ed

ed for their former march to join the grand army on the Rhine.

Given at Frankfort on the Mayne,

November 21, 1794.

(Signed) HARDENBERG,
Minister of state to his Prussian
majesty, and his directing
minister of both the duke-
doms in Franconia.

Paris, 1st Sansculottide,
2d year of the republic.

WE appointed, as envoy from the French republic to you, the citizen Lallemand.—The evidence which we have received of the good conduct of this republican, in the functions that have been entrusted to him, have persuaded us that he will discharge, to our satisfaction and yours, the duties which our instructions and the evident interest of the two nations have imposed upon him.

He is ordered to make known to the republic and the government of Venice, that the political principles of the French people are those of justice and equality between the two nations; which can alone guarantee the safety, liberty, and respective independence of the two people.

We invite the senate to attach the credit to the declarations of citizen Lallemand,—in the name of the French republic, and to believe that he is particularly recommended to maintain the friendship that exists, and ought ever to exist, between the two republics.

(Signed)

THURIOT.
COCHON.
CARNOT.
PRIEUR.
ESCHASSEREAUX.
THREILHARD.
DELMAS.

Royal document published at Naples, in August, 1794.

1. THE universities in the kingdom of Naples shall immediately furnish 16,000 men capable of bearing arms, from 20 to 45 years of age, to serve during the war.

2. All the barons, bishops, &c. shall be invited to exert their utmost diligence and influence to form 60 battalions of auxiliaries. These battalions are to consist of 300 men each, for the purpose of marching towards the pontifical estates, and are afterwards to enjoy several advantages.

3. Twenty squadrons of horse, of 200 men each, are to be formed in the provinces, consisting of volunteers, and to serve during the war.

4. All other corps enlisted in 1792, must hold themselves in readiness to march towards the coasts, or to any part of the kingdom where they may be required.

Letter from the committee of public safety of the national convention to the republic of Venice.

VOL. XXXVI.

Answer

Answer of the senate of Venice to the above address, sent to citizen Lallemand, Nov. 24, 1794.

THE senate receives, with real satisfaction, and as a testimony of the continuation of the friendly correspondence which has hitherto subsisted between the French nation and that of Venice, the note which you transmitted on the 13th instant, to make known the character of envoy to us, with which you are invested.

The senate has been extremely pleased with the contents of the credentials, and the instructions which you have to cultivate a good correspondence between the two nations, as well as the assurances of the continuation of the personal dispositions, which you have evinced for several years at Naples and Messina, in favour of our republic; dispositions of which, we hope, you will continue to give us farther proofs, during the duration of the ministry which is entrusted to you.

The senate, invariable and constant in the maxims of an exact neutrality, avail themselves with eagerness of this opportunity for assuring you, that they will continue to observe it with the same care. You will consequently be persuaded that you will enjoy, conformably to the ministerial character with which you are invested, the suitable privileges as well as the protection which the laws accord to foreigners and natives who reside in our states. Maintain a peaceable conduct, and conform to our usages. Fully relying on the just reputation you enjoy, we flatter ourselves you will transmit to your government this expression of our sentiments, and

at the same time adding, the great pleasure we experienced in seizing this opportunity of renewing to you our sincere wish to preserve our ancient friendship and good understanding. Highly sensible to the flattering assurances contained in your note, we feel much satisfaction in rendering justice to the conduct of Monsieur Jacob, during his residence as chargé d'affairs, and for the care he has taken to further the cause of amity and good harmony between the two nations. We have therefore sent to Mr. Jacob the customary present, as a particular mark of our gratitude, consideration, and affection.

Address of the stadtholder to the United States.

High and mighty lords,

WHEN, in the beginning of last year, this state was unexpectedly attacked by the French, and the enemy had, in a short space of time, nearly approached to the last frontier of the province of Holland, I thought it incumbent on me, in consequence of the respective posts trusted to my care, to lay my views before your high mightinesses, as also the grounds of my confidence in the salvation of our country. This I proposed in the assembly of your high mightinesses on the 2^d February, 1793, and I had, in that moment of danger, the inexpressible happiness of seeing the spirit of the nation roused, of seeing how the inhabitants joined heart and hand, and how effectually our allies co-operated: it has since pleased the Supreme Being to grant

is a successful issue, by driving the enemy from our territory, and by the conquering arms of the states, with our friends and allies, removing the seat of war into the enemy's own country. We now see, however, high and mighty lords, a wonderful revolution in the state of affairs, attended with the loss of the greater part of our advantages, the enemy having penetrated and advanced near our frontiers; and instead of our carrying on the war offensively, they have forced us to act in our defence.

It is under such circumstances, that it behoves all those who more or less bear a share in conducting public affairs to step forward, with their undisguised sentiments, and cordially take the lead of the good inhabitants, and by such means cement a mutual confidence, without which the country cannot be saved.

With this view, I once more appear before you in this assembly, to declare to your high mightinesses, from the bottom of my heart, that I am ready and firmly determined, supported by the wise and vigorous measures of your high mightinesses, and the lords of the respective provinces, to sacrifice my life in defence of our country; and also to assure you, that I do by no means despair of saving the state, if we, with additional courage and fortitude, under the goodness of Providence, employ the ready and effectual means in our power; and finally to declare to your high mightinesses, that I hold the least neglect of such necessary exertions, and every indication of despondency and fear, as inevitably tending towards the irretrievable loss of our country.

I will, no more than last year, conceal the real danger; the true knowledge of this danger being requisite to call in aid every possible means of resistance. Still were we to consult the history of our republic, we should find circumstances of peril, compared to which the present appears to vanish.

Our brave ancestors fought and obtained their liberty and independence in the midst of such difficulties, as human foresight could not reasonably hope to surmount; notwithstanding which, did they constantly spurn at all the insidious overtures offered them; they thought themselves more secure in manfully facing the dangers of war, than suffering themselves to be deceived by a treacherous peace. While king Philip and his adherents continued to be considered as enemies, our forefathers had to defend themselves only against open hostilities; but had the enemy in appearance become friends and brothers, the weapons of deceit, seduction and corruption, would have proved far more alarming than a state of open warfare. Are we to suppose the present situation worse than that in 1672, when not only single towns, but three provinces of the union were in possession of the enemy? Or that of 1747, when all Dutch Flanders and the strong frontier of Bergen-op-Zoom were lost? Or lastly, than that of 1793, the recent events of which were too well known? If neither our ancestors nor ourselves, during those periods, shewed symptoms of despondency, how disgraceful would it be in us, under our present circumstances, did we enter on the defence of the state without energy and determined courage! Were

we to compare the means of defence actually in the power of the republic, with those in former wars, we are most assuredly no less in a state prepared to repel the attacks of the enemy, than we were in the above-mentioned periods. The greater part of our frontiers is covered, and continues to be improved; we have an army on foot, who have signalized themselves by their bravery during the two last campaigns, and who will act, if possible, more bravely when fighting for their all. The cheerfulness joined to the courage of our seamen, hath shewn itself in the year 1793.— Neither is the republic without allies, who, as far as their own situation may admit, will strengthen her: but it is of infinitely more weight than to depend on human efforts, to consider that the God of heaven and earth, having so often brought about our deliverance, when the prospect seemed most dreary, we have at this time good grounds to hope, under him, for the achievement of honourable and glorious deeds.

If there are in the republic such unnatural and degenerate Dutchmen, who wish for the approach of the enemy, because they may imagine it will procure them the means of gratifying their private vindictive spirit; who, with such views, endeavour to intimidate their fellow-citizens against their taking up arms in the common cause, let us consider them as internal foes, and watch their criminal intentions with no less vigilance than we do those of our enemy.

The pacific system which this republic, as a commercial state, hath ever adopted, I hold to be most to

her advantage; but God forbid we should wish for peace at the expence of our security and independence: if we must lose these inestimable blessings, through the superior force of an enemy, it will be an event sincerely to be lamented; but should we make a voluntary surrender of the same, then should we become an object of contempt to all nations.

That this state hath given France no cause for war is notorious to all the world. That people might among themselves persecute the Christian worship, overthrow the ancient throne of their kings, arbitrarily dispose of the freedom, the lives and property of their fellow-countrymen. Our state saw all this with inexpressible grief, it is true, but never had the most distant wish of declaring war against the opinions of this deluded people. In spite of our moderation, have we been suddenly and most unjustly attacked; this attack having been preceded by a decree of the national convention, whereby it appears, that the reason of this destructive war, is to put all countries and nations on a footing of equality with the miseries of France; namely, to destroy the religious worship of our forefathers, the fundamental laws of the state, and to work a total subversion of our true freedom. These, high and mighty lords, are the objects for which we should enter into a treaty of capitulation, in case the war is to terminate agreeable to the enemy's views; however, these very objects must never be made the subject of treaties, but for their better security and preservation. With regard to myself, I know no medium between a vigorous resistance and

and pusillanimous submission; and I doubt not for a single moment about the choice of your high mightinesses, that of the states of the provinces, and of all the well-disposed in the country. Let every individual, whatever be his religious or civil principles (provided he is no enemy to his country and to his own interest) rally round the standard in favour of the common cause of his country: let every one within his circle contribute towards her protection to the utmost of his power: let the necessary supplies be furnished; and I have hopes, I might say, I trust with confidence, that we shall be able to defend ourselves; and, under Providence, protect the honour, and promote the prosperity of the Netherlands.

Behold, high and mighty lords, what in duty I owe to the whole nation, to a people among whom I was born and educated, for whose independence a great number of my ancestors sacrificed their lives, for whose welfare I am ready to spill my last drop of blood, and for which both my sons have given proofs of their not being unworthy the name they bear: I wish then for nothing more than the co-operation of my fellow-citizens, and the reward of my house will be their liberty, independence, and permanent happiness.

(Signed) WILLIAM, PRINCE OF ORANGE.

Hague, July 14, 1794.

Extract from the register of the states general. Monday July 14.

THE deputies of the several provinces having deliberated

upon the address and propositions of his highness the prince Stadtholder, fully accord with him in the noble sentiments therein manifested; declaring, at the same time, that they have no doubt of the co-operation of the different provinces at so critical a period as the present, and of their determination to use all their efforts in aid and support of his highness by the sacrifice of their lives and properties in the defence and support of their country.

Their high mightinesses have farther assured M. Van Schuylenberg, their president, that they will take the more essential points recommended by his highness into immediate consideration, in order to rid the state of the difficulties it now labours under, flattering themselves, that the means of defence adopted will prevent the enemy from penetrating any farther, and that, under the Divine blessing, their efforts will be crowned with a happy issue, and the honour and prosperity of the Netherlands be finally supported; all vain and premature apprehensions be suppressed, which can only tend to prejudice the country; and that such as wish for the arrival of the enemy, with their adherents, may be disarmed: the most observant attention, it being particularly necessary, should be paid to these internal enemies of their country, much more dangerous than those without, open and declared.

It is farther thought proper to have it understood, that the propositions of his highness should be printed with all speed, and copies sent to the respective provinces, as well as so Dort, and the states of Drenthe.

Proclamation by the states of Holland and West Friesland, July, 1794.

THE states of Holland and West Friesland, &c. make known, Whereas the circumstances of the war, so unjustly declared by the French government against the republic, have again taken such a turn, that the frontiers of the state are exposed a second time to the violence of the enemy's invasion, which can be no otherwise resisted than by employing the most vigorous means: to this effect, animated by the sentiments which his most serene highness the prince Stadtholder expressed in his address to the states-general, the 14th of last month, we have firmly resolved to sacrifice our properties and lives in the defence of the state, particularly of this province, and in protecting every thing that is dear to us in this country. We have judged it necessary and our duty to inform the good citizens of these our serious intentions and views, and at the same time to declare, that we are very far from despairing of the safety of the state together with all its prerogatives, religious and civil, in case that the means which Divine Goodness has given and preserved to us are employed with that cordiality, concord, and true patriotism, which have at all times characterized the free-born Belgic nation. It is with this view that we exhort every citizen, who is not totally degenerated from the virtues of his ancestors, to renounce at this time, when the country is in danger, all party spirit, and to unite heart and hand for the preservation of their own interests, and to remember that every one in his own sphere is obliged to co-operate, since there is not a single person

who would not lose, in the fall of the state, his own personal liberty, and his unrestrained means of subsistence; but above all, let every one think that this obligation becomes greater in proportion to his possessions, or other relations to this country, so favoured by Heaven.

That amongst the means we judge may and ought to be employed with vigour, we reckon the local situation and the natural force of the country, strengthened by fortresses and by inundations, by means of which our enemies have been so often driven from our frontiers, as likewise the augmentation and the abundant stores with which the army of the state, is provided, encouraged as it is by the immortal glory it has acquired in the two last campaigns. But neither is it to be dissembled, that in order to put every thing into the most respectable situation it is capable of, considerable sums are wanted: for these wants we have endeavoured to provide in time, as well as by resolving upon different, as by imposing a tax after the example of like circumstances in the year 1747; three proportions of which we with all other well-intentioned citizens, have already paid, being obliged, by our necessities, to anticipate the last proportion a month before the time. Nevertheless, all the means of supply hitherto furnished fall greatly short of the necessities of this expensive war, more especially at the present moment, when the safety or the fall of the republic depends upon the prompt furnishing of coin.

In the mean time we with pleasure learn, that many good citizens, who have the power of doing so, have

have declared themselves ready to succour the country efficaciously with all their power, at this conjuncture, if a general call be made to this effect, and if a loan be opened on such conditions as agree best with the present value of the interest of money.

Declaratory answer of the states of Overysse to the exhortatory address of their high mightinesses of Holland, respecting the present alarming crisis.

High and mighty lords,

WE have thankfully received the two addresses of your high mightinesses, written at the Hague, the 14th and 26th of last month; the first of which earnestly recommended a proposition made that day by his highness the Stadtholder to the assembly of your high mightinesses; and the other tended to communicate to us the resolution of the lords the states of Holland and West Friesland, taken upon the said proposition, and remitted to the Assembly of your high mightinesses.

We thank your high mightinesses for the communication alluded to; and we beg leave to testify to his highness our warmest obligations and sincere gratitude, that, far from despairing at this critical moment for the safety of our dear country, which is precious to all, there is no want, on the contrary, of that laudable emulation, which not only serves to manifest cordially, proper and patriotic sentiments, but also to arouse effectually the courage and union of the high allies, in order, as the danger is renewed, and increased, our efforts and vigour may be re-

doubled, to resist courageously the evil which threatens us, and, with the aid of divine Providence, to defeat effectually this dangerous combination.

We rejoice that the lords the states of Holland and West Friesland, also the lords the states of Guelder, Utrecht, and Drenthe, by whom the resolutions having been communicated to us, have cheerfully conformed to these generous sentiments.

We make no difficulty in sincerely and frankly confessing, before your high mightinesses, and before the whole republic, that in the extremity of danger in a country, we know no situation more alarming, than when the inhabitants lose courage, or relax from their exertions; that foreseeing the actual danger, we are, however, far from considering the difficulty as insurmountable; and that in conformity with the wishes of his highness, we entertain no doubt but we shall be able, with the aid of divine Providence, to defeat the audacious efforts of an artful enemy.

The experience of former deliverances, the resources which still remain to us, the courage and the cordiality of the allies, the wisdom of his highness the Stadtholder, the bravery of his sons, and of your troops, and, above all, the succour of the God of the Low Countries, whose beneficence we have so often witnessed, are ample foundations on which we are able to build a certain hope of preservation and security.

As to us, there shall not be wanting every exertion which can contribute to this salutary end, that we may defend our religious and political liberties against a dangerous,

a powerful, and an artful enemy, repress the evil intentions of certain individuals of this country, and transmit our constitution unimpaired to posterity.

We are,
High and mighty lords, &c.
(Signed) M. TYDEMAN.
De Zwolle, Aug. 8, 1794.

Proclamation of the magistrates of Amsterdam.

THE magistrates of the city of Amsterdam having perceived that some evil-minded persons thought proper to spread different false reports, and to trouble the minds of the ignorant and timid inhabitants, from which it might easily result, that they would be persuaded to sign petitions or addresses to the regency of this city, with a view of presenting them to the burgo-masters, and which requests would have no other tendency than to incommode the lawful regency in its free deliberations on the present circumstances of affairs, and to make them lose entirely the confidence of the good burghers of this city :

The said magistrates therefore exhort before-hand, every one to be circumspect and prudent, and not to suffer himself to be misled by alarming speeches, nor to be persuaded into actions, of which they cannot sufficiently foresee the consequences ; and farther, to prevent troubles, they warn and command every body by these presents, not to join in making addresses calculated to interfere in the administration of public affairs, under pain that those who shall be found to transgress, in this particular, shall be

dealt with according to the utmost rigour of the law.

Resolved, October 13, 1794.

Address from the Prince of Orange, distributed in the provinces of Holland and Guelderland, in the middle of October, 1794.

To the brave inhabitants of Guelderland and Holland.

MY illustrious father has empowered me to call upon every good citizen for their assistance in the defence of the confines, and to contend for the preservation of their religion and their country : I therefore call upon all the brave inhabitants of Guelderland and Holland, to unite and stand up for the defence of their houses and lands, their lives and properties. Here are arms, powder, and ball—take them with a good heart, and use them with a strong hand. Not a man of you, unless he chooses, shall go out of his province; but let each of you, in your respective districts, prevent the enemy from advancing any farther. Brave and faithful countrymen ! let us fight one and all for our dear country. Soldiers, citizens, and peasants ! let us all unanimously assemble under the same banner : I will fight with you, for the salvation of the country and may God give us the victory !

Petition of the citizens of Amsterdam, of the anti-stadtholderian party, to the magistrates of that city, for delivering which the subscribers were imprisoned.

THE undersigned burghers and inhabitants of Amsterdam, declare

clare, with dutiful submission, that having hitherto had the greatest confidence in the wisdom and candour of their great mightinesses, the noble burgo-masters and council of that city, that they should take all necessary measures for the protection and welfare of the inhabitants of the town; and as hitherto the undersigned have not yet undertaken any active step to shew any distrust or discontent against the conduct of your great mightinesses, they hope never to have any occasion to assume such a step.

The undersigned, however, think themselves well informed, that the liberty of your deliberations has lately been considerably encroached, by the sudden and unexpected appearance, in this town, of his serene highness the hereditary prince of Orange, and his royal highness the duke of York, the arrival of whom had no other object than to induce your great mightinesses to give your consent to resolutions, the execution of which cannot fail being highly detrimental and injurious to the interest of the inhabitants of this town, and of those of the whole province.

Without farther venturing upon conjectures, relative to the objects of the arrival of the above two high personages, we think it necessary to state that we have been informed of your great mightinesses, on their arrival, having taken into consideration the propositions made; that on the approach of the French troops to the town, that the latter should be put in the most complete footing of defence, and that your great mightinesses had come to a resolution to submit the town to all the inconveniences of a siege: that you likewise have consented to form

the grand inundation all around this city, by opening all the surrounding sluices, and by breaking different sea dykes.

And that farther your great mightinesses had also resolved to admit a great number of English troops into the heart of this city.

Undersigned think it their duty to declare that they shall in no manner consent to the above-mentioned measures; and that in case the above great personages, by their presence, should force your great mightinesses to such resolutions, we must assert that all the inhabitants of this town are averse to such measures as being injurious to the general interest of this town and the whole country.

Undersigned expect a categorical answer from your great mightinesses upon the following questions:

1. What was the object of the arrival of the above high personages in this town?

2. Whether your mightinesses have consented to expose the town to a formal seige, to garrison it with foreign troops, and to transform its interior civic government into a military government?

Undersigned farther declare publicly, that they are discontented with such resolutions, and they are determined to resist and oppose themselves against all military defence of whatever name, and under whatever form it might be adopted.

That the undersigned, particularly are determined to resist and oppose themselves against the quartering, in the town, of the English troops, whose bad conduct has not been improved by repeated orders and severities from their chief commander. The undersigned will look upon the approach of those troops

troops as a signal given by your great mightinesses for a civil insurrection; the fatal consequences of which your great mightinesses will have alone to answer for.

In order to prevent such dreadful consequences the undersigned think it their duty, in the present critical urgency, once more submissively to apply to your great mightinesses to entreat you never to consent to the adoption of such measures, to expose this town to a military defence, or to suffer such undisciplined and pillaging troops to be quartered within its walls.

The wisest measures your great mightinesses can adopt, are only to have confidence in the patriotism and good will of the inhabitants, to direct their steps according to the course of the natural exigencies of the circumstances, and not by an audacious attempt of forming a military defence of the town, to precipitate its inhabitants into unavoidable misery and ruin, and you yourselves only will be answerable.

(Signed, &c. &c. &c.)

Amsterdam, Oct. 14, 1794.

EXTRACTS FROM THE MADRID GAZETTE, *date 1 Sept. 2, 1794.*

The king of Spain, with a view to the important object of providing for the great and extraordinary expences of the war, with the smallest possible burthen to the people, was on the 2d of September, pleased to expedite the following decrees:

First. **T**HE various events of war having, since the commencement of this second campaign, occasioned great expences and losses, which could not be foreseen when

the calculation of the necessary funds to conduct it were made in the outset; and it having become indispensable to seek new means to secure the interest, and the considerable capital which will be wanted to provide with the same exactness as heretofore, for the subsistence and maintenance of the armies and the fleet, my paternal feelings do not permit me to burthen afresh the poorer part of my subjects, who, on account of their greater number, contribute in a larger proportion to the exigencies of the state; and, at the same time, with immense hazards and fatigues, expose their persons for the defence of all. I have thought justice and equity required, that the more easy classes—the most opulent, and those who receive more immediate benefits from the government—should contribute with their property towards its expence. Upon this principle, and by the unanimous opinion of my council of state, among other things, I have resolved, that, from the first of the ensuing month of September, a deduction shall be made in the respective pay-offices, from all salaries, pensions, grants, or other assignments, enjoyed by the persons employed in my royal service, be it in what department soever, (the military alone excepted), either in Spain or in the Indies, of four per cent, on their gross amount, provided it exceeds 800 ducados, (about 160*l.*) per ann. and that the same be also deducted from the military enjoying the rank of mareschal de camp inclusively, who are not in actual service, observing that the exemption I grant to the other officers of my army and navy, not serving the campaign, extends merely to their pay according to rank; and not to the

the pensions, salaries, or other grants, they may have in any other, even should it be of a military nature; and the amount of all such deductions to continue no longer than two years after the termination of this war, shall be paid from the respective officers into my chief treasury; and moreover, my counsellors of state having represented to me, with the most ardent and patriotic zeal, that the deduction in their salaries might be 25 per cent., since, convinced of the justice and necessity of the war, they were ready to make, not only such a sacrifice, but to extend it even to their lives and fortunes.— I have thought expedient to accept this loyal and generous offer; and in consequence, the deduction of 25 per cent. shall be made from the salary of every individual counsellor of state, upon the same terms, and under the same restrictions and duration as the deduction of four per cent. afore-mentioned from the salaries of all other placemen and pensioners.

Second. With the advice of his council, &c. his most Catholic majesty decrees—"That no minister, person or persons of any class or condition whatsoever, shall receive more than one salary or stipend, although they may possess various employments under the government; their salary, during the existence of the first decree, is left to their option."

The decrees are six in number, dated in August last, all tending towards providing an adequate fund without the aid of new taxes on the poor, for the continuance of the war: the clergy (with leave of his holiness the pope) are assessed seven millions of rials annually; a creation of paper money to the amount of 18,000,000 of dollars was to take

place on the 15th of September, and the appropriation of a redeeming fund of two millions of dollars annually was to be applied in discharge of interest and principal of both the present and preceding issues of *billets reales*.

Address to the Spaniards, published early in October, 1794.

Brave Spaniards,

AT a time when I only wish to declare to you certain truths, which may serve to quiet your minds, and when I only require of you to hear me, my unremitting attention to the concerns of the public entitles me to your attention; and your own interest in the public tranquillity assures me I shall obtain it.

I am well aware that venal and infected writers will employ themselves in describing the events of this war, in terms of desperation, and that slanderers and audacious people will represent the force of the enemy as irresistible. I know also that traitors to God, the king, and to the public, will neglect no means of spreading their detestable principles, and represent them to you as practicable ones. I know also that there will not want many corrupt spies, who will represent, (as things easy to be obtained) difficulties which are insuperable; but at the same time I am fully convinced of your loyalty, and the king is convinced of it too, and he relies on it as a defence against the impetuous torrent of their madness.

Do you know the real state of our forces? They are sufficient not only

only to repel, but to annihilate entirely the enemy as soon as all the reinforcements for the army are concentrated, which are now marching with the greatest dispatch, and are inspired with more ardour to meet the enemy than to remain inactive.

Spaniards, they are only 20,000 men, weak and undisciplined troops, who can maintain the war against us on the detestable frontiers of the French at Navarre and Biscay: nor can there possibly be more owing to the present condition of their country. The allied armies occupy particularly their attention, and in proportion as the French armies appear to increase, their effective force really decreases. The tyrants who govern France, only obtain a forced obedience from the army; the ravages of death and the guillotine are the means by which they obtain it; but, at the same time, there are resources to spread amongst them terror and desperation. The French already are convinced, that there exist no longer amongst them the sacred rights of property, and that justice has disappeared, and that under the pretext of the good of mankind, they perceive they are only enslaving them. Unfortunately, several of our unhappy countrymen are already in that situation. The enemy have not left one single inhabitant in possession of his freedom in all the places where they have penetrated; nor is that to be wondered at: such a licentiousness is the certain consequence of their shameless veracity; but understand this, and you will be convinced of the insufficiency of their arms.

Can you possibly imagine that 20,000 men can overturn our coun-

try, if we resolve to extirpate the enemy? Read our histories, and in them you will find an answer to that question in the innumerable deeds of valour performed by our glorious ancestors, who defended in all ages their country, in several situations more critical than the present. Their present invasion is not surprising, considering the openness of the country; but they can no longer promise themselves any farther progress, as the mountainous country now before them will necessarily stop them; besides, you may rely on the activity of our general, who will not suffer them to remain in possession of that tract of our country which they have usurped, any longer than he finds it convenient; but as soon as he shall resolve to destroy them, he will accomplish their destruction.—Dissipate, therefore, all these fears which may even have effected you, but at the same time make one great effort to preserve your property. The cause of God and his holy law command you to do it.—Neither ought you to expect that your fields will produce any thing till you make these efforts in defence of God and his holy law. God will assist, and he will fight for you. Implore sincerely his assistance, to obtain which I have already ordered public prayers to be made.

But, notwithstanding all this, do not despair, nor believe we are in the last extremity; we do not want means to oppose the public enemy. The king will crush their pride at the head of his Catholic army.—The Almighty will stretch forth his sword of vengeance against the violators of his holy name! Your sovereign relies on the loyalty of Spaniards,

Spaniards which he endeavours to compensate, by diminishing, as far as it is consistent with his royal splendour, the expences of his court and household, to prevent the necessity of laying on more taxes.

This conduct of their majesties, their paternal assiduity, and the king's unremitting attention to the dispatch of all public business, and particularly in the strict administration of justice, merit a very extraordinary recompense on your part. Let us imitate his indefatigable vigilance, let us follow his illustrious example, in endeavouring to promote the public welfare, and let every one perform his respective duties, by which means we shall restore and re-establish the public happiness.

Let the upright intentions of their majesties be propitious to your tranquillity, and there will not be a single subject who will not reap the greatest benefits.

I beg from you, my dear countrymen, to consider well what I have just said, and I hope you will find my expressions equally sincere, intelligible, and true. My only object is to preserve your tranquillity, and to excite your indignation against a troop of banditti that attempt to disturb you: if I succeed in that, you will see in a few days the fruit of my dispositions. Co-operate with me, and you will very soon procure the recompense of your fatigues.

Our religion will contribute to our glorious triumph, God will protect his holy law, and I will not cease to invoke his assistance.

ALCUDIA.

Decree of the diet of the German empire, passed on the 14th of October, 1794, with only one negative voice in the college of princes, namely, that of Swedish Pomerania.

THAT the warmest and most merited thanks be presented to his majesty the emperor, as well for the sacrifices which he has not ceased to make, with magnanimous constancy, of his own resources for saving Germany, as for the paternal solicitude with which he has constantly watched over the welfare of the empire, of which the tenor of the aulic decree (of the 13th of August last) furnishes the most convincing proof: and that in consequence of the last decree of the empire, on the 5th of May, by which the necessity was already acknowledged of the augmentation of the forces; and it was determined to effect, agreeable to legal forms, the augmentation of the contingents of the empire to the quintuple, as his Imperial majesty had proposed, from the essential motives of the danger and urgent necessity in which Germany was placed; that the said augmentation to the quintuple, absolutely conformable to the constitution of the empire, shall be executed in the same manner that it was agreed by the resolution of the 23d November 1792, to carry into effect the triple augmentation by all the states of the empire; that all efforts should be united as soon as possible to that effect, in such a manner, that every state which cannot allege a legal exemption, may contribute towards it by the employment of all their forces, &c. &c.

Done at Madrid.

Convention

Convention for the common defence of the liberty and safety of the Danish and Swedish commerce and navigation, between the king of Denmark and the king of Sweden, concluded at Copenhagen, March 27, 1797.

HIS majesty the king of Denmark and Norway, and his majesty the king of Sweden, having considered how much it imports the subjects of these realms to enjoy, in safety and tranquillity, the advantages attached to a perfect neutrality, and founded on acknowledged treaties, impressed with a deep sense of their duties to their subjects, and unable to dissemble the inevitable embarrassments of their situation in a war which rages in the greater part of Europe, have agreed and do agree to unite their measures and their interests in this respect, and to give to their nations, after the example of their predecessors, all the protection which they have a right to expect from their paternal care; desiring, moreover, to draw closer the bonds of the amity which so happily subsists between them, have nominated to this effect—his Danish majesty, his minister of state and foreign affairs, the sieur André Pierre count de Bernstorff, knight of the order of the Elephant, &c.—and his majesty the king of Sweden, the sieur Eric Magnus, baron Stael de Holstein, chamberlain to her majesty the queen dowager of Sweden, and knight of the order of the sword, who, after having exchanged their full powers, have agreed on the following articles:

1. Their majesties declare solemnly, that they will maintain the most perfect neutrality in the course

of the present war; avoid as much as on them depends, whatever may embroil them with the powers, their friends and allies; and continue to mark, as they have constantly done, in circumstances sometimes difficult, all the attention, and even all the amicable deference consistent with their own dignity.

2. They declare, moreover, that they claim no advantage which is not clearly and unacceptably, founded on their respective treaties with the powers at war.

3. They engage also reciprocally, and before all Europe, that they will not claim, in cases not specified in their treaties, any advantage which is not founded on the universal law of nations, hitherto acknowledged and respected by all the powers, and by all the sovereigns of Europe, and from which they can as little suppose that any of them will depart, as they are incapable of departing from it themselves.

4. Founding on a basis so just the claim and the maintenance of their indisputable rights, they will give to the innocent navigation of their subjects, which is entirely within the rule of, and conformable to the subsisting treaties, without extending it to such as may depart from the rule, all the protection which it deserves against all those who, contrary to their expectation and their hopes, would disturb the legal exercise of sanctioned rights, the enjoyment of which cannot be denied to neutral and independent nations.

5. For attaining the proposed object, their majesties engage reciprocally to equip, as soon as the season will permit, each a squadron
of

of eight ships of the line, with a proportionate number of frigates, and to provide them with all necessities.

6. These squadrons shall unite or separate, as shall be judged best for the common interest, which shall be interpreted on both sides, with the amity that so happily subsists between the powers.

7. No distinction whatsoever shall be made between the interests and the flags of the two nations, except such as different subsisting treaties with other nations may require.— Moreover, in all cases of defence, convoy or others, without any exception, the Danish ships shall defend the Swedish ships and flag, as if they were their own nation, and the same on the other part.

8. For the order of command in all cases it is agreed to adopt the tenor of the articles 6 and 7, in the convention of the 12th of July, 1756.

9. The German states, both of Denmark and Sweden, are reciprocally and entirely excepted from this convention.

10. The Baltic being always to be considered as a sea shut, and inaccessible to the armed ships of distant powers at war, is declared so anew by the contracting parties, who are resolved to maintain in it the most perfect tranquillity.

11. Their majesties engage to make a joint communication of this convention to all the powers at war, adding the most solemn assurances of their sincere desire to preserve with them the most perfect harmony, and to cement, rather than wound it, by this measure, which tends only to secure rights maintained and asserted by those powers themselves, in all cases where they

were neutral and at peace, without Denmark and Sweden having ever dreamt of interrupting them.

12. But if the unfortunate case should occur, that any power, in contempt of treaties and the universal law of nations, will not respect the basis of society and the general happiness, and shall molest the innocent navigation of the subjects of their Danish and Swedish majesties, then will they, after having exhausted all possible means of conciliation, and made the most pressing joint remonstrances, to obtain the satisfaction and indemnity due to them, make use of reprisals, at the latest, four months after the refusal of their claim, wherever that shall be thought fitting, the Baltic always excepted; and will answer entirely the one for the other, and support one another equally, if either nation shall be attacked or injured on account of this convention.

13. This convention shall subsist in its whole tenor during the present war, unless it should be agreed upon, for the common interest, to make any useful or necessary change or addition to it.

14. The ratification shall take place fifteen days after this convention shall have been signed and exchanged. In testimony of which, we, the undersigned, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present convention, and affixed to it the seal of our arms.

Done at Copenhagen, this 27th of March, 1794.

(Signed)

A. P. V. BERNSTORFF,
ERIC MAGNUS STAEL,
DE HOLSTEIN.

The

Edict issued by the king of Denmark for the maintenance of the trade of Denmark and Norway during the war.

WE, Christian the seventh, by the grace of God, king of Denmark and Norway, &c. &c. make known by these presents, That as we, for the safety and security of our subjects, have made known and published by our former orders and proclamations of the 22d and 25th of February, 1793, as soon as the war broke out between the Belligerent naval powers that all the vessels or ships of our subjects, sailing from any harbour in our dominions, and bound to the north or western seas, should be provided with such sea passes and ships documents as by the treaties had been stipulated between us and the Belligerent powers: having also, in our said orders and public proclamations, stated in what manner persons should be qualified to obtain such papers and documents, we do farther order and demand, on purpose to prevent all deviation which might or could in time happen contrary to our pleasure, as not being mentioned in the stipulated treaties between Belligerent powers and us. as follows, viz.

1. We order and command all our comptrollers and officers in our several custom-houses at our sea-ports, that they shall not permit or allow any vessel or ship, belonging to any of our subjects, to clear out for any foreign sea-port, without being duly provided with the afore-said passes and documents, that our orders and commands concerning this matter may be more strictly observed and followed.

2. Should any vessel, bound to a neutral harbour, take in such goods

or merchandize as, if they were consigned to any harbour of the Belligerent powers, would be contraband, and as such stipulated in the treaties between those powers and us; also mentioned in our former orders and proclamations of 22d and 25th February, 1793, we do farther order and demand, that, besides the oath which the master and freighter of the ships were ordered to make on such occasion before the appointed magistrates as before-mentioned, the person who ships such goods, with the master of each of such vessels, shall be bound to make a special declaration conformable to the invoice and bills of lading (besides his actual entry and clearance at the custom-house), which shall contain the different specifications of the goods, together with their quantity and value; and this declaration is to be signed by the person who ships the cargo, by the captain, and affirmed by the comptroller of the customs where the vessel enters and clears out, who is directly to forward the same to our commissioner of the customs, that the consignment of such goods may be authentically proved, if not lost by sea, or seized on her arrival at her destined port.

This alteration must be made in the following manner:—A person who ships such goods shall be bound to get a certificate from the consul or vice-consul; or in case of there not being any there, from a magistrate, or any other authorized person at such place, that the vessel arrived there and delivered her cargo agreeable to his former declaration; and such certificate is either to be sent from thence, directly to the commissioner of the customs, or as soon

soon as the vessel arrived at her home port.

In case such a certificate should not be delivered, within a proportionable time to the length of the voyage, our college of commerce has orders to demand an explanation from the person who shipped the goods; who is to make a declaration on oath, whether he has received any intelligence concerning said cargo.

Should such person or persons not be able to prove, by certificate, that the goods were landed in a neutral port, and such a vessel not been lost or captured, he shall forfeit twenty rix-dollars for each commercial last of the ship, to our royal college of commerce, and the captain liable to be prosecuted by law.

Given at our royal residence,
Copenhagen, the 28th of
March, 1794.

(Signed) CHRISTIAN, R.

(Countersigned)

SCHIMMELMAN SEBESTEDT,
and DEERNATH.

Note delivered by the Russian chargé des affaires of Sweden on the part of his court to the chancellor, dated Stockholm, Aug. 6th, 1794.

THE empress of Russia has thought proper to fit out a fleet of twenty-five sail of the line, and a proportionable number of frigates, to cruize in the east and north seas, for the purpose (in conjunction with the English maritime forces) of preventing the sending of any provisions or ammunition to France; the empress, therefore, requests the King of Sweden not to permit his

ships of war to take any Swedish merchantmen laden with any such commodities, under their convoy. Her Imperial majesty has further ordered all merchant ships, which her squadron may meet in those seas, to be searched, to see if their cargoes consist of any such goods; all which is done for this reason, namely, that no neutrality can take place with respect to a government consisting only of rebels.

[A similar declaration has been made on the part of the Russian court to that of Denmark; besides which, the English ministers have delivered similar declarations to the Swedish and Danish Courts.]

Reply of the Russian ambassador to the declaration of the divan made in January, 1794, that the Porte would remain inviolably attached to its neutrality.

THAT the empress determined to take an active part in a cause common to all sovereigns, would never suffer a power capable of molesting her frontiers, to profess neutrality; that her majesty consequently expected that the Porte would immediately lay an embargo on all French vessels in its ports, and declare war against the rebels in France, and that he (the ambassador) had the strictest orders from his sovereign, to consider a refusal on the part of the divan as a declaration of war.

Propositions made by the Russian minister, at the Porte, to the Reis Effendi, June, 1794.

R

I. A.

1. **A** Positive declaration that the Porte would not interfere in the actual affairs of Poland.

2. That it should oblige all the French frigates and armed vessels to quit the coasts of the Archipelago; and free all the ports of that sea, over which the navy of France had of late exercised a kind of dominion.

3. That no alterations should be made in the customs and duties.

4. That a free passage should be allowed to Russian frigates through the canal of Constantinople.

5. That the princes of Moldavia and Wallachia, being Greeks, and ill-treated by the Ottoman ministers, should be considered under the immediate protection of her Imperial majesty.

Reply of the Reis Effendi.

1. To this proposition he could give no answer on the moment, as it belonged to the Sultan himself to decide upon points which concerned the interest of his empire.

2. That the Porte would not consent to offer any violence to the French frigates in question.

3. That the Porte, as well as every other free and independent state, would make whatever regulations it thought fit in the duties, without suffering the interference of any foreign power.

4. That the free navigation of the canal of Constantinople would be a violation of the treaties and conventions already subsisting between the two courts.

5. That the prince of Moldavia and Wallachia, though Greeks, being tributary to the Porte, could demand no other treatment, but

what was conformable to those usages and customs which the Ottoman court had ever observed to all its dependencies.

Note presented by the British ambassador to the divan of Constantinople in the Autumn, 1794.

THERE exists between the Belligerent powers and the nations, mutual duties, regulated by treaties, or in default of these, by the law of nations.

The neutral nations are bound to an exact impartiality towards the parties at war; they ought to assist none of them.

They ought, consequently, not to permit in their country, the fitting out, or arming, of men of war, or privateers, in favour of one Belligerent power against another.

Their harbours ought neither to be the refuge of privateers, which, if at all received, ought to be allowed to enter them only in cases of the most urgent necessity; and they have a right to make them put to sea again as soon as they have undergone the most indispensable repairs. The armed ships have no right to bring up and carry their prizes into those ports; and the Belligerent powers ought, on their part, to abstain from all hostilities among the neutral nations; they ought to respect their territories.

But the above duties being perfectly reciprocal, it cannot be required from one party to make sacrifices for the sake of conformity, if, on the other, those duties are disowned and neglected; if these principles are applied to the present juncture, it is supposed that a nation

nation which has violated all that is sacred among men, has the same rights as other nations? that the French democrats, instead of being treated like pirates by the Turks, ought to be admitted on an equal footing with the ancient and sincere friends of the country?

But the Ottoman officers who command in certain provinces do not confine themselves to a partiality in favour of the French, difficult to be interpreted; they even seem, since the beginning of the present war, to have lost sight of all the obligations of neutrality acknowledged by civilized nations. At Smyrna, the sailors of the convention were seen to commit open hostilities against the British officers and seamen, without the aggressors having been given up, or even searched after.

In the same harbour of Smyrna, ships have been, at different times seen, arming and fitting out as privateers against the English, without the smallest interruption on the part of the magistrates. Prizes taken by the French cruizers were seen to be brought thither publicly and without obstacle.

A squadron of frigates and armed ships of that same nation remained in the harbour as frequently, and as long, as it thought proper; it blocked up, as it were, the harbour of Smyrna, and interrupted the commerce of nations for near two years.

In this self-same position, and in the distance marked out by the rules of neutrality, the French armed ships took prizes, and even in sight of the Turkish fortresses they searched and plundered neutral ships, and even those of the subjects

of the Sublime Porte. What is the consequence to be drawn from these facts? It is natural to suppose, that what is lawful for one party, must also be lawful for the other. A British officer of the royal navy acted in consequence; he attacked and captured one of the enemy's frigates in a bay called Turkish, having, however, previously made himself sure that there was neither a Turkish fort or flag in it, in order to avoid every thing that might be deemed an insult to the jurisdiction of the Sublime Porte; and having afterwards resolved to indemnify the inhabitants of the coast for the damage he might have done them, if they had actually been sufferers, he offered freely to me to promulgate his name.

If the French Democrats were susceptible of those feelings which influence other men, that occurrence would have brought them to their senses; and seeing that an abuse, subsequent to the indulgence which they enjoyed on the part of the Turkish commandants, might be followed by disagreeable consequences; and, finally, even compromise the Sublime Porte herself, they would have taken the resolution to forbear from committing their unlawful depredations, and to conform themselves forthwith to the rules prescribed by the law of nations.

But the result was quite different; the French having obtained exclusive immunities and privileges from the Turkish government, talk of avenging themselves on those who durst imitate their example; they have the audacity to threaten the peaceful inhabitants of Smyrna with pillage and death; they provided

R 2

arms,

arms, collected combustibles, and held conventicles to concert the execution of their plans.

The conduct which the Sublime Porte should observe in this respect, is plain and evident; the partiality, or rather, the too great weakness of the governors who command her provinces, has been the origin of this evil: let that weakness cease; let the French be obliged to observe the articles of neutrality; or else, find no more the indecent protection which they hitherto enjoyed in the harbours and roads of the Turkish empire. Let the Porte maintain good order in her territories, by a respectable armed force, and I dare to answer, that no excess, no irregularity, will be committed by the officers of his Britannic majesty.

(Signed) ROBERT LISTON.

Message from general Washington to congress, with report annexed.

Gentlemen of the senate, and of the house of representatives,

THE secretary of state having reported to me, upon the several complaints which have been lodged in his office, against the vexations and spoliations on our commerce, since the commencement of the European war, I transmit to you a copy of his statement, together with the documents upon which it is founded.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

Philadelphia, March 2, 1794.

Sir,

On my succession to the department of state, I found a large volume of complaints, which the no-

tification had collected; against severities on our trade, various in their kind and degree. Having reason to presume, as the fact has proved, that every day would increase the catalogue, I have waited to digest the mass, until time should have been allowed for exhibiting the diversified forms in which our commerce has hourly suffered. Every information is at length obtained, which may be expected.

When we examine the documents which have been transmitted from different parts of the union, we find the British, the French, the Spaniards, and the Dutch, charged with attacks upon our commerce.

It is urged against the British,

1. That their privateers plunder the American vessels, throw them out of their course by forcing them, upon groundless suspicion, into ports, other than those to which they were destined; detain them, even after the hope of a regular confiscation is abandoned; by their negligence, while they hold the possession, expose the cargoes to damage, and the vessels to destruction, and maltreat their crews.

2 That British ships of war have forcibly seized mariners, belonging to American vessels, and in one instance, under the protection of a Portuguese fort.

3. That, by British regulation and practice, our corn and provisions are driven from the ports of France, and restricted to the port of the British, or those of their friends.

4. That our vessels are not permitted to go from the British port in the islands without giving security (which is not attainable, but with difficulty and expense) for the discharge

discharge of the cargo in some other British, or a neutral port.

5. That without the imputation of a contraband trade, as defined by the law of nations, our vessels are captured for carrying on a commercial intercourse with the French West Indies, although it is tolerated by the laws of the French republic; and that, for this extraordinary conduct, no other excuse is alleged, than that, by some edict of a king of France, this intercourse was prohibited;—and,

6. That the conduct of the admiralty in the British islands is impeachable for an excess of rigour, and a departure from strict judicial purity; and the expenses of an appeal to England, too heavy to be encountered, under all the circumstances of discouragement.

Against the French it is urged,

1. That their privateers harrass our trade no less than those of the British.

2. That two of their ships of war have committed enormities on our vessels.

3. That their courts of admiralty are guilty of equal oppression.

4. That, besides these points of accusation which are common to the French and British, the former (the French) have infringed the treaty between the United States and them, by subjecting to seizure and condemnation our vessels trading with their enemies in merchandize, which that treaty declares not to be contraband, and under circumstances not forbidden by the law of nations.

5. That a very detrimental embargo has been laid upon a large number of American vessels in the French ports; and,

6. That a contract with the French government, for coin, has been discharged in depreciated assignats.

Against the Spaniards the outrages of privateers are urged.

And against the Dutch, one condemnation in the admiralty is insisted to be unwarrantable.

Under this complication of mischief, which persecutes our commerce, I beg leave, sir, to submit to your consideration, whether representations, as far as facts may justify, ought not to be immediately pressed upon the foreign governments, in those of the preceding cases for which they are responsible.

Among these I class; 1. The violence perpetrated by public ships of war. 2. Prohibitions, or regulations, inconsistent with the law of nations. 3. The improper conduct of courts. 4. Infractions of treaty. 5. The imposition of embargoes; and, 6. The breach of public contracts. How far a government is liable to redress the rapine of privateers, depends upon the peculiarities of the case. It is incumbent upon it, however, to keep its courts freely open, and to secure an impartial hearing to the injured applicants. If the rules prescribed to privateers be too loose, and opportunities of plunder or ill-treatment be provoked from that cause, or from the prospect of impunity, it is impossible to be too strenuous in remonstrating against this formidable evil.

Thus, sir, I have reduced to general heads the particular complaints, without making any inquiry into the facts beyond the allegations of the parties interested.

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I will only add, that your message seems to promise the congress some statement upon those subjects.

EDM. RANDOLPH.

The president of the United States.

Message from the president of the United States, to the Senate.

United States, 16th April, 1794.

Gentlemen of the senate,

THE communications which I have made you during your present session, from the dispatches of our minister in London, contain a serious aspect of our affairs with Great Britain. But as peace ought to be pursued with unremitted zeal, before the last resource, which has so often been the scourge of nations, and cannot fail to check the advanced prosperity of the United States, is contemplated, I have thought proper to nominate, and do hereby nominate John Jay, as an envoy extraordinary of the United States to his Britannic majesty.

My confidence in our minister plenipotentiary in London continues undiminished; but a mission like this, while it corresponds with the solemnity of the occasion, will announce to the world a solicitude for a friendly adjustment of our complaints, and a reluctance to hostility. Going immediately from the United States, such an envoy will carry with him a full knowledge of the existing temper and sensibility of our country; and will thus be taught to vindicate our rights with firmness, and to cultivate peace with sincerity.

G. WASHINGTON.

Memorial from Mr. Jay, the American minister plenipotentiary at the British court, to lord Grenville.

THE undersigned envoy of the United States of America has the honour of representing to the right hon. lord Grenville, his Britannic majesty's secretary of state for the department of foreign affairs:

That a very considerable number of American vessels have been irregularly captured, and as improperly condemned, by certain of his majesty's officers and judges.

That, in various instances, these captures and condemnations were so conducted, and the captured placed under such unfavourable circumstances, as that, for want of the securities required, and other obstacles, no appeals were made in some cases, nor any claims in others.

The undersigned presumes that these facts will appear from the documents which he has had the honour of submitting to his lordship's consideration; and that it will not be deemed necessary at present to particularize these cases, and their merits, or detail the circumstances, which discriminate some from others.

That great and extensive injuries having thus, under colour of his majesty's authority and commissions, been done to a numerous class of American merchants, the United States can for reparation have recourse only to the justice, authority, and interposition of his majesty. That the vessels and property taken and condemned have been chiefly sold, and the proceeds divided among a number of persons, of whom some are dead, some unable to make retribution, and others, from frequent removals, and their particular

particular circumstances, not easily reached by civil process.

That as for these losses and injuries, adequate compensation, by means of judicial proceedings, has become impracticable; and considering the causes which combined to produce them, the United States confide in his majesty's justice and magnanimity, to cause such compensation to be made to these innocent sufferers, as may be consistent with equity: and the undersigned flatters himself, that such principles may without difficulty be adopted, as will serve as rules whereby to ascertain the cases and the amount of compensation.

So grievous are the expences and delays attending litigated suits, to persons whose fortunes have been so materially affected; and so great is the distance of Great Britain from America, that the undersigned thinks he ought to express his anxiety, that a mode of proceeding as summary and little expensive may be devised, as circumstances and the peculiar hardship of these cases may appear to permit and require.

And as (at least in some of these cases) it may be expedient and necessary, as well as just, that the sentences of the courts of vice-admiralty should be revised and corrected by the court of appeals here, the undersigned hopes it will appear reasonable to his majesty to order that the captured in question (who have not already so done) be re-admitted to enter both their appeals and their claims.

The undersigned also finds it to be his duty to represent, that the irregularities before-mentioned extended not only to the capture and condemnations of American vessels

and property, and to unusual personal severities, but even to the impressment of American citizens, to serve on board of armed vessels. He forbears to dwell on the injuries done to these unfortunate individuals, or on the emotions which they must naturally excite, either in the breasts of the nation to whom they belong, or to the just and humane of every country. His reliance on the justice and benevolence of his majesty, leads him to indulge a pleasing expectation, that orders will be given, that Americans, so circumstanced, be immediately liberated, and that persons honoured with his majesty's commissions do in future abstain from similar violences.

It is with cordial satisfaction that the undersigned reflects on the impressions which such equitable and conciliatory measures would make on the minds of the United States, and how naturally they would inspire and cherish these sentiments and dispositions, which never fail to preserve, as well as to produce respect, esteem, and friendship.

(Signed)

JOHN JAY.

London, July 30, 1794.

Answer of Lord Grenville to the above memorial.

THE undersigned secretary of state has had the honour to lay before the king the ministerial note, which he has received from Mr. Jay, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary from the United States of America, respecting the alleged irregularity of the capture and condemnation of several American vessels, and also respecting the

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circumstances of personal severity, by which those proceedings are stated to have been accompanied in some particular instances.

The undersigned is authorized to assure Mr. Jay, that it is his majesty's wish, that the most complete and impartial justice should be done to all the citizens of America, who may in fact have been injured by any of the proceedings above-mentioned. All experience shews, that a naval war, extending over the four quarters of the globe, must unavoidably be productive of some inconveniences to the commerce of neutral nations; and that no care can prevent some irregularities in the course of those proceedings, which are universally recognized as resulting from the just rights incident to all Belligerent powers. But the king will always be desirous that these inconveniences and irregularities should be as much limited as the nature of the case will admit, and that the fullest opportunity should be given to all to prefer their complaints, and to obtain redress and compensation where they are due.

In Mr. Jay's note, mention is made of several cases where the parties have hitherto omitted to prefer their claims, and of others, where no appeals have been made from the sentences of condemnation pronounced in the first instance.

As to the cases of the first description, lord Grenville apprehends that the regular course of law is still open to the claimants; and that by preferring appeals to the commissioners of prize-causes here, against the sentence of the courts below, the whole merits of those cases may be brought forward, and the most complete justice obtained.

In the cases of second description, the proceedings might be difficult, from the lapse of the time usually allotted for preferring appeals.—But his majesty being anxious that no temporary or local circumstances, such as those to which Mr. Jay refers in his note, should impede the course of substantial justice, has been pleased to refer it to the proper officers to consider of a mode of enlarging the time for receiving the appeals, in those cases, in order to admit the claimants to bring their complaints before the regular court appointed for that purpose.

The undersigned has no doubt that in this manner a very considerable part of the injuries alleged to have been suffered by the Americans, may, if the complaints are well founded, be redressed in the usual course of judicial proceeding, at a very small expence to the parties, and without any other interposition of his majesty's government than is above stated; until the result and effect of these proceedings shall be known, no definitive judgement can be formed respecting the nature and extent of those cases (if any such shall ultimately be found to exist,) where it shall not have been practicable to obtain substantial redress in this mode.—But he does not hesitate to say beforehand, that if cases shall then be found to exist, to such an extent as properly to call for the interposition of government, where, without the fault of the parties complaining, they shall be unable, from whatever circumstances, to procure such redress in the ordinary course of law, as the justice of their cases may intitle them to expect, his majesty will be anxious that justice should at all events be done, and will

will readily enter into the discussion of the measures to be adopted, and the principles to be established for that purpose.

With respect to all acts of personal severity and violence, as the king must entirely disapprove every such transaction, so his majesty's courts are always open for the punishment of offences of this nature; and for giving redress to the sufferers in every case where the fact can be established by satisfactory proof; nor does it appear that any case of that nature can exist, where there would be the smallest difficulty of obtaining, in that mode, substantial and exemplary justice.

On the subject of the impress, lord Grenville has only to assure Mr. Jay, that if, in any instance, American seamen have been impressed into the king's service, it has been contrary to the king's desire; though such cases may have occasionally arisen from the difficulty of discriminating between British and American seamen, especially when there so often exists an interest and intention to deceive:—whenever any representation has been made to lord Grenville on the subject, he has never failed to receive his majesty's commands for putting it in a proper course, in order that the facts might be inquired into, and ascertained; and to the intent that the persons in question might be released, if the facts appeared to be satisfactorily established.

With respect to the desire expressed by Mr. Jay, that new orders might be given, with a view to prevent, as far as it is possible, the giving any just ground of complaint on this head, lord Grenville has no reason to doubt that his majesty's intentions respecting this point are

already sufficiently understood by his majesty's officers employed on that service: but he has, nevertheless, obtained his majesty's permission to assure Mr. Jay, that, instructions to the effect desired, will be renewed in consequence of his application.

The undersigned avails himself with pleasure of this opportunity to renew to Mr. Jay his assurances of his sincere esteem and consideration.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Downing-street, Aug. 1, 1794.

A talk from the White Lieutenant of Oakesuskee, Mad Dog of Tuckabatchies, and Alexander Cornell, who are authorized by the Creek nation to send the same to William Panton, merchant, in Pensacola.

Mr. William Panton,

WE are going to give you a talk, which we do by desire of our chiefs and people of our land, and as it is a talk which concerns peace and happiness, as a nation we must desire that you open your ears and attend thereto.

Our land hath for several years been in great confusion and distress occasioned by bad talks sent into it, and bad people who have crept into it and imposed upon us: this nation now plainly see that ruin awaits them if matters continue in their present state, and therefore are fully determined to establish a firm and lasting peace with all nations and people. In order that we do not meet with any interruption in accomplishing so desirable an object, this talk is sent to you, to desire that you do not on any account interfere in our national concerns, as heretofore you have done, to the great

great detriment and injury of ourselves and friends.

We are well acquainted with the talks you send into our land, and the mischief they have made among our foolish young people, and are resolved to have no more such doings; our whole nation also sees that you take by the hand the men of our land who have brought trouble and disgrace upon us; and your talks have prevented justice being done, and satisfaction given to our nation by our neighbours, for the murders and robberies committed upon them: this, Mr. Panton, you had no business with. To repeat all the bad advice our people have had from you since the time the English left this country, will take up too much time at present; but we must say that had our nation taken the advice given by governor O'Neal, of Pensacola, Mr. Panton, and others whom we can mention when it is necessary, our country would now be engaged in a bloody and ruinous war, not only with all the Americans, but with our neighbouring nations of red people. Some of our people were mad enough to take these bad talks, and blood was spilt in consequence; but the wise ones among us put a stop thereto. But yet we cannot forget such wicked bad advice, calculated for our destruction.

Now, Mr. Panton, our advice to you is to mind your trade, and not meddle with our public concerns.

We have been too long blinded by imposition; our eyes are now open, and we plainly discover your views are not for our good. Once more we tell you that our nation is determined not to be longer slaves to your talks, and they are the best judges of their own business, and

will conduct it as they think best for their own good.

After this warning, would you or any other person or persons meddle in our national affairs, so as to prevent our establishing peace, we shall consider all such as enemies to our land, and look to them for all the consequences that may follow.

There are public agents in our nation from Spain and the United States; to them alone we will listen, and must not be interrupted by any other talks; this is the opinion and voice of our nation, as well as your friends,

The WHITE LIEUT. of Oaksuskee,
The MAD DOG of Tukabatchie,
ALEXANDER CORNELL, of ditto.

April, 1794.

Reply made by lord Dorchester to a deputation from seven tribes of Indians, at a council held at the castle of St. Lewis, in the city of Quebec, on the 10th day of February, 1794.

REPLY of his excellency lord Dorchester, to the Indians of the seven villages of Lower Canada, as deputies from all the nations who were at the general council, held at Miami, in the year 1793, except the Chawanous, Miamis, and Loups.

Children—I have well considered your words, and am now prepared to reply.

Children—You have informed me, that you are deputed by the seven villages of Lower Canada, and by all the nations of the upper country, which sent deputies to the general council,

council, held at the Miamis, except the Chawanous, Miamis, and Loups.

Children—You remind me of what passed at the council fire, held at Quebec, just before my last departure for England, when I promised to represent their situation and wishes to the king, their father, and expressed my hope that all the grievances they complained of, on the part of the United States, would soon be done away by a just and lasting peace.

Children—I remember all very well: I remember that they pointed out to me the line of separation which they wished for between them and the United States, and with which they would be satisfied and make peace.

Children—I was in expectation of hearing from the people of the United States what was required by them; I hoped I should have been able to bring you together, and make you friends.

Children—I have waited long, and listened with great attention, but I have not heard one word from them.

Children—I flattered myself with the hope, that the line proposed in the year eighty-three, to separate us from the United States, which was immediately broken by themselves as soon as the peace was signed, would have been minded, or a new one drawn in an amicable manner; here also I have been disappointed.

Children—Since my return, I find no appearance of a line remains; and from the manner in which the people of the States push on, and act, and talk on this side, and from what I learn of their conduct to-

wards the sea, I shall not be surprised if we are at war with them in the course of the present year; and if we are, a line must be drawn by the warriors.

Children—You ask for a passport to go to New York; a passport is useless in peace; it appears, therefore, that you expect we shall be at war with the States before your return. You shall have a passport, that, whether peace or war, you shall be well received by the king's warriors.

Children—They have destroyed their right of pre-emption; therefore, all their approaches towards us since that time, and all the purchases made by them, I consider as an infringement on the king's rights; and when a line is drawn between us, be it peace or war, they must lose all their improvement of houses on our side of it. The people must all be gone, who do not obtain leave to become the king's subjects. What belongs to the Indians will, of course, be confirmed and secured to them.

Children—What farther can I say to you? You are our witness, that on our part, we have acted in the most peaceable manner, and borne the language of the United States with patience, and I believe our patience is almost exhausted.

Given under my hand, at the castle of St. Lewis, in the city of Quebec, on the 10th of February, in the year of our Lord 1794.

(Signed) DORCHESTER.

By his excellency's command,

(Signed)

HERMAN WISLUS RYLAND,
Secretary.

Message

Message from general Washington to Congress.

May 21, 1794.

Gentlemen of the senate; and of the house of representatives,

I Lay before you certain information, whereby it would appear, that some encroachment was about to be made on our territory, by an officer and party of British troops. Proceeding upon a supposition of the authenticity of this information, although of a private nature, I have caused the representation to be made to the British minister, a copy of which accompanies this message.

It cannot be necessary to comment upon the very serious nature of such an encroachment, nor to urge that this new state of things suggests the propriety of placing the United States in a posture of effectual preparation for an event, which, notwithstanding the endeavours making to avert it, may, by circumstances beyond our controul, be forced upon us.

G. WASHINGTON.

Proclamation published by authority, at New York, by the president of the United States of America, Sept. 29, 1794.

WHEREAS, from a hope that the combination against the constitution and laws of the United States, in certain of the western counties of Pennsylvania, would yield to time and reflection, I thought it sufficient, in the first instance, rather to take measures for calling

forth the militia than immediately to embody them; but the moment is now come, when the overtures of forgiveness, with no other condition than a submission to law, have been only partially accepted; when every form of conciliation, not inconsistent with the being of government, has been adopted without effect; when the well-disposed in those counties are unable by their influence and example to reclaim the wicked from their fury, and are compelled to associate in their own defence; when the proffered lenity has been perversely misinterpreted into an apprehension that the citizens will march with reluctance: when the opportunity of examining the serious consequences of a treasonable opposition has been employed in propagating principles of anarchy, endeavouring through emissaries to alienate the friends of order from its support, and inviting enemies to perpetrate similar acts of insurrection; when it is manifest, that violence would be continued to be exercised upon every attempt to enforce the law: when, therefore, government is set at defiance, the contest being whether a small portion of the United States shall dictate to the whole union, and at the expence of those who desire peace, indulge a desperate ambition. Now therefore, I, George Washington, president of the United States, in obedience to that high and irresistible duty, consigned to me by the constitution, "to take care that the laws be faithfully executed;" deploring that the American name should be sullied by the outrages of citizens on their own government; commiserating such as remain obstinate

nate from delusion ; but resolved, in perfect reliance on that gracious Providence which so signally displays its goodness towards this country, to reduce the refractory to a due subordination to the law ; do hereby declare and make known, that, with a satisfaction that can be equalled only by the merits of the militia summoned into service from the states of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, I have received intelligence of their patriotic alacrity, in obeying the call of the present, though painful, yet commanding necessity : that a force, which according to every reasonable expectation is adequate to the exigency, is already in motion to the scene of disaffection ; that those who have confided, or shall confide, in the protection of government, shall meet full succour under the standard, and from the arms, of the United States ; that those who have offended against the laws, and have since entitled themselves to indemnity, will be treated with the most liberal good faith, if they shall not have forfeited their claim by any subsequent conduct, and that instructions are given accordingly. And I do moreover exhort all individuals, officers, and bodies of men, to contemplate with abhorrence the measures leading directly or indirectly to those crimes which produce this resort to military coercion ; to check, in their respective

spheres, the efforts of misguided or designing men, to substitute their misrepresentation in the place of truth, and their discontents in the place of stable government ; and to call to mind, that, as the people of the United States have been permitted under the Divine favour in perfect freedom, after solemn deliberation, and, in an enlightened age, to elect their own government, so will their gratitude for this inestimable blessing be best distinguished by firm exertions, to maintain the constitution and the laws. And, lastly, I again warn all persons whomsoever and wheresoever, not to abet, aid, or comfort the insurgents aforesaid, as they will answer the contrary at their peril ; and I do also require all officers and other citizens, according to their several duties, as far as may be in their power, to bring under the cognizance of the law, all offenders in the premises. In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed to these presents, and signed the same with my hand.

Done at the city of Philadelphia, the 25th day of September, 1794 ; of the independence of the United States of America, the 19th.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

By the president,
EDM. RANDOLPH.



CHARACTERS.

*Anecdotes of Dr. Paul Hiffernan,
from the European Magazine.*

THIS author may be well reckoned amongst the extraordinary of modern literature; not that he excelled his contemporaries either in genius or learning: he derives this character from his eccentricities, and to this he was fairly entitled from the peculiarity of his familiar habits, his studies, and his writings.

Dr. Paul Hiffernan was born in the county of Dublin, in the year 1749, and received his early education at a grammar school in that county. From this, at a proper age, he was removed to a seminary in Dublin, where the classics were taught in good repute, and where he was educated for the profession of a Popish priest, his parents being of the Roman Catholic persuasion.

For the better finishing his education in this line, he was afterwards sent to a college in the south of France, where he became acquainted with several students, some of whom were afterwards much renowned in the Republic of Letters, and particularly the celebrated Rousseau and Marmontel. The first of these, he used to observe, gave at that time no promise of his future greatness, being very modest and simple in his manners, and more

fond of retirement and contemplation, than either study or conversation.

Of Marmontel he used to speak in great praise. He was studious, inquisitive, and lively, was the very soul of his class for conviviality, good humour, and wit; and scarce a day passed without his producing a sonnet, an epigram, or a bon mot, which gained him great applause, and prophesied his future reputation.

He remained at this college, and at Paris, for near seventeen years, which, though it gave him an opportunity of speaking and writing the French language with fluency and purity, accounts in some respect for his having so bad a style as an English writer, he having left his own country at so early an age, that he insensibly imbibed the French idioms in preference to those of his own.

Most of the English and Irish students at this college being educated for the profession of physic, our author followed the same track; and, though contrary to the design of his parents, who intended him for a Romish priest, he took out his Bachelor's degree of physic, and soon after returned to Dublin, in order to practise his profession.

Why he did not fulfil his resolution, on his arrival in Dublin, can be readily accounted for by any person

person who knew his natural turn, which was that of an unconquerable love of indolence and dissipation. The regularities of any profession were circles too confined for him, and the day that was passing over him, was generally to decide what he should do. With this temper, instead of cultivating his profession, he sought the receptacles and convivialities of his countrymen; and as he was a good scholar, abounded in anecdote, and might, at that time, have imported some of the agreeable manners of the French, he found a ready chair at several respectable tables in Dublin.

About this time a doctor Lucas, a man who afterwards was much celebrated for his opposition to the government of Ireland, started up, and by those bold measures that propose quick and sudden reformation of abuses, gained so much of the popular attachment, that the citizens of Dublin returned him as one of their members in parliament. Another party opposed these measures, and Hiffernan being considered as a young man of good education and lively parts, he undertook to write against Lucas in a periodical paper, which was called "The Tickler."

It is seldom that the merit of this species of writing outlives its original purpose. We have seen many of those papers, which, however, the doctor (as Hiffernan was usually called) might pride himself on, possessed little else than personal abuse, or contradictions of oppositional statements. Now and then, indeed, some of the doctor's whim appears, but it was of that kind as must induce his best friends to

transfer the laugh more to the man than to his writings.

"The Tickler," however, as a party paper, made its way for some time, and procured at least this advantage to the author (which he unfortunately prized too highly through life), of living constantly at private and public tables. An author by profession at that time of day in Ireland was no common sight, and gained many admirers. Those who had their great opponent in politics periodically abused, felt a gratification in the company of their champion; amongst these he numbered many of the aldermen of Dublin, and Hiffernan was a man very well qualified to sit at an alderman's table.

If our author had the satisfaction of being well-known and caressed by his friends, he had at the same time the misfortune of being equally known and hated by his enemies; and what was worse, his enemies by far out-numbered his friends; in short, he became a marked man, and as he was one that gave an improper licence to his tongue as well as his pen, he met with several insults in coffee-houses and public places. The doctor parried this for some time; but as Lucas's reputation carried all before it, and as he was universally esteemed a man of good intentions, Hiffernan suffered additionally by comparison; so that being chased out of all public places, and, as he used to tell himself, "in some danger of his life," he, by the advice of his friends, directed his course to London, there to try his fate as an author, "in this general home of the necessitous."

What year he came to London, we cannot exactly ascertain, but it must,

must, from some circumstances, be between the years 1753 and 1754. In that and the next year, he published five numbers of a pamphlet which he called "The Tuner," in which, with more humour than he ever shewed afterwards, he ridiculed the then new plays of "Philoclea," "Boadicea," "Constantine," "Virginia," &c. His first employment was in translations from the French and Latin authors; but though a good scholar in both languages, he wanted that familiarity in his own, which rendered his style stiff and pedantic. He was not always punctual too in his engagements, so that, after repeated trials, he was found not to answer the reputation he brought with him from Ireland; and he was, through necessity, obliged to strike into a new line of authorship. Whilst he was pursuing his studies at Paris and Montpellier, as well as whilst he was in Ireland, he amused himself with writing several things on occasional subjects for the entertainment of his friends, and partly, perhaps, with a view to keep up that passport to their tables in which he so much delighted. These, with some others on more general subjects, he resolved to publish; and accordingly, early in the year 1755, he gave them to the world under the title of "Miscellanies in Prose and Verse, by Paul Hiffernan, M. D."

These miscellanies are dedicated to the late lord Tyrawley, and consist of essays on Taste, Ethics, Character of Polonius, Theory of Acting, Immoderate Drinking, The Virtues of Cock-fighting, A Short View of the Life and Writings of Confucius, The Last Day, Logico-Mastix, with a number of

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poems on occasional subjects. In this *mélange* of odd subjects, there are some foreign anecdotes and remarks, which distinguish the scholar and man of observation. In his "Character of Polonius," he particularly rescues that statesman from the imputation of a fool and a driver, and supports his claim to wisdom and sagacity, both from his advice to his son and daughter, as well as from the following character which the king gives of him to Laertes:

"The blood is not more native to the heart,
The hand more instrumental to the mouth,
Than to the throne of Denmark is thy father."

The opposite character of Polonius, however, has been adopted by all the performers we have ever seen play this part, except one; we mean Munden's late performance of it at Covent-Garden Theatre, where, indeed, the whole of the representation of Hamlet is got up very creditably to the taste of the manager. Munden shews Polonius free from all those blemishes of buffoonery with which our best actors, who have gone before him, have loaded him; he is in his hands, though somewhat of a formalist, and attached to the modes of a court, a wise, a prudent, and upright statesman; and this the audience felt, on the first night, to be so much the real draught of the character, that, notwithstanding all their former prejudices, they gave it their universal applause.

His "Theory on the Art of Acting," is only to be remembered for its eccentricity. In describing the mechanical manner of the players generally

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generally dying in the last act, he draws a caricature scene of a man being run through the body with a spit by his landlady, on his incapacity of paying his reckoning; and that our readers may have an opinion of the vulgar extravagancy which our author has run into on this occasion, we shall present them with the concluding lines:

“ —Uph!” —

“ Here a general contraction of the body, which as nothing violent can last long, is to be succeeded by a gradual evolution of the members, and the two following lines are to be uttered in the farewell, endearing, melancholy tone :

“ Farewell, ye cauliflowers on the proud
tops
Of brimming tankards, I never more shall
see— (a pause)
Hard—Hard fates !”

is to be spoken in a canine and snappish mode, like “ Darkness, Darkness,” in Richard the Third.

“ — O sure, it was not so much
To mean to build a sconce.” —

Mournful reflection !

“ But the heavens are just !”

Here he is to look wishfully and repentantly towards heaven, then a stammer, “ I—I—I.”

As half of the last I—(O has reigned long enough for the other vowels to take their turn) is pronounced, he is to have the rattles in his throat, which are to be accompanied by the wish abrupt, the half screw, two kicks, and the sop supine, equivalent to the sailors phrase (“ Good-night, Nicholas !”) when they are going to the bottom.

What profit the publication of these miscellanies might bring him is uncertain; if he depended entirely on the public sale, we should suppose very little; but Hissernan had the art of getting off his books amongst his friends and acquaintances by personal application, and other modes of address not so very creditable either to learning or delicacy.

The line of authorship he took up after the publication of these miscellanies was, any mode which presented itself to gain a temporary existence; sometimes by writing a pamphlet, and privately subscribing it amongst his friends and acquaintances, and sometimes by becoming the patron or defender of some novice for the stage; or some artist who wanted to make his way to public notice by puffing, or other indirect means. It is said he had several players and painters under contribution for this purpose; and as he was a man of some plausibility, and had a known intimacy with Garrick, Foote, and many of the literati, it is no wonder that he sometimes gained proselytes.

His grand place of rendezvous was the cider-cellar, Maiden-lane; a place he usually resorted to on those evenings, when, to use his own expression, “ he was not housed for the night.” Here it was he played the part of patron or preceptor with some dexterity. If any painter found his favourite word excluded a place in the Exhibition, or wanted his piece puffed through the papers, Hissernan was “ the lord of infamy or praise.” If any player took dudgeon at his manager or rival brother, our author’s pen was ready to defend him; and if any person as a candidate for the stage,

stage, wanted instruction or recommendation, who so fit as Hiffernan, the grave scholar and travelled man, the writer of plays himself, the intimate friend and occasional scourge of both managers and actors, to instruct them in the elements of their intended profession?

His mode of proceeding in this last instance, we were informed of by a late eminent performer of Covent-Garden Theatre, who, partly from curiosity, and, perhaps, partly from being deceived by some friend respecting Hiffernan's abilities and patronage, went through the process himself; and who told it with that whim and humour which he was so much master of, on or off the stage. From him we are enabled to give somewhat of a general description.

When a candidate for the stage was first announced by the waiter to doctor Hiffernan, the doctor never rose from his seat, but drawing the pipe which he smoked from his mouth, gave a slight inclination of the head, and desired him to sit down. He then listened very attentively to the novice's account of himself, his studies, and line of pretensions, but *then* gave no opinion: he reserved himself for a private meeting the next night at the Black Lion, Russel-street, or some other favourite ale-house; and if the candidate, wishing to do a civil thing by his preceptor, offered to pay the reckoning, the doctor was not in the least offended, but, on the contrary, considered it as the perquisite of his own superiority.

When they met on the next night, the preliminaries of business were opened, which first began by

the doctor explaining his terms, which were a *entrance guinea* another guinea for instruction, and two guineas more to be paid on his getting an engagement at either of the London theatres. All this being settled, and the doctor having pocketed his first guinea, he began by attentively eyeing the height and figure of the performer: and, in order to ascertain this with mathematical precision; he pulled out a six-inch rule, which he carried about him on these occasions, and measured him against the wainscot. If the candidate happened to be very tall, "to be sure that was not so well; but then, Barry was tall, and nobody objected to his theatrical abilities." If he was short, "that was against his being much of a hero; but then there was Garrick, whom all the world admired." He, therefore, generally consoled his pupil, let him be of what size or figure he might be, with the superiority which *merit* has over all external qualifications; concluding with Churchill upon the same subject,

"Before such merit all distinctions fly,
Pritchard's genteel, and Garrick's six feet
high."

In this wretched manner did our author while away the greater part of a life which, with becoming industry, and his stores of information, might have been made useful to the world, and respectable to himself. He never, however, wholly gave up the trade of *book-making*, every now then producing some original matter or translation from the French. In this latter walk, we find him employed in the year 1764, and as the circumstances attending this case go in a great de-

gree to develop the eccentric character of the man, we shall detail them at full length.

Political parties, it is well remembered, ran high much about this time, and much ink was shed upon both sides of the question. In this struggle it was suggested by one of the heads of opposition, that the translation of a French book called "The Origin of Despotism," would not only sell well, but be of use to the party. A bookseller, since dead, was spoke to for the purpose of procuring a translator, and as Hissernan's knowledge of French was unquestionable, he was fixed upon to be the man. The book was accordingly put into his hands, and in the usual time was finished and prepared for publication.

And here it may not be improper to remark, on the very material difference there appears to be in the flavour and strength of political writing then and at this present time. "The Origin of Despotism" was written, as the author declares in his last section, as a kind of introduction to "Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws," and the design of the book is as follows:

The author first condemns the different opinions hitherto entertained on the origin of despotism, and thinks he has discovered its true source. "The Origin of Despotism," says he, "appears to me to have established itself upon the earth, neither through consent nor by force, but was the dire effect, and almost natural consequence of that kind of government which men had forged for themselves in very remote ages, when they took for a model the government of the universe, as it is reigned over by the Supreme Being. Magnificent but

fatal project! which has plunged all the nations into idolatry and thralldom, because a multitude of suppositions that were then expedient to be made, have been since adopted as certain principles, and that mankind, then losing sight of what ought to have been the true principles of their conduct here below, went in quest of supernatural ones, which not being fitted for this earth, not only deceived but rendered them unhappy." He then attempts to shew the progress of these principles from theocracy to despotism, and concludes with some general observations on a monarchical government.

In short, the whole of this book appears to us to be a mere metaphysical inquiry, too refined to be taken up on any active principle, and too general to calumniate or disturb any particular government; and yet this book in the year 1764 was, upon a consultation of some avowed eminent politicians of that day, thought too dangerous to publish; and notwithstanding the title-page was cautiously worked off, as if it had been printed at Amsterdam, it was agreed that the publication should be laid aside.

Comparing this with many of the political writings of the present day, we shall make no comment. The real friends of the liberty of the press know and feel the difference.

But to return, the delay of publication was for some time unknown to Hissernan, when accidentally passing the bookseller's shop, he inquired the cause. The bookseller informed him, and in the course of conversation on that subject proposed to sell him the copies at six months credit, at the trade price.

Hissernan

Hiffernan at once closed with the proposal, as it offered a cheap and ready manner of laying his friends and acquaintances under fresh contributions. The account was instantly made out, a note of hand drawn, and every thing ready to accomplish the bargain but the doctor's signature.

It will be here necessary to state, that it was amongst the peculiarities of this very eccentric man, never to acquaint his most intimate friend with the place of his lodging. Whatever could be the motive, whether pride or whim, let him be drunk or sober, the secret, we believe, never once escaped him. In signing his name, therefore, to this note, the bookseller, very naturally, desired him to put down his place of abode. "I am to be heard of at the Bedford coffee-house," replied the doctor. "But, sir," says the bookseller, "a coffee-house is too loose a place to make a note transferable, and therefore it will be necessary to state where you constantly reside." Hiffernan paused for some time, and again repeated, "the Bedford coffee-house." Being again told that this would not do, he persisted in giving no other address. The bookseller not approving of this, the bargain fell to the ground, and the doctor walked away in great dudgeon, reproaching "the inquisitive impertinence of tradesmen."

When Hiffernan refused accepting credit for six months for a number of books, which he could very well dispose of amongst his friends—we can very well see the price he set on *keeping his lodging a secret*. The sale of the books would be a ready money traffic to him during the time;—the translation would

likewise gain him some reputation;—and as to the payment of his note, that could be settled in his *usual way*, viz. for some time by *promises*, and at length by a frank acknowledgment of *total incapacity*:—yet all these *advantages* were foregone sooner than "divulge the secrets of his prison-house."—There he was alike impenetrable to friend and foe.

The next thing of any consequence that engaged our author's attention, was a work called "*Dramatic Genius*"—which he dedicated to Garrick, his friend and patron through life. This work is divided into five books. The first delineates a plan of a permanent temple to be erected to the memory of Shakespeare, with suitable decorations and inscriptions. The second investigates the progress of the human mind in inventing the drama, and conducting it to perfection; with a candid disquisition of the rules laid down by critics. The third exhibits a philosophical analysis of the pre-requisites of the art of acting. The fourth displays the criteria of dramatic genius in composition, and the beautiful and sublime of acting; and the fifth treats of architecture, painting, and other arts, so far as they are accessory to theatrical representation.

There is in this, as in most of Hiffernan's writings, a mixture of science and absurdity.—He had not taste sufficient to set off his learning, and his familiar life was such as to shut out all improvement. The characters of the several plays of Shakespeare given in this work are in Latin as well as in English; and as the doctor piqued himself on his *Latinity*, the reader will judge for himself, what excellence he possessed

in that language from the following specimen of the character of Richard the Third.

Ricardus Tertius.

Imperium obtinuit primorum strage viro-
rum,
Justitiam, Leges naturæ et jura perosus;
Reges Henricum, fratremque, et pignora
amoris
Sustulit è medio truculentâ mente, Ri-
cardus
Astutusque, toro, et morti promoverat
Annam.
Cognatas umbras menti fera somnia
pingunt,
Sin excussa quies—vanæ excutiuntur et
umbræ.

Religione tegit facinus, quia sanguinis ultro
Prodigus humani effuderat—omnis
Ordo gemit populi; juga solvere barbara
jurat.
Richmondus petitur; Gallorum elapsus
ab oris
Advolat in patriam—cecinerunt horrida
bellum
Classica—*Bosworthi* in campo pugnatur:—
acerba
Funera densantur—mediis in millibus ardet
Regia sævitus—et equo privatur—ab omni
Milite clamat Equum, regni pretio; fu-
ibunda,
Impatiens, volat huc; illuc sua prælia
jactans:
“ Sex Richmondi hodiè dextrâ hac ceci-
dere, morantem
“ Richmondum quoties,” rauco vox in-
crepat ore!

Convenere! enses rapido mucrone cor-
ruscant.
Vulnera vulneribus geminantur, et ictibus
ictus—
Rex fato opprimitur—Victori cedere reg-
num
Cogitur; infrendit moriens, “ Æterna
pente
“ Nox ruat in terras, perituro prologus
orbi.”

The subscriptions he gained by this work were very considerable, as Garrick exerted himself amongst his friends for the author, and who could refuse Garrick on the subject

of the stage? And yet, though these exertions might have done credit to the friendship of our English Roscius, they did not serve his delicacy very much, as the praises so lavishly bestowed on him should have, in some respect withheld his personal interference: besides, they were too fulsome in themselves to add any degree of credit to such established abilities.

The amount of these subscriptions we do not exactly know, but should suppose to be from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty pounds; a temporary mine to such a man as Hiffernan, who lived so much with the public, and who in his interior life, there is every reason to suppose, practised a rigid economy. With this money he emerged a little more into life, quitted the old English dress (as he used to call his seedy clothes) for a new suit of black, and knocked at the doors of his friends with all the confidence of a successful author.

In this progress, our author some- times felt *l'embarras du richesse*, in a manner that was laughable enough. Dining one day at a friend's house, and feeling the consequence and novelty of a full pocket, he wanted the change of a twenty pound bank note: the gentleman said he had not quite so much money in the house, but as his servant was going on a message to Fleet-street after dinner, he should take it to Mr. Hoare his banker, and bring him the change. This did very well, and soon after Hiffernan gave the note to the man for the above purpose.

So far the object of self-consequence and vanity were sufficiently displayed, and our author joined in pushing about the bottle with great spirit

spirit and conviviality. After an hour or two spent in this manner, Hiffernan inquired after the man—the bell was rung—but no man was as yet returned;—he dropped his jaw a-little upon this, but said nothing. In about an hour afterwards he inquired again, but no man. Here our author began to lose a little patience; and turning round to the gentleman of the house, very gravely exclaimed, “By the living G—d, I’m afraid your man has run off with the money.”—“Upon my word, doctor, says the other (smoking him), I must confess it has an odd appearance; but if the fellow should have gone off, it is with *your money*, not mine.”—“My money!” exclaimed Hiffernan, starting from his chair, and raising his voice, “Sir, I would have you to know, that I know law as well as you in this particular, and I know that if I gave my money to your servant by your direction, the act of the servant is the act of the master.”—Here an altercation on the point of law for some time took place, when the doctor was most happily extricated out of all his fears by the arrival of the servant with the money, and who was only prevented from returning in time, by a number of other messages which he had to deliver from his mistress.

The next production of the doctor’s was a thing which he called “The Philosophic Whim,” and which he ironically dedicated to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

This is such a jumble of nonsense, that there is no reading or detining it;—if it aims at any thing, it appears to be a laugh against some branches of modern philosophy, but so miserably executed, as to warrant

a supposition, that the man must be mad or drunk who wrote it. The publication however answered his purpose, for as he was very heedless of his literary reputation, or perhaps did not always know when he was degrading it, he as usual subscribed it among his friends; and generally, wherever he went to dine, taxed his host from half a crown to a guinea (just as he could get it) for this pamphlet. Hugh Kelly, who had previously seen it at a friend’s house, generously sent him a guinea for a copy; but consoled himself at the same time, that he was under no obligation to read it.

Talking of this strange publication at that time, gave rise to one of the last flashes of poor Goldsmith. “How does this devil of an author, says a friend, contrive to get credit even with his bookseller for paper, print, and advertising?”—“Oh! my dear sir, says Goldsmith, very easily—he *steals the brooms ready made.*”

The next year, 1755, doctor Hiffernan appeared as a dramatic author, by the introduction of a tragedy at Drury-lane theatre, under the title of “The Heroine of the Cave.”—The history of his piece is as follows: After the death of Henry Jones, the author of the tragedy of the earl of Essex (a man superior to Hiffernan in point of genius, but very like him in his want of prudence and discretion), this piece was found amongst his loose papers by the late Mr. Reddish, of Drury-lane theatre, who soon after brought it out for his benefit. Hiffernan and Reddish living in close habits of intimacy, the latter, after his benefit, gave it to the doctor, and suggested to him that he might make something of it by

extending the plot, and adding some new characters.

Hiffernan undertook it, and brought it out the next year for the benefit of Miss Young (now Mrs. Pope), with a new prologue, epilogue, &c. &c. and by the very excellent and impassioned performance of that capital actress, who played the heroine, it went off with considerable applause. The title Jones gave to this piece was, "The Cave of Idra." The plot is taken from a narrative in the Annual Register; and had the original author had time and coolness to finish it, it is probable he would have succeeded in making it a respectable tragedy. Even in Hiffernan's hands the plot and incidents buoyed him up above his ordinary thinking; and if he gave no graces, he avoided any great blemishes.

The doctor lived upon the profits of this tragedy for some time; but, as usual, never made a calculation what he *was to do next*, till poverty pressed him *to do something*. After casting about for some time (and occasionally damning the booksellers for their want of taste in not encouraging learning, and the performers of both theatres for a dearth of abilities that discouraged any author of eminence from writing for them) he undertook to give a course of lectures on the anatomy of the human body.

He instantly published proposals, which was a guinea for the course, to consist of three lectures, and the subscribers not to exceed twenty, in order to be the better accommodated in a private room. The subscription (which was evidently given under the impression of charity) was soon filled by the exertions of his

friends—and the first day was announced by the doctor's going round to the subscribers himself to inform them of it.—"This method (said he) I look upon the best, as it prevents any imputation of *quackery*, by a public advertisement."

The room fixed on for this exhibition was at the Percy coffee-house—the hour, one o'clock in the afternoon. At this hour the following gentlemen assembled—doctor Kennedy, physician to the prince of Wales, and the present inspector-general to the hospitals, under the duke of York—Mr. George Garrick—Mr. Becket of Pall-mall—and another gentleman. They waited till two for more company—but no more coming, the doctor made his appearance, from an inside closet, dressed out in a full suit of black—and placing himself before a little round table, made a very formal obeisance to his small auditory.

The company could not help but smile at this mode of beginning—but the doctor proceeding with great gravity, pulled out of his pocket a small print of a human skeleton, evidently cut out of some anatomical magazine, and laying it on the table thus proceeded:

"I am now, gentlemen, about to open a subject to you of the greatest importance in life—which is the *knowledge of ourselves*—which Plato recommends in that short but forcible maxim of "*Nosce teipsum*"—Pope, by saying, "The proper study of mankind is man"—and our divine Shakespeare, by exclaiming, "What a piece of work is man! how noble in reason! how infinite in faculties! in form and moving how express and admirable!—In action, how like an angel! in apprehension,

prehension, how like a God ! the beauty of the world—the paragon of animals !”

“ Having thus given the general opinion of three great men on this subject, I shall commence with describing the *head* of this paragon of animals.”—Here the doctor entered into a common-place description of the skull, the brains, &c. which lasted about half an hour, when taking up the print and restoring the head of the skeleton (which he had previously doubled down) to its former position, he next undertook a description of the breast.

“ Here, gentlemen, says he, is the next part of this very extraordinary animal, which may be very properly called from its very curious bend and texture—the *bread-basketry* of the human frame.”—At this the audience could hold out no longer, but unanimously burst out into a horse laugh, which made the doctor pause for some minutes, and produced in the company likewise an awkward and embarrassed silence. At last one of the gentlemen broke ground by saying, “ Why, doctor, as we are all friends, and as the subscription has been paid in, what signifies giving yourself any further trouble ?—We are satisfied of your capacity, and we can dispense with any farther lectures.”—Aye—aye, joined the rest of the company.—“ Why then continued the first speaker, suppose you all come and take a bit of dinner with me to-day, when we shall see what we are able to do in anatomizing the bottle.”

The sound of a gratuitous good dinner always tell very *musically* on Hiffernan's ear, and in the present instance peculiarly so, as it not only plentifully provided for the wants

of *one* day, but released him from the trouble of *two* days more attendance, without losing any part of his subscription-money. Hence the brow of the grave and philosophic lecturer instantly relaxed into that of the convivial familiar acquaintance ; he stept from behind the corner of his little table with the utmost chearfulness, paid his congees separately to his friends, ordered up some coffee (which he left them to pay for), and soon after met them at the dinner rendezvous in all the hilarity of an eleemosynary guest.

This transient exhibition, we believe, was the last public effort of his, either as a physician or an author ; not but he sometimes used to *advertise* works, perhaps without any design of publishing them, but for the purposes of *giving pain*, or *extorting money*. In this list we find many pamphlets ; some, perhaps, written, others intended to be written ; but all calculated to form his miserable ways and means for raising the supplies.

In this shifting manner our author went on, living as he most conveniently could make it out, without feeling much of the disgrace or embarrassment of his situation, till the spring of 1777, when he contracted the jaundice, which very soon made an evident impression on his frame and spirits. His friends, knowing his pecuniary situation, saw it was necessary for him to confine himself to his apartments, and liberally assisted him for this purpose. Amongst these were Mr. Garrick, Mr. Murphy, Dr. Kennedy, Mrs. Abington, and others. The doctor, however, used to creep out during the morning sun for an hour or two, which he trusted would

would do him more good than either physic or confinement.

In one of these morning excursions, he gave a singular proof of the ruling passion sticking to useven in the hour of death. Calling at a friend's house so faint and spiritless that he was unable to walk up to the drawing-room, he was told in as delicate a manner as possible, "that as sickness always brought on additional expences, if he would give his friend his address, he would very readily *lend* him a guinea per week until he recovered.

The doctor received the promise of the loan with becoming gratitude, but referred him for his address to the usual place, "The Bedford coffee-house."—"My dear doctor, says the other, this is no time to trifle. I assure you in the most solemn manner I do not make this inquiry from any impertinent curiosity, or idle wish to extort a secret from you under your present circumstances; my only reason is, for the quicker dispatch of sending you any thing that may be needful."—The doctor still expressed his gratitude with a sigh, and ardent gripe of the hand; but left the house by referring his friend to the Bedford coffee-house.

It was in vain to expostulate farther: the gentleman sent on the two following Saturdays a guinea each day, sealed up in a letter, which, on enquiry, he found the doctor received; but on the third Saturday no messenger arriving, upon enquiry, it was found that the doctor was *no more*, having died the preceding night, at his lodgings, in one of the little courts of St. Martin's lane, about the beginning of June, 1777.

Hifferrnan was in his person a short, thick-set man, of a ruddy

complexion; black, observing eyes, with a nose somewhat inclined to the aquiline, and upon the whole, though not formed with much symmetry, might be called an intelligent and well-looking man; but as he has humourously described both his person and mind, in a poem called "The Author on Himself," we shall use his own pencil:

"Perhaps some curious would my person know;
I humbly answer, 'Tis but so and so:
Not over tall—nor despicably low.
Black frowning brows my deep-sunk eyes
o'er shade,
They were, I fear, for a phisician made;
Foreseeing Nature gave this anti-grace,
And mark'd me with a medical grimace;
In limbs proportion'd—body somewhat gross,
In humour various—affable—morose;
The ladies servitor—in health a king;
Good-natur'd, peevish, gay, fantastic thing;
That like friend Horace, grey before his time,
Seek fame in loose-pac'd prose and fetter'd rhyme;
Whose highest wish's a mere absurdity,
Nothing to do—and learnedly idle be;
Like to myself to have a muse-bit friend,
My vain chimeras to review and mend;
The day to write—by night in fancy stray,
So, like true poets, dream my life away."

As a writer, Hifferrnan, as we before observed, had the materials of scholarship; but from not always cultivating good company, and sacrificing occasionally too much to Bacchus, he did not properly avail himself of his stock of learning. He was far from being, however, a mere scholar; he could deport himself in good company with very becoming decorum, and enliven the conversation with anecdote and observation, which rendered him at times an agreeable companion. At other times, and particularly when he

he was nearly intoxicated, he could be very coarse and vulgar, sparing no epithets of abuse, and indulging himself in all the extravagancies of passion. Had he attended at an earlier age to take the proper advantages of his education and talents, there were many situations, probably he might have been fit for; for instance, a schoolmaster, a physician, or a translator. In saying this, however, we must presuppose industry, sobriety, &c.; but his conduct was such, that he let all his powers run to seed, and only roused them, like the beasts of the forest, to hunt for *daily prey*, which, like them, sometimes, we are afraid, he obtained either by stratagem or by fraud.

He had many *peculiarities*, which to those who knew him intimately, formed the pleasantest part of his character. One was, and which we before remarked, the inviolable secrecy he observed about the place of his lodging. Many schemes used to be devised among his friends to find this out; but his vigilance, whether drunk or sober, always prevented the discovery. How far he carried this whimsical idea, may be seen from the following anecdote:

Being one night in a mixed company at old Slaughter's coffee house, among the rest was a Mr. Dossie, secretary to the late duke of Northumberland, a man of a literary turn, but who loved late hours at night, and late rising in the morning to an excess. He had another habit more peculiar than the former, which was, that whoever he sat last with, he made it a point of seeing him home. Such a coincidence of characters as Hiffenan and he formed, could scarcely fail

of producing some whimsical event. On their leaving the coffee-house, about one o'clock in the morning, Mr. D. asked the doctor permission to see him home. This was a question of all others the doctor was least willing to answer; however, after pausing for some time, "he thanked him for his civility; but as he lived in the city, he could not think of giving him that trouble."—"None in the world, sir (said the other); on the contrary, it affords me the highest satisfaction." To this the doctor was obliged to subscribe, and they walked on arm in arm until they came to St. Paul's church-yard: "Pray, doctor, (arriving at this point)" says Mr. D. "do you live much farther?"—"Oh, yes, sir (says the doctor), and on that account, I told you it would be given you a great deal of trouble." This revived the other's civility, and on they marched till they reached the Royal Exchange. Here the question was asked again, when the doctor, who found him lagging, and thought he could venture to name some place, replied, "he lived at Bow." This answer decided the contest; Mr. D. confessed he was not able to walk so far, particularly as he had business in the morning which required his attendance at two o'clock, and wished the doctor a good night, and walked back to his lodgings near Charing-cross with great composure.

The doctor lived upon some terms of intimacy with most of the literati of his time, viz. Foote, Garrick, Murphy, Goldsmith, Kelly, Bickerstaffe, &c. and occasionally felt their patronage and beneficence. He had other *houses of call*, as he used to express himself, where

where he was entertained, and where he found already subscription for his publications; his real expense of living, therefore, must have been very trifling, if we deduct from it the high price he paid for his time and independence, but in these he himself was the lowest valuator.

Garrick often relieved him, and Hiffernan was vain enough to think he repaid him by an occasional epigram or paragraph in praise of his talents, both of which he was very far from excelling in. Foote had him upon easier terms; he entertained him upon no other principle than that of amusement, and relieved him from the impulse of humanity, of which the following is a peculiar instance, and which the doctor used to relate as a proof, amongst many others, of his friend's generosity.

Foote meeting Hiffernan one morning rather early in the Hay-market, asked him how he was? "Why, faith, but so so," replied the doctor. "What, the old disorder—*impecuniosity*—I suppose—(here the doctor shook his head)—Well, my little Bayes, let me prescribe for you; I have been lucky last night at play, and I'll give you as many guineas as you have shillings in your pocket—Come, make the experiment." Hiffernan most readily assenting, pulled out *seven shillings*, and Foote, with as much readiness, gave him *seven guineas*, adding with a laugh, "You see, Paul, Fortune is not such a b—ch as you imagine, for she has been favourable to me last night, and equally so to you this morning."

Where the doctor generally lodged, he had the dexterity (for purposes only known to himself) to con-

ceal to the last hour of his life. The supposition lay, from the circumstances of his being often found coming out with clean shoes, &c. in that quarter, to be in one of the courts of Fleet-street, where lodgings are not only cheap, but where there are a number of eating-houses, which afford an easy accommodation.

His familiar day was spent as follows: He never turned out till about twelve o'clock at noon; he then called at some friend's house, to enquire their health, &c. tell them the news of the morning, and put himself in a way of being asked to dinner. If he failed in one, he tried it in another, and so to a third and fourth; if all failed, he dined at an eating-house, and in the evening went to the theatre, where he generally slept out the whole of the entertainment in the numberer's box, and then finished his evening at the cider-cellar, Maiden-lane, or some of the porter-houses round Covent-garden: at these last places, he generally quartered upon some friend, who treated him, and where he could be for a time very entertaining. Towards the close of the night he got drunk, *if he could*, and then broke out the violence of his temper, abusing every body who differed with him in politics, religion, literature, &c. in the coarsest strains of Billingsgate. He did all this, however, with impunity; every body knew him, and every body laughed at him, and sometimes worked him up to this pitch of phrenzy to exhibit him to strangers.

When he spent the day at a friend's, he generally put on a different kind of behaviour, mixing in the conversation with temper and observa-

observation, and sometimes enlivening it with anecdotes and remarks, either whimsical or judicious. His only want of respect here was his being subject to nod a little after dinner, which sometimes proceeded to a sound nap, and was often the cause of some ridiculous embarrassment, of which the following is an instance :

Previous to the exhibition of the comedy of " 'Tis Well Its no Worse" (since cut down to the farce of " The Pannel") Bickerstaffe invited a few friends, of whom Hiffernan was one, to dine with him, and hear him read his play. After dinner the glass went cheerfully round for about half an hour, when the author began, and read to the end of the first act, the company making such observations on it as it suggested to their judgements. Hiffernan's only remark all this while was, " Very well, by G—d ! very well," till about the middle of the second act, when he began to nod, and in a little time afterwards, to snore so loud, that the author could scarcely be heard. Bickerstaffe felt a little embarrassed, but, raising his voice, went on. Hiffernan's tones, however, increased, till at last Goldsmith could hold no longer, but cried out, " Never mind the brute, Bick ; go on—so he would have served Homer if he was here, and reading his own works."

Hiffernan, however, made his best excuse the next day, and which Goldsmith was ready enough to admit as such ; for when the latter asked him how he could behave in that manner, the other coolly replied, " It is my usual way—I never can resist sleeping at a *pantomime*."

Thus ends the little history of a

man who had learning sufficient to fill many situations in life, and talents and observation, if joined but to a common share of prudence and industry, to make himself respectable and independent. All his bad qualities seemed to grow out of his *indolence*, and he adds another name to the long list of martyrs who have sacrificed to this destructive and degrading vice. Men of this stamp act as if they considered themselves as a " kind of rent-charge upon Providence," who is obliged to invert the order of nature in their favour, and provide for them at the public expence. Repeated disappointments, or the severe bites of poverty, will not set them right ; and as life must be supported (and sometimes according to their extravagant ideas of support), the means, of course, must be unjustifiable.

The following, as far as we have been able to collect, is a chronological list of Dr. Hiffernan's works :

The Ticklers ; a set of periodical papers, published in Dublin about 1750.—The Tuner ; a set of periodical papers, published in 1753.—Miscellanies in Prose and Verse ; Lond. 1754.—The Ladies Choice ; a dramatic *petite piece*, 1759.—The Wishes of a Free People ; a dramatic poem, 1761.—The New Hypocrites ; a farce, n. p. 1761.—The Earl of Warwick ; a tragedy, 1764.—Dramatic Genius ; in five books, 1770.—Philosophic Whim, 1774.—Heroine of the Cave ; taken from Jones's " Cave of Idra" ; a tragedy, 1755.

Account of the town of Zurich, and of the dress and manners of the inhabitants ;

habitants; from Gray's Tour through Germany.

ZURICH is charmingly situated on the river Limmat; where it runs from the lake. The town has no streets that are regular or well-built: the suburbs, towards the lake, are improved by some modern buildings; the environs are very beautiful, and the banks of the lake and the Limmat are covered with houses, many of which are the country seats of the gentlemen of Zurich: these derive their chief beauty from their situation; having nothing that corresponds with our pleasure-garden; the Swiss, who, on every side, behold the bold and magnificent features of nature, seem to despise the minute and artificial ornaments by which we mimic her works.

Though the town has no buildings distinguished for their beauty of architecture, it has every edifice of importance to the welfare of the people. The town-house is large and commodious; the granary is well conducted, and, in times of scarcity, alleviates the public distress: the arsenal, where, among the ancient armour, is preserved, as a valuable monument of liberty, William Tell's cross-bow, seems to be well provided with arms: Les Orphelines, a charitable institution for the children of the citizens, and which contains from eighty to one hundred, who are instructed, and, at fifteen, are apprenticed to different trades, is well supported. The Swiss have neither the inclination, or the power to spend money in superfluous edifices. Their private houses are furnished with simplicity, and very little ornament:

their carriages are for convenience, and chiefly open; their possessors are not permitted to use them in town; their servants seldom wear liveries; and there is but little appearance of those refinements which are too often the indication of corruption of manners. The dress of the highest ranks is extremely plain; black is the full dress; and the men, who are in any department of government, wear swords. The dress of the women is unbecoming; on Sundays they wear black in the morning, and colours in the evening: the hair is dressed in the French and English fashion, but with a loose and ill-shaped negligence, appearing what is vulgarly called blowzy; their shapes are not advantageously displayed, nor do they exhibit any of that flowing and graceful drapery which gives to the lengthened and picturesque forms of Reynolds and Bunbury, the elegance of the Grecian figure: their squat and unfeminine monsters of shoes seem manufactured for downright walking, not to bend with supple pliancy in the dance, or to draw attention in the succession of the well-directed steps. The strangers who resort here begin to sap a little the simplicity of manners which prevails, by the introduction of foreign luxuries; they intermix indeed, but seldom, with the natives in convivial intercourse; but the sight of luxury is infectious, and the genius of the people of Zurich yields to the contagion. Heidegger, the famous arbiter elegantiarum, for many years, in England, was the son of a clergyman at Zurich; and no man ever presided with greater spirit in the circles of dissipation, or pushed the revels

revels of voluptuousness to a greater extent. The native of a severe and simple town in Switzerland, directed the luxurious pleasures of one of the most refined courts in Europe. "I was born a Swiss," said he in a public company, "and came to England without a farthing, where I have found means to gain 5000*l.* a year, and to spend it. Now I defy the most able Englishman to go to Switzerland, and either to gain that income or spend it there."

We have no particular introduction to the inhabitants of this town, and associate chiefly with the English and other strangers, with whom chance or our public table brings us acquainted. I have been introduced, however, to Mr. Lavater, whose mild and expressive countenance, rendered more interesting by a shade of dejection, will recommend him to all who adopt his principles of physiognomy. I observed to him, that it required some courage to present ourselves before a man possessing the powers of penetration, which he professed: he replied, that no mortal need fear the presence of another, since all must be conscious of defect. He lives in a small house; we found him instructive and unassuming in conversation. He speaks French with hesitation and difficulty, but his expressions are forcible. On a second visit he shewed us his collection of pictures, which contains three or four pieces by Holbein, in high preservation: among these is an angel with the instrument of Christ's crucifixion, that has great merit. There are some other valuable pictures; one by West, and two or three admirably done by a Swiss peasant; a variety of beauti-

ful drawings, and other things well worthy attention. Mr. Lavater's character, as a minister, is very high. He is now projecting two or three charitable institutions, one of which is designed as a retreat for women after the age of fifty. He is engaged in a pleasant periodical publication of *Miscellanies*, of which six volumes have appeared for the first year, and one for the second. He complains that our translations of his writings (especially of his great work) are extremely defective. I have since heard him preach with great apparent energy; but he preached in an unknown tongue to me. The Vandyke frill, which the ministers wear, gives them a very antique appearance; and the mourning dresses of the congregation produce a very grave effect in the churches. I was not much disposed to approve an hour glass, which was placed by the preacher, to direct him in the length of his discourse. After the singing, in which all the congregation join, there is a great noise of letting down the seats; and the people all put on their hats and sit down, to hear the minister pray or preach. Devotion here appears to correspond with Parnel's description of it at Geneva. "A sullen thing, whose coarseness suits the croud." I reflected, with satisfaction, on the rational and decent service established in our church: on premeditated prayers, formed upon sublime principles of piety and benevolence; and exterior forms, designed only to be expressive of reverence for God, and subservient to the becoming solemnity of public worship.

The ministry is supported with suitable maintenance at Zurich; and the people seem to profit at least by its

its moral instructions, being celebrated for their integrity and worth.

Account of the resignation of Philip V. king of Spain; from the History of Spain, by the author of the History of France, in 3 vols. 8vo.

THOUGH the relief of Ceuta left the Spanish empire in perfect tranquillity, yet the internal regulation of it required the most strenuous exertions and unwearied application: the public debt had rapidly grown beneath the profuse administration of Alberoni; while that statesman pursued his vast and visionary plans of dominion, he had totally neglected, and not unfrequently left unfilled the subordinate departments of the state; the disorders in the revenue had multiplied beyond the example of former times; and it demanded the clearest judgement and the purest integrity, to explore the crooked labyrinth of finance, to reform abuses which had been sanctioned by custom, and to redress grievances which originated in the corruption of a court. Such qualities were not the growth of the reign of Philip the Fifth. The death of the marquis of Bedmar, who had filled with ability the important trust of president of the council of the Indies, was an irreparable loss; the marquis del Campo, to whom was principally confided the superintendence of the revenue, was of a delicate constitution, and was rather occupied in administering to his own infirmities than to those of the state: the marquis of Grimaldi alone relieved the king from part of the public burthen; but

what remained was beyond the strength of Philip; and a mind naturally prone to indolence, to superstition, and to melancholy, was oppressed by the weight of business.

Of the different princes who have descended from a throne, most are supposed to have secretly repented of their hasty resolution; but it was in accepting a sceptre that Philip had offered violence to his own disposition. Bred up in the ostentatious school of Lewis the Fourteenth, he had been early instructed to prefer grandeur to ease; but in possession of a crown he had experienced the fallacy of his choice. Of twenty-three years that he had reigned, eighteen had been consumed in foreign war, or domestic commotion; and the love of arms and martial glory, which to noble minds reconciles every toil and danger, was only faintly or never felt by the feeble spirit of Philip. Fanaticism mingled with indolence to embitter the cup of royalty; in the bloody and tumultuous struggle with his rival, incessant action had allowed no leisure for reflection; and the splendid hopes which the chimerical projects of Alberoni inspired, had for a moment triumphed over religious terrors. But no sooner had Philip secured the peace of his kingdom, than he trembled for the salvation of his soul. From the relief of Ceuta, two auto-da-fés, in two successive years, admonished his subjects that under the reign of a bigot it was less dangerous to revolt from their civil than spiritual allegiance; but their murmurs probably never reached the ears of their sovereign, who in the sequestered shades of St. Ildefonso, prayed and fasted with alternate fervour.

The

The various climate which prevails between the Escorial and St. Ildefonso, though at the distance of only eight leagues from each other, probably first preferred the latter to the notice of Philip. A range of lofty mountains divides it from the sultry plains of the south; in a deep recess, and accessible only to the north wind, it enjoys the freshness, and throws forth the flowers of spring, while the inhabitants of the southern regions are exposed to the heats, and engaged in collecting the produce of autumn. It was to this cool and quiet spot that the king retired from the complaints of his subjects, and the importunities of his ministers; beneath his care the *farm of Balsain* arose into a palace; a chapel dedicated to St. Ildefonso changed even the ancient name of the hamlet; about six millions sterling were expended in fertilizing a barren rock; and though the palace of Ildefonso cannot vie with the proud pile of the Escorial, yet its gardens, traversed by close and gloomy walks, and refreshed by frequent fountains, present a desirable retreat from the burning rays of a summer's sun.

Here Philip fixed his residence; and here, in the vigour of his age, he determined to deliver himself from the cares of royalty, and to relinquish his crown to his son. Yet some delay was interposed by the remonstrances of the queen, and of the father d'Aubenton, the king's confessor: the latter had cherished, from the different conduct of the duke of Orleans, an idea that he would strongly disapprove the abdication of the king of Spain. He had, therefore, laboured to instil into the mind of his royal penitent, that a desertion of his regal duty was

a sacred offence. In a letter to the duke of Orleans, he explained the motive of his counsels. But the regent was only anxious to see his daughter on the throne of Spain. He sent the letter of the father to Philip, and d'Aubenton was not able to survive the detection of his treachery. The death of the Jesuit released the monarch from his scruples: the prince of Asturias had attained the age of eighteen; he had already been familiarized with the forms of government; and the gravity of his manners seemed to render him worthy the important trust. The queen no longer deemed it prudent to persevere in a resistance which might have exposed her to the resentment of her son-in-law. The chief object of Elizabeth had been to secure a royal inheritance for her son Don Carlos; this had been stipulated by the late peace: and the death of Cosmo of Medicis, with the shattered constitution of his impotent successor, promised soon to gratify her wishes, in the possession of the duchy of Tuscany. Thus circumstanced, she yielded to the inclinations of her consort, and consented to renounce the tumultuous grandeur of a crown, and to confine her future views to the aggrandizement of her son.

It was in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, and in the fortieth of his age, that Philip formerly announced his intentions to his people; the instrument of his renunciation was intrusted to the marquis of Grimaldi, and was by that nobleman publicly read in the Escorial. It stated that, desirous of rest after a turbulent reign of twenty-three years, and anxious to employ the remainder of his life in preparing for a spiritual crown, Philip resigned his

his temporal one to his eldest son Lewis, and transferred to him the allegiance of his subjects; it named at the same time a council of state, to assist the inexperience of the young monarch; and it concluded, with providing a proper subsistence for himself and his consort, in the retreat he meditated.

This extraordinary scene, which recalled to the minds of the hearers the abdication of Charles the Fifth, was attended by the same external marks of regret, that had accompanied the resignation of that monarch; but when the first impressions of surprise had subsided, the Spaniards could not but be sensible to the different situation and conduct of those two princes. Charles had advanced his country, to the highest pitch of grandeur and prosperity; and it was not until a long series of illustrious achievements and stubborn toils had matured his glory, and broken his constitution, that he resigned a sceptre which his arm could no longer wield with vigour. He retreated to the condition of a private gentleman, and a stipend of a hundred thousand crowns, or about twelve thousand pounds a year, was all that he reserved for the support of his family, and the indulgence of beneficence; in the monastery of St. Justus he buried every ambitious thought, and he even restrained his curiosity from enquiring respecting the political situation of Europe. But the age of Philip was that when the mind and body possess their fullest powers; whatever activity he had displayed, had been in support of his personal interests; nor had he earned his discharge from the cares, by having laboriously fulfilled the duties of

royalty; his abdication was the result of a degrading indolence, and a narrow superstition; in the palace of Ildéfonso he preserved the revenue, though he abandoned the functions, of a king; the annual payment of a million of crowns, or one hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling, was severely felt, and the sum that he was reported to have privately transported to his retreat was loudly resented by the people.

Account of the Baschkirs, from Pallas's travels, among the Kalmucs and Tartars.

THESE people differ from other nomades in inhabiting, during the inclement season, solid houses constructed of wood, after the manner of the Russians. For the supply of the pressing wants of their flocks, they collect hay, which they put in heaps round some large trees. Their houses are generally small, and their chambers, like those of the Tartars, are furnished with large benches, which serve instead of beds. The principal utensil, seen in the Baschkir huts, is a pretty tall leathern bottle, of the form of a flaggon, rested on a wooden foot, and constantly full of sour milk. While their cattle furnish milk, and they have good provision of honey, they live joyously, and drink nothing but sour milk or hydromel: but, as they seldom clean their vessels, one may easily conceive the odour issuing from this inexhaustible bottle. In winter, and on their journey, they supply the defect of their usual beverage by little cheeses made with very

very sour milk, and smoke-dried, which they crumble between their fingers, and infuse in water. They also drink, in spring, the sap of the birch, which they collect by means of deep incisions in the trees; which practice kills a great number of the trees. Their most common nourishment is a very thin meat-broth, which they pour from large spoons, part in their mouths, and part on their beards. They sow, indeed, a little corn, but scarce enough for their small consumption. While they are able to keep horses and bees, and can please themselves with an indolent life, it is not to be expected that they can be made tillers of the ground. Bread is not of daily use with them. A Baschkir woman kneads, with unwashed fingers, a cake, with water, and a little salt, and buries it in hot ashes on the hearth; it is then stuck on a stick, and held before the fire to make a crust.

The Baschkirs have been long without Khans, and all their nobility have been gradually destroyed in the civil wars. At present, every tribe or *Wolost* chuses from itself one or more ancients or *Starchini*. The nation composes thirty-four *Wolosts*, wherein were reckoned, in 1770, 27,000 families. Their language is a Tartar idiom, differing much from that spoken at Kasan.

As to military service, they themselves chuse the chiefs, and the officers of the small troops: but the regimental chiefs, called *Attamans*, are named by the Russian commanders, from amongst the most meritorious of the *Starchinis*. Their usual arms are a bow, arrows, a lance, a coat of mail, and a casque: but

many are armed with sabres, fusils, or pistols, and some with all these. They are very well mounted, are good horsemen, and excellent archers; whence a small troop of Baschkirs is not only sure to obtain the victory over a much greater number of Kirgisians, but a single regiment of Baschkirs often makes long marches in the midst of a Kirgisian horde without ever being beaten. A corps of Baschkirs offers several singularities. Every horseman dresses himself as he pleases, or as he can; all, however, wear long clothing. Each has a led horse, which he keeps for the battle, and which carries his provisions, consisting chiefly in well-dried corn, which they grind to meal in hand-mills carried with them. Each troop of a hundred carries a standard of various colours, which differ from each other in every regiment as much as the arms do. They preserve no order in marching, and it is only when they halt, that they observe any appearance of ranks and files.

The Baschkirs live in huts in winter, and in moveable jourts* in summer. In the choice of situations for winter villages, they pay more regard to the fertility of the soil, than to the proximity of water, snow serving them in that respect. A village contains from ten to fifty huts; an encampment is only from five to twenty jourts; so that a large winter village divides into several summer camps. Though the winters here are long and rigorous, the Baschkirs leave their cattle entirely to their own discretion. These unfortunate animals are reduced to scratch up, from beneath the snow,

* A kind of barracks.

some withered and frozen herbs, or a little moss. The masters only furnish a little hay to their weakly beasts, and to those which bring forth out of season. As to their camels, which in like manner they oblige to provide their own subsistence, they wrap them in old felt coverlets, which they sew about their bodies. Hence all their cattle are dismally lean and meagre toward spring; but, in the summer, they are not only healthy, but fat. In order to profit of the milk, they tie, during the day, their soals and calves to cords stretched near the jouts, and suffer them to run with their dams only during night. They have observed that the young, brought up thus sparingly, support much better the severity of the winters, than those which are indulged with all the mother's milk.

Both sexes wear shirts, which are usually of coarse cloth of nettles, long and large drawers, and buskins or slippers. A woman's gown is of fine cloth or silk stuff, buttoned before, and tightly bound round the body with a girdle. The neck and breast are covered with a kind of net, garnished with pieces of money. The Baschkirs are more gross, negligent, and slovenly in their manner of living and commerce than the Kasan Tartars, but they are also more hospitable, lively, and joyous, especially in summer. They make no account of carriages, but both men and women love to ride on horseback, and take

pride in fine horses and rich housings. The saddles for the women are distinguished from those which the men use by handsome and larger coverings. A saddled horse is commonly seen before every jout. The habit which they have contracted of being constantly either on horseback, or seated on their hams, makes nearly all the men crook-kneed. They sleep at night with their clothes on, lying on felts; whence they are rarely without vermin, especially as they use fewer ablutions than other Mohammedans. Old age without reproach is greatly esteemed among them, according to the oriental custom; and, when they invite their friends to a feast, they promise to seat them among the old men.

Character of William Rufus, from Andrewes's history of Great Britain.

WILLIAM was now on the point of gaining Guienne, by advancing money to its prince as he had acquired Normandy when a mis-directed shaft, from a French knight, named Walter Tyrrel, ended all his ambitious projects. The king was hunting in the New Forest and had just struck a deer. He checked his horse, and had raised his hand to guard his eyes from the sun-beams, when he received the fatal wound.* The disastrous archer

* Monarchs must have prodigies to announce their fall. We are told, that William dreamed the night before the fatal chace, that an extreme cold wind had pierced through his sides. A monk too would have detained him from hunting, by the recital of a frightful vision; he had seen in a dream, the king gnawing and tearing a crucifix with his teeth, and he had seen him spurned and trodden down by the image, while flames of fire burst from his mouth. The intrepid tyrant ordered him 100 shillings, and bade him "dream better dreams."

[BROMPT. CAMP. REMAINS.]
There

cher instantly embarked for the Holy Land to expiate his involuntary crime. The body was conveyed to Winchester in a common cart. A tomb erected over it was broken to pieces in the last civil wars, and a large gold ring and a silver chalice were found mingled with the royal dust.

William Rufus fell, unmarried, in his fortieth year. His person must have been unpleasing. He was short and fat, had a stern visage, red hair, and eyes of different colours. He had all his father's vices without his few virtues, a stern magnanimity perhaps excepted; imperious, cruel, and avaricious; he regarded his word or oath only as means to delude the credulous; religion he scorned; an Israelite who knew his character, gave him a large sum of money to persuade his converted

son to return to Judaism. Rufus did his honest endeavour, but in vain. 'Well,' said he to the father, 'I have done what I could, but I have not succeeded. It is not my fault though, so we will divide the money between us. Another time, when ten Englishmen had been cleared by the ordeal of fire from a charge of killing deer, the impious Rufus exclaimed, 'Pretty justice above, indeed! to let ten such scoundrels escape!'

To close the character of William Rufus, let us quote the nervous lines of Henry of Huntingdon: 'He was a man more fierce than seemed consistent with human nature. By the advice of the worst of men (which he *always* followed) he perpetually harrassed his neighbours with war, and his own subjects with soldiers and taxes.' *

Character

There are various opinions as to the death of Rufus, although what is written above is generally credited. Eadmer gives it as a received opinion, that he fell with an arrow in his hand and mortally wounded his breast. Suger, in his 'Life of Lewis the Fat,' affirms, that Tyrrel had with solemn oaths averred to him, that he was not even in that part of the forest where the king fell, nor saw him there on the day of his death. And John of Salisbury, comparing the death of William to that of Julian the Apostate, says, that it was equally doubtful (at the time when he wrote) by whom either of them was killed.

[LITTLETON'S HENRY II.]

Yet there is in the New Feorst, a ford called 'Tyrrel's Ford;' there is an estate too called Avon Tyrrel, and if (as the tradition of the forest affirms) these lands have been liable to pay a yearly fine to the Exchequer of seventeen shillings, on account of the above-mentioned ford having been shewn to the regicide by the then owner of the estate, there can be no doubt of Tyrrel's at least presuming himself guilty.

A monument (which still exists) was erected on the spot where Rufus died, by a lord Delawar, who avers, that he had seen the oak on which the shaft had glanced. In the inscription, it is recorded, that a peasant named Purkiss, drove the cart which conveyed the royal body to Winchester; and it is remarkable, that two families of the said name still occupy cottages near the spot, and that within the present century an axle tree was preserved by one of these cottagers, which tradition asserted to have belonged to the very cart above-mentioned.

* Among these, one of the most irritating was that species levied by the lawless purveyors. 'They ravaged the whole country,' says Eadmer, 'through which the court passed. Frequently they would burn or destroy the provisions which they could not use; and after having washed the feet of their cattle with the best liquors, they would let the rest run to waste. In short, the cruelties which the masters of families suffered, and the brutal treatment offered by these wretches to their wives and daughters, are too shocking to be told or credited.' Much more defensible was a species of impost mentioned by an accurate and curious writer, as in use during the

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earlier

Character of king John, from the same.

THE party of John being now the strongest, he indulged his favourite passion, revenge, to such excess, that he drove the barons to the desperate resolution of applying to Philip of France, for his son Lewis, (in right of his wife Blanche, grand-daughter to Henry II.) to be their king. In consequence, the Dauphin, embracing their invitation, soon landed in Kent, and was joined by many noblemen and their armed dependents. He took Rochester-castle with ease, and was actually received in London with transport. The friends and soldiers of John began to abandon him; and the French prince might have crushed this royal viper with ease, had

he not made a rash vow not to advance before he had reduced Dover-castle. While he strove for this in vain; the English barons by this delay had time to reflect on the ills their country might sustain from a foreign lord; and even to entertain such † suspicions of Lewis's integrity, that they determined to quit his party and (under restrictions) to restore the abhorred John. But that equally wicked and unfortunate prince was doomed to receive no benefit from their good intentions. A flood had swept away his money, his provisions, and even his regalia, as he marched along the ‡ sands of Lincolnshire: no consciousness of rectitude, no magnanimity, was at hand to support him under this calamity; with difficulty he reached Newark-castle; and || in that for-

earlier Norman reigns, viz. Severe fines on persons 'for making foolish speeches, returning foolish answers, for having short memories,' &c. [Madox; Hist. Exch.]

This tax may not be unprofitable in more modern days.

* It is probable, that the first standing military force in Britain was that garrison in Dover-castle, which by resisting the arms of the Dauphin saved the kingdom of England from a foreign dynasty. For (as Camden quotes from an ancient historian) "Sir Hubert de Burgo (when made constable of the castle) considering that it was not for the safety of the fortress to have new guards every month, procured by the assent of the king, and of all that held of the castle, that every tenant for one month's guard should send his ten shillings, out of which, certain persons elected and sworn (both of horse and foot) should receive pay for guarding the castle." [BRITANNIA.]

"Alas (said the king of France, on hearing how ill the besiegers had sped) if my son has not gained Dover-castle, he has gained no footing in England!"

† Suspicions which, from the succeeding tenor of Lewis's blameless life, we may conclude to have been groundless. He was charged with a design to execute the English barons as traitors to their king, so soon as by their help he should be confirmed on his new throne. Yet the French writers speak doubtfully of this business.

‡ John had so strong an attachment to Lynn, in Norfolk, that he had given it a charter, and had girded the first mayor with his own sword, a relique still preserved in that town. He kept also there his crown and other regalia; and it was in attempting to remove these to a stronger fortress that he met with the last misfortune.

[M. PARIS. CAMDEN.]

|| The story of John's being poisoned by a monk at Swineshead-abbey, is of a late date, and deserves no credit. In some respects, this inconsistent prince had betried the church; he had actually built many monasteries; and indeed in 150 years, which elapsed between the deaths of Harold and of John, no less than 550 religious houses were founded in England, which composed above five parts in seven of the whole number of those which Henry VIII. afterwards dissolved at the reformation. So desirous were the most despotic of the Norman princes and their barons of expiating their sins, at the cost of their ill-fated and oppressed vassals.

[ANDERSON.]

tress, broken-hearted and unlamented, the tyrant breathed his last.

A worse prince scarce ever disgraced any throne; and the historian may sure save himself the odious task of drawing up his character, by referring the reader to the annals of his life, as son, uncle, and king. ‘Hell,’ said a contemporary writer, ‘felt herself defiled by his admission.*’ He fell in the forty-ninth year of his age, leaving five legitimate children, Henry (who succeeded him), and Richard, earl of Cornwall; Joan, † queen of Scotland; Eleanor, countess of Leicester; and Isabella, wife of Frederic II. emperor of Germany. He had six natural children, whose names and posterity are recorded at length by Sandford.

The person of John has not been noticed by his biographers. If, in the black gloom of his sullen soul there was a single spark of patriotism, it pointed its ray towards the navy. In the first year of his reign he had asserted the superiority of the English flag by an ordinance; and

in 1213 he had annihilated the naval power of France, by a gallant and successful battle; and in his distresses in 1213, the affections of the seamen (of the Cinque Ports particularly) was his only refuge. He even lived night and day on ship-board, for fear of being betrayed.‡

Nor should it be concealed that, from the beginning of his reign this inconsistent prince had shewn a singular readiness to convert demesnetowns into corporate burghs. A measure inimical to all despotism.||

Trifling too as the merit may appear, we must allow to John the honour of having been the first English king who perfected the coining of pure sterling money.

Had historians no stronger reasons to accuse this hated prince of impiety, than his pointing to a fat deer, and saying, “see how plump he is; and yet he has never heard mass,” we might have allowed somewhat for the humorous allusion to the wonderful gluttony of the monks in his days.§ But he was uniformly wicked; and laughed at every obligation

* *Fædatur Johanne Gehennâ.*

[M. PARIS.]

† This amiable princess was styled “Joan Make-peace;” from her constant and successful endeavour to keep England and Scotland united in amity.

‡ *Mad. Firma Burgh.*

|| *Wendover.*

§ The extent of monkish gormandizing in the earlier centuries is almost incredible. From St. Swithen’s, Winton, Henry II. received a formal complaint against the abbot for depriving his priests of three out of thirteen dishes at every meal. The monks of Canterbury exceeded those of St. Swithen. They had seventeen dishes every day; and each of these cooked with spices and the most savory and rich sauce.

[GIRALD. CAMBR.]

The historian of Croyland-abbey speaks highly in praise of brother Lawrence Chartres, cook of the society (an office considered as of the highest importance) who, prompted by the love of heaven and a religious zeal, had expended a sum equal to 400 modern pounds to supply the fathers with almond-milk on fish-days. But the glutton-mass (which was celebrated in honour of the B. V. five times in the year) carried ecclesiastical luxury to the highest pitch. The inhabitants of every parish vied with each other in filling their churches with meat and drink; and as soon as the mass ended, the feast began; the lay were invited to join the clergy in the good-work; and the church became a scene of the most gross and bestial licentiousness. The monks of France were not less attached to the pleasures of the table. It was a celebrated preacher among them, who, in a sermon, represented the pheasants, partridges, and ortolans, as addressing themselves to the clergy and intreating to be eaten

obligation which mankind look on as sacred. Matthew Paris, however, (who abhorred him) owns, that once, when he was persuaded to deface a splendid tomb erected over an enemy, he chid the adviser, and added, "Would to heaven all my foes were as handsomely entombed!"

Account of the famous Giraldus Cambrensis, from the same.

IN 1202 or 3, Gerald Barry (better known as Giraldus Cambrensis) forsook the world and lived in retirement till his death, the æra of which is not known. He was born in 1146, and had studied with honour at the University of Paris. Returning to England in 1172, he was put in possession of several benefices, one of which (that of Brechin) he says he obtained by convicting the old incumbent of keeping a concubine. He was a favourite of church and of court; was a joint preacher of a crusade with the archbishop of Canterbury, and was (as he affirms) inserted by Richard Cœur de Lion in his commission for the guardianship of England.

Gerald was a most entertaining writer, but very credulous and most intolerably conceited. He expatiates on the exquisite delight which he gave at Oxford in publicly reading his books three days successively. First to the poor; secondly, to the doctors and men of literature; and, on the third day, to the scholars, soldiers, &c. "A most glorious spectacle (says the honest Gerald),

which revived the ancient days of the poets." He also speaks of his Latin sermons, which affected and excited to take the cross (for the recovery of Jerusalem) the honest Welchmen, who knew not a word of Latin, the language in which he had preached. He dwells with transport on his own princely lineage which, he avers, made Henry II. jealous of him and stopt his preferment. He went with prince John to Ireland; and refused (as he says) two sees, that he might have time to compose a history of the country.

At Chester, he observed that the countess Constance kept a herd of milch-kine, made cheeses of their milk, and presented three of them to his comrade the archbishop of Canterbury. He adds, that he remarked an animal between an ox and a stag; a woman born without arms, who could sew with her toes as well as others could with fingers; and that he heard of a litter of whelps, begotten by a monkey. How judicious and important our historian's observations sometimes were, may be judged from these extracts; yet, when we smile at his foibles, we must allow that many curious pieces of intelligence are to be found in his work; his stories too are frequently interesting though absurd, as the following specimen, perhaps, may prove: A prelate, he affirms, kept a domestic who used to entertain him beyond measure, by a wonderful proficiency in science the most abstruse; and particularly by reciting passages of sacred history perfectly new, and not to be found in the Bible. One day he

eaten by them and them only, 'that, incorporated with their glorious bodies, they might be raised to heaven; and not go with impious devourers to the infernal regions.'

(ST. FOIX SUR PARIS)

he related with great energy the various distresses of the rebellious angels, when driven from the presence of their incensed Creator. "They fled (said the story-teller) to the extremes of the universe, and hid themselves, to avoid his wrath, in the most unfrequented places. Some sought the deepest caverns; some plunged into the ocean; as for me, I divided into a well." Here the incautious narrator, conscious of having betrayed his diabolical origin, broke off short, and vanished away with every symptom of vexation and shame.

Account of James Bruce, esq. the late celebrated Abyssinian traveller.

HE was born in Scotland, about the year 1729, of an ancient and respectable family, which had been in possession for several centuries of some of the estates which he owned at the time of his decease. Indeed Mr. Bruce more than intimates that he was descended from some ancient kings. At an early period he was sent for education to a boarding-school at or near Hoxton, where his acquaintance commenced with several respectable persons, and particularly some of the family of the Barringtons, whose friendship he retained to the end of his life. Returning to Scotland, he experienced from his father, who had given him a step-mother, a degree of ill treatment which occasioned him to resolve on quitting his country. He accordingly came to London, and soon afterwards married the daughter of Mr. Allen, a wine merchant, with whom he continued the wine-trade during several years.

An indisposition of his wife, which terminated in her death, induced him to carry her to France; and the loss of her, it may be conjectured, inclined him to continue his travels. At the latter end of the earl of Chatham's ministry, about 1761, he returned from a tour through the greatest part of Europe, particularly through the whole of Spain and Portugal, and was about to retire to his small patrimony, in order to embrace a life of study and reflection, when chance threw him into a very short and desultory conversation with that nobleman. He soon afterwards received an intimation of a design to employ him, which proved abortive by the resignation of his intended patron. He then received some encouragement from lord Egremont and Mr. George Grenville, and in a short time a proposal from lord Halifax to explore the coast of Barbary, to which he acceded. The consulship of Algiers becoming vacant at this juncture (1763), he was appointed to it, and immediately set out for Italy. At Rome he received orders to proceed to Naples, from whence he again returned to Rome. He then went to Leghorn, and from thence proceeded to Algiers.

He spent a year at Algiers, and having a facility in acquiring languages, in that time qualified himself for appearing on any part of the continent without an interpreter; but at this instant orders arrived from England for him to wait for farther orders as consul. He accordingly remained in this post until 1765.

In June, 1764, he solicited leave of absence from the secretary of state, to make some drawings of antiquities near Tunis. He had before

fore this been to Mahon and the coast of Africa. He was shipwrecked on the coast of Tunis, and plundered of all his property.

In 1768, we find him at Aleppo, and in August that year was at Cairo, from whence he proceeded to Abyssinia, which he is supposed to have entered either the latter end of that year, or the beginning of 1769. His stay in that country was about four years, as he returned to Cairo the 15th of January, 1773. The transactions of this period form the substance of the five volumes of his Travels, published in 1790.

During Mr. Bruce's absence, his relations considering him as dead, took some measures to possess themselves of his property, which they were near succeeding in, when he returned home. Soon afterwards he took an effectual method of disappointing any future hopes, by a second marriage, the consequence of which was, one, if not more, children. In 1784 his lady died, and in 1790 he published his Travels, a new edition of which was negotiating with a bookseller at the time of his death, which happened at Kinnaird, the latter end of April in this year, owing to a fall down his staircase, in which he dislocated his breast-bone.

The following account of Mr. Bruce is extracted from a late traveller, Mr. Lettice, who visited him in the autumn of 1792.

" Linlithgow, Sept. 25, 1792.

" It was impossible to be within two miles of Kinnaird, and to quit the neighbourhood without wishing to offer our respects to the Abyssinian Traveller, and requesting permission to inspect his museum.

" The latter point being obtained, fortunately gave us an opportunity

of seeing Mr. Bruce himself, who received us with flattering marks of attention. When we had taken some refreshment, he was obliging enough to accompany us to his museum, and to direct his librarian's search for such objects as he thought likely to interest our curiosity: upon many of them he himself commented in a very agreeable manner, relating at the same time several little incidents and anecdotes connected with the occasions of procuring them, which enhanced both our entertainment and information. This repository occupies a large room, and its valuable furniture is arranged in a number of neat glazed cabinets, each having a cupboard below it, beautifully painted with the figure of some curious object of natural history, described by Mr. Bruce in his African Tour; many of them found on the coasts of the Red Sea and the Nile. This museum consists, as you will imagine, not solely of articles from the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, of curious petrifications, *lusus naturæ*, &c. but has many rare specimens of art, distinguished by their singularity, or exquisite workmanship; and, lastly, a collection of Abyssinian and Arabian manuscripts.

" As, after a cursory survey of some thousand articles, without an opportunity of making notes whilst the objects are before the eye, it is impossible to be sure that the most curious may not have escaped the memory, I find little inclination to specify those which mine may have retained. If I mention, among the petrifications, a horse's knee agatized, or speak of stones more curiously reticulated than perhaps most other collections can exhibit, it is with the mortification of having
 forgotten

forgotten many things more worthy of curiosity. Ores of every description you will naturally anticipate. The variety and splendor of the sea shells, not to mention the novelty of many of them, is scarcely to be equalled elsewhere. Among the reptile kind, none, perhaps, more deservedly claimed our notice than the serpent consulted in divination; but of that, you know, Mr. Bruce has particularly treated in his book.

"Among the artificial curiosities which were shewn us, was a drinking cup, or goblet, with four heads, embossed round the outside; an antique from Rhodes; and a model of it executed at Glasgow, in a manner highly creditable to the skill of the British artist. Any thing relative to the Nile, the first object of the Abyssinian Traveller, was sure to attach every spectator; and Mr. Bruce himself seemed not unpleasantly interested in displaying his invention to measure the rise and fall of that river; a brazen bar with a graduated scale ingeniously converted* to that purpose from some cramps used in the arches of Egyptian cisterns: nor did he, perhaps, with less feeling, call our attention to the hilt of a spear marked by bullets discharged at himself, but fortunately missing aim, in an encounter with a desperate banditti of assassins and robbers.

"Had Horace himself been at our elbow, and *viva voce* sounded in our ears—

Nil admirari prope res est una, Numici, &c.

it had been impossible not to have felt a paroxysm of admiration when, next, we beheld two cups made

from the horns of the very bullock who roared through them no sounds of welcome to the bloody banquet furnished from his own living flesh to the royal epicures of Gondar; two cups turned by the delicate hand of one of his Abyssinian majesty's daughters, and presented by herself to Mr. Bruce, as a memorial of his entertainment and reception at that polite court.

"Last of all we were favoured with inspection of the cabinet of manuscripts, written upon parchment of goat skins, and manufactured by the priests of those countries. From the account which Mr. Bruce has given of the low state of religion and science in Arabia, it is but too probable that the priesthood, a channel through which all the literature of Europe, since the revival of letters, has first been derived to our enlightened quarter of the globe, has, in Abyssinia, contributed little else to the extension of knowledge than the material substance of books.

"Mr. Bruce mentioned to us, that thirty different languages were spoken in the camp of one of the caravans in which he had occasionally travelled on the continent of Africa, and that it was his desire to have procured a translation of the "Song of Solomon" (from the Arabic, I believe) into them all. This was executed for him in ten of them, beautifully written in Æthiopic characters, and each in a different-coloured ink, to prevent a confusion of tongues, which, in this instance, had certainly not been miraculous. To spare the ears of the unlearned, and, perhaps, at

* Under the distressing circumstance, I think he said, of having been deprived, by some accident, of his mathematical apparatus,

some moments; his own recollection, he calls these languages, with some humour, the red, blue, green, or yellow languages, &c. according to the colour of its character. Upon Mr. Bruce's shewing these manuscripts to a lady distinguished for the vivacity of her remark, and informing her that the word *kiss*, which occurs in Solomon's song, is to be met with, expressing the same idea, in some passages of his rainbow of languages, she pleasantly observed to him—"I always told you, Mr. Bruce, that kissing is the same all the world over."

"Before we departed, Mr. Bruce obligingly accompanied us to an inclosure in his park to shew us all his Abyssinian sheep. They are entirely white, except their heads, which are black. Their tails are large, and, indeed, the animal is larger than our common sheep. They are extremely tame, and often very frolicksome. The three or four remaining in Mr. Bruce's possession, are unfortunately all males. One of them bred with a she-goat, but the offspring died.

"Except a month or two in summer, which Mr. Bruce passes upon an estate in the Highlands, he spends the rest of the year chiefly at Kinnaird, divided betwixt his museum, his books, and his rural improvements, in elegant retirement and lettered conversation. This latter estate has descended to him from ancestors of his name, who have successively possessed it upwards of 380 years. He has rebuilt the family mansion since his return from his travels. In what we saw of it, good taste and convenience equally prevailed. The park appears to be well wooded and pleasant, and his situation commands some of the

finest views of the Forth. His museum, every article of which, by association of ideas, must recal some incident, some scene, some object new or strange in his travels, cannot but be to him a fund of perpetual entertainment and delight, which, through the liberality of his character, as a man of learning, and a citizen of the world, he freely communicates to all who can have any pretension to approach him.

"As every thing is interesting that relates to extraordinary men, you will not be displeased with a trait or two of the Abyssinian traveller's person. His figure is above common size, his limbs athletic, but well proportioned; his complexion sanguine, his countenance manly and good-humoured, and his manners easy and polite. The whole outward man is such as announces a character well calculated to contend with the difficulties and trying occasions which so extraordinary a journey was sure to throw in his way. That his internal character, the features of his understanding and his heart, correspond with these outward lineaments, you who have read his work cannot be at any loss to know."

Account of Henry Jones; from the European Magazine.

THIS author stands in the line of celebrity from his talents rising above the obscurity of his original, and the lowness of his education. Like Ben Jonson, he was bred a bricklayer, and like him he soon relinquished the drudgery of a mechanical profession for the service of the muses. Jonson, however, having

having a great superiority of education, laid the basis of that fame,

"Which left like Egypt's kings a lasting tomb:"

whilst Jones, not having exertion enough to improve his education, nor conduct sufficient to render himself deserving of patronage or public countenance, stunted the growth of his natural talents, and in the end fell a sacrifice to his dissipations.

Henry Jones was born at Bewley near Drogheda, in the north of Ireland, about twenty-five miles from Dublin, in the year 1721. His family, in all probability, were in low circumstances, as he was bred a bricklayer. He, however, had a good English school education previous to his apprenticeship, and shewed such a desire to improve that little, that in the course of learning his trade, he made himself acquainted with some of our best authors, and with many translations from the Greek and Latin poets. This course of study in time induced him to try his hand in versification; and whilst he seemed to mix unnoticed in the common herd of mechanics, Jones at once surprised the corporation of Drogheda with a complimentary copy of verses, with some hints towards the farther improvement of their town, trade, &c. &c. These verses, which were never printed, and of which the author kept no copy, were reckoned so good, that they were for some time thought to be above the flight of a bricklayer; but Jones soon identified his claim to the muses by other productions, and particularly by some lines occasioned by the death of Mr. Pope, which, as one of the earliest production of our author, we insert.

On Mr. Pope's death.

These lines to Pope for ever sacred live,
The best a grateful mourning muse can
give;
To him now number'd with th' immortal
dead,
This verse unfeign'd with flowing eyes be-
read.
O thou! applauded by the wise and great,
Nor worth or genius could postpone thy
fate;
Too long an exile from the worlds of bliss,
By envying angels snatch'd too soon from
this,
Thy strains seraphic shall their anthems
raise,
Give heaven new harmony—and God new
praise.

These poems so recommended him to the favour of the corporation of Drogheda, and other gentlemen of the town, and in particular to lord chief justice Singleton, who lived at Bewley, where Jones was born, that they paid him every kind of civility, and constantly made him one of their convivial parties.

In the latter part of life Jones would have fastened upon this kind of patronage, and yielding to the pleasures of a corporation table, would have thought his time happily filled; but youth is the season of spirit and adventure, and an opportunity soon offered of calling out our young poet to greater scenes, and more independent prospects.

The parliament-house in Dublin being about to be repaired at this time, a number of workmen in all branches were in much request; and Jones living but twenty-five miles from the capital, thought this would be a lucky opportunity to try his fortune. His *line* and *rule* were his immediate pretensions; but his *muse* was the mistress he secretly relied on. With this hope he left Drogheda about the beginning of the
year

year 1745, much against the inclination of his friends, but with that confidence in his own powers which, generally speaking, if properly founded, and diligently pursued, seldom misleads us.

Had his prudence been equal to this resolution, it was the luckiest measure he possibly could have adopted. He had an opportunity of living in the capital of his country upon better terms than in his own native place; he had the means of improving himself both in the line of his profession, and as a poet; and above all, perhaps, he might then have the flattering hope (which afterwards came to be verified) of his muse reaching the ear of a *Mæcenæ*,* who had taste and liberality to encourage and reward his labours.

The following circumstance soon brought him to this last point of success. Lord Chesterfield, who had been some time before appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, just landed in Dublin. Jones thought this a good opportunity to come forward. He accordingly addressed his excellency in a copy of verses on his arrival; wherein he not only panegyricizes with some force and delicacy, but towards the close thus artfully insinuates his own humble occupation.

“ Nor you, great sir, on these weak numbers frown,
Which mourn a Swift, and sing thy just renown;
Such strains, alas! as my *unletter’d* hand,
Trembling would reach thee on the crowded strand;
But thronging thousands intercept my way,
And deafening 10’s drown my feeble lay;

Yet if a moment from the toils of state,
And all the burthen of a kingdom’s weight,
Some little leisure to the muse you lend,
(Each leisure moment is the muse’s friend),

Permit, my lord, that my unpolish’d lays
May hope for pardon, tho’ they fail to please.”

Jones had the good fortune to have these lines presented by his constant friend through life, lord chief justice Singleton; and he had still the better fortune to see his poem take effect. Lord Chesterfield was pleased with it, and inquiring into the origin and character of the author, sent for him, liberally rewarded him, and took him into his immediate protection.

What pecuniary reward our author received is now uncertain; but whatever it was, “the bricklayer’s frock went on no more.” He commenced author at large, and soon after, by his lordship’s desire, followed him to England.

On his arrival here, which was in the year 1748, he collected some of the best of the poems he had written at different times before his introduction to lord Chesterfield, and added others upon a variety of occasional subjects, which he took some pains to polish and refine. With these his lordship seemed highly pleased. He thought he saw something in this mechanic muse which in time might do credit to his patronage and the republic of letters; he therefore not only received him at his house with kindness and hospitality, but recommended him to several noblemen and literati, by whose assistance he published his Poems by subscription, and was liberally rewarded.

* The late earl of Chesterfield, then lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

With the little poetical freight which Jones brought with him from Ireland, he likewise brought the sketch of a tragedy, entitled "The Earl of Essex." Having now leisure to correct it, and money sufficient to keep him from the drudgery of other pursuits, he sat down to this tragedy, and finished it about the latter end of the season of 1752. It was highly approved of by lord Chesterfield, and warmly recommended by him to Colley Cibber, who not only introduced him to the manager of Covent-Garden theatre, but continued his regards for him through life by a thousand acts of friendship and humanity, and even made strong efforts by his interest at court, to have secured to him the succession of the laurel after his death.

It was rather remarkable, that on the very day that Jones sent the manuscript tragedy of "The Earl of Essex" to the manager of Covent-Garden theatre, the late Dr. P. Francis sent his tragedy of "Constantine." This rather embarrassed the manager which he should bring out first. Jones's friends (and they were powerful in point of rank and numbers) pleaded the originality of his genius, and the pressure of his circumstances; but Francis disregarded these particulars, and insisted upon the justice of an equal claim. The manager felt this, and after ruminating for some time to do justice to both, proposed tossing up for the priority. The parties agreed, and whilst the shilling was spinning in the air, Jones, with the coarseness of his original education, cried out, "Woman" by the grossest name he could make use of. He was successful, and the doctor turned away in disgust, pretending to be more

hurt at the indelicacy of his rival than at the failure of his own success.

Francis's "Constantine" came out the next year, and afforded a striking contrast between *art* and *nature*. The *Scholar's* tragedy nearly failed, whilst the *Bricklayer's* met with universal applause. It was brought out in the best part of the season, January, and was played fifteen nights to very great houses, and his benefits were supposed to bring him in no less than five hundred pounds—a sum, considering the state of the theatre and audience in those days, which was almost unprecedented.

The merits of this tragedy were much cried up at that time; the public had been long taught to expect it: and as the author had already published a book of Poems, wherein some of the first names in both kingdoms appeared as subscribers, and as he was likewise well-known to be protected and encouraged by so great a judge and patron of the muses as lord Chesterfield, expectation ran high. This expectation was farther confirmed by overflowing audiences, as John Bull found something so congenial in the *ground-floor* pretensions of a humble bricklayer, that he very freely gave him his praise and protection.

Banks had written upon this subject before, and Brookes followed in 1761. The former seems to have more *pathos* than Jones, and Brookes's, upon the whole, appears to be written with more powers of poetry. But Jones, by catching at the *popular* character of the Earl of Essex, and introducing those incidents which led to the fall of that unhappy nobleman, renders it more an *English story*, and being thus rendered

dered more intelligible and congenial to an *English mind*, it alone keeps possession of the stage to this day.

Whilst the public gave him praise, *critical envy* was not silent. To be a favourite of the muses in itself was a stimulus to ill-nature; but for a low mechanic to woo such mistresses was insufferable:—hence, amongst other reflections upon our new dramatist, it was said, “The tragedy was not his own; or at least he was so far assisted by his noble patron, as to leave him little or no merit; that they could evidently see the *linsey-woolsey* shoot itself with the *silk*; and that though some passages were poetical, others were little better than a prosaic history of the times.”

A similar charge has been often alleged against young authors, on account perhaps of the facility with which it might be made. A novice, if he has merit, creates envy, and persons possessed of this quality find their interest in attempting to crush a rival in embryo. A novice likewise, generally speaking, has not many friends to defend him; nor is he himself dexterous enough to repel the arts, the intrigues, and the insinuations of the many;—he besides all this cannot be compared with himself; so that there are various assailable places about him, which envy is quick-sighted enough to see and to attack.

Speaking of this as a general question, and we speak upon some experience, we believe it is not once in twenty times that an author rises into any degree of fame by another man’s labours, and by his permission. Fame is not so easily acquired, and when acquired not so easily parted with, as to form the common commerce of friendship;

the receiver of fame too, from the inequality of talents; must soon be discovered, and when discovered, his pretensions are at an end. The charge in the course of time has been made against many, and yet no one instance, we believe, has appeared, that any great work has been claimed by any but the original author: so that we are pretty safe in giving credit to any man who publicly signs his name to a work, except he has already shewn himself incompetent to such credit for speaking truth on that occasion.

Upon the question at issue, Whether Jones was the author of the *Earl of Essex*? there is all the internal evidence of its being a fact. There is nothing in the writing of that tragedy that may not be achieved by the author of the poems which were already published in his name, and universally acknowledged to be his. He had previously shewn his tragedy, *peace-meal*, to many of his friends, and has been known to make several alterations, during the rehearsal, on the spot. Jones freely confessed the few alterations which lord Chesterfield suggested, which were in the two great familiarity of language in some passages, and one in particular, of changing the phrase, “the house is up,” to “the senate is resolved.” But, except these, and some arrangements of the scenes suggested by Colley Cibber, we subscribe to Jones’s repeated declarations, “that the tragedy was entirely his own.”

Indeed, if any doubt could arise upon this subject, it must have been long since cleared up by his two subsequent tragedies. “*Harold*,” and “*The Cave of Idra*.” This last was brought upon the stage some years after Jones’s death, by his old friend

friend and brother adventurer Dr. Paul Hiffernan, under the title of "The Heroine of the Cave," and though it was left in an unfinished state by the author, evidently shewed a species of writing equal to "The Earl of Essex."

Of "Harold," we believe it is now entirely lost to the world. Jones used to speak of this as his *chef-d'œuvre*, and we remember to have heard Dr. Hiffernan repeat some passages of it that were very poetical, both in point of sentiment and power of language. It was never brought upon the stage, or published; therefore to say what is become of it now, must entirely be conjecture. The late Mr. Reddish, of Drury-lane, possessed himself of all Jones's manuscripts, and by this obtained "The Cave of Idra," which Hiffernan, as we have already said, extended to five acts, and brought out for Reddish's benefit. "Harold," in all probability, was amongst the number of these papers, and, perhaps, intended for some future benefit; but the subsequent insanity of Reddish deranged all this, and, perhaps, consigned "Harold" to the flames, or impenetrable obscurity.

That Jones had been playing what gamblers call "the best of the game" with the booksellers, relative to this tragedy, is pretty evident, as he obtained some money on it from Mr. Cooper, the printer, and, perhaps, from others; but such is the impolicy of knaves, that in cheating their friends, they cheat themselves. Had Jones meant honestly to have brought this play forward, the probability was, that he could have redeemed what he borrowed on it, and put a considerable sum in his own pocket; but he chose to make it an engine of deceit, and thus sa-

crificed his interest and reputation.

Some critics thought they got scent of "Harold," when it was known that Mr. Cumberland was bringing out his tragedy, called "The battle of Hastings;" and Mr. Cooper, who was interested to know this fact more than others, attended the theatre on the first night's representation for that purpose. But whatever "The Battle of Hastings" was like, it was not like Jones's "Harold;" and this Mr. Cooper was so sensible of, that to atone for his own suggestions on that head, as well as to do every degree of justice to Mr. Cumberland, he published the following letter in the General Advertiser.

To the editor of the General Advertiser.

SIR,

"Having heard several gentlemen; not only in the theatre, but in private company, question whether Mr. Cumberland is the author of the tragedy now playing, called "The Battle of Hastings," and declaring it to be an alteration of a tragedy, written by the late Mr. Jones (author of the Earl of Essex), called "Harold;" I beg leave, through the channel of your paper, to relate a few circumstances, which may tend to clear all doubts upon that subject.

"Some years ago, Mr. Jones brought me a tragedy, called "Harold;" which was to have been my property, upon terms then agreed on between us. It remained in my hands for some months, and I read it twice with great attention. After this, Mr. Jones called on me again, and left with

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me two books of a poem he was writing, called "Kew Gardens," which I also agreed to purchase. At this time he requested me to lend him the tragedy, that he might shew it to a friend. I did so; and this request was in a few days followed by a second for the poem, which I likewise complied with, but from that day never saw the author or his works.

"Upon the first representation of 'The Battle of Hastings,' I went to see it, I own on purpose to prove whether it was a new piece, or an alteration from that for which I had paid a consideration. As many passages in Mr. Jones's Harold are perfect in my memory, and I must immediately have known them, I think it but common justice to Mr. Cumberland to declare, that his play does not bear the least resemblance to Mr. Jones's in any one scene.

"I am, sir,
 "Your very humble servant,
 "JO. COOPER."

The éclat of "The Earl of Essex" gave Jones not only the *entrée* of the theatre, but introduced him to many persons of condition and literature, who were well disposed to be friendly to him; but his original habits being in a great respect confirmed by dissipation, the keeping *good company* was too great an effort for his mind, which, instead of shewing any of its original force upon these occasions, contented itself "to dwell in decencies:"—the fact was, he was afraid to be at what he called his ease, for in these moments he was subject to betray a coarseness and vulgarity very incompatible with the situation he was then placed in.

Some of his friends saw this would be a barrier to his rising in the world, and suggested to him a plan for improving his education:—one in particular, who is now living, and no less eminent in rank than literature, proposed he should begin with the French, and as his son was just studying that language, if Jones would attend three times a week, at stated hours, at his house, he should have every accommodation, and his instruction cost him nothing. Jones accepted this proposal with seeming gratitude, and attended three or four mornings pretty punctually; he then became a little irregular, and one morning came so drunk, that he could scarcely articulate his own language. This, of course, put an end to the gentleman's civilities, and Jones spoke of the *release* with all the exultation of a man getting out of bondage.

Sitting down to learn any language in the prime of life, when cares and passions have generally too strong holds of the human breast, is very difficult, and must be little less than a drudgery to any man, particularly to a man of genius, but for the ends to be attained. This is the incentive which physics pain, and smooths all intervening difficulties.

Jones, however, felt none of those incentives. Idle in his habits, warm in his passions, and somewhat despotic in his genius, he only aimed at catching his improvement through the medium of pleasure; if it did not come that way, let other people seek it for him. What was still more against him, he was fond of a more mixed company—he was more unbent in their society—they flattered his talents, and what was so easily and pleasantly purchased,

of course was often repeated; hence the most of his time was spent in the company of players, painters, and artists of all descriptions, whom he affected to take under his protection, and from some of whom, it is said, he exacted tribute of every kind.

The period at which Jones came to England was favourable for acquiring an historical knowledge of the drama, which is every now among the *disiderata* of literature. His natural attachment to the stage, his exalted patronage, and his being the author of a successful tragedy, gained him the friendship of many of the principal performers of that time, viz. Barry, Mossop, Sheridan, Mrs. Woffington, and, in particular, old *Husbands*, who was said to have great traditional knowledge of his profession, and who used to communicate that knowledge, with no inconsiderable talent of narration, at his clubs about Russel-street, Covent-garden. Our author availed himself of these advantages, and, it is said, compiled from *Husbands's* memoranda and conversation some very valuable anecdotes of the stage: but these, with his other papers, either from the author's well-known carelessness, or the carelessness or subsequent insanity of Reddish, his *self-assumed* executor, are now, perhaps, for ever sunk in obscurity.

In the midst of Jones's dissipation he still kept up his intimacy with lord Chesterfield, who received him always very kindly, and gave him a chair at his table upon all days, except those assigned to very select companies. It appears to be difficult for a man of Jones's habits and natural tendencies, to throw off those habits periodically, and become the companion of *him* who had de-

mands upon the first scholars, and the men of first breeding, for their exertions. Our author himself has in some respect solved this difficulty, as he has frequently told his intimate companions that he always kept himself sober the day before he knocked at his lordship's door—took care to collect all the anecdote and talk of the town that he thought would be most agreeable—was *hypocritically reserved at his bottle*, and took an early departure.

But even this kind of conduct, we should think, could be but a Lenten entertainment for the *Mæcenas* of his day. He that was so delicate as to shrink from the morning visits of a *Johnson*, to make *Jones* the companion of his leisure hours, appears to be somewhat unaccountable, did we not know the effect of compliances on some minds. *The Sturdy Moralist*, though a man of the first education and observation, was not so ready to yield opinions, or mould himself to the general cast of conversation. Johnson would talk upon any subject, and with a force, if necessary, which made it very indifferent to him what he trode upon, whether the neck of a lord or any other person: but Jones felt himself the humble friend and *protégé*—he thought it his duty to talk or be silent, just as he was encouraged—he created no jealousies, embarrassed no conversation—he assisted at the table as the mirror of his lordship's superiority, his discernment, his protection, and hospitalities.

Indeed his lordship indirectly gives another reason for leaving off Dr. Johnson, in one of his "Letters to his Son," where, in describing the character of a very learned yet very awkward man, he draws the por-

trait of Johnson with so much discrimination, yet with such severity, that every body knew the original at first sight; and yet it is the general opinion that this portrait would never have been drawn, had not Johnson previously released his lordship from all kind of patronage, in that celebrated letter of his, published by Mr. Boswell—a letter that the oftener it is read must be the more admired for its strength, originality, and independence.

Whatever was the attraction that kept Jones the humble friend of lord Chesterfield's leisure hours, he certainly kept it for some years, and if he had had but common prudence and common industry, he could very readily, under such a patron, have established himself in some line of independence. It may be asked, Why did not lord Chesterfield do something for him unsolicited?—and the laws of *private* and *equal* friendship will readily justify such a question:—but the *patron* and *patronized*, according to the custom of the great, stand upon different footings. To notice a man in public, to give him the *entrée* of his house, and promote subscriptions for his benefit, are *condescensions* that go a great way, and must in general be accepted as *friendship*; and if the patronized does not think himself entitled to higher rewards than those transitory attentions, the patron, according to the old established rule of courtiers, consoles himself by thinking, 'that when a man solicits for nothing, it is a proof he thinks himself already sufficiently provided for.'

The unhappy temper of the author at last broke the link of this early and fortunate connection, never to be again restored. He had been absent for some time from

Chesterfield-house, and as his lordship was dressing one morning, he asked his man when he had seen Jones? "Not these two months, my lord."—"Why I was thinking it is somewhat about that time since he was here, and I am afraid the poor fellow may be taken ill, and perhaps in want of some little comforts; therefore I wish you would make inquiries about him." The man bowed, and as he was going out of the room, smiled—but "smiled in such a sort," as could not escape so accurate a judge of men's tempers and passions as lord Chesterfield: He called him back, and, looking him gravely in the face, asked him why he smiled as he went out of the room, and whether he knew any thing particular about Jones? The man hesitated for some time, but at length confessed, that the last day Mr. Jones dined at his lordship's table, he borrowed *eight guineas* from him, and he believed it was that circumstance, and not illness, that might have prevented his attendance. His lordship paused for some time, and then calling up that air of good breeding which was so natural to him, observed, "That as the lending of a sum of money to any gentleman that sat at his table, was an act of civility that he could not possibly condemn, he would pay him the *eight guineas*; but as to Mr. Jones (though, says he, I believe you'll never be put to the trial), if ever he knocks at my door, I'm not at home, and this must be your constant answer."

Thus, like the foolish Esau, Jones sold his birth-right for a mess of pottage. Eight guineas in the most pressing situation could avail him little—the purchase, perhaps, of a few irregular pleasures, or, at best, a month

a month or two's subsistence; and for these he exchanged the friendship and protection of one of the greatest characters of the age—a character that the scholar and man of rank must pride themselves to be acquainted with, but to him must be an acquisition which could rarely fall to the lot of his description in life.

And yet, perhaps, reasoning in this manner, however just, but ill described Jones's *real feelings*. The man that could, in the first instance, stoop to borrow money from the servant of his friend, must be pretty callous to the finer sensations;—he must likewise very well know the result of such a conduct, and must be supposed to estimate, in some degree, the value of the money he borrowed, by what he was about to lose. Whatever he thought upon the subject, the connection between lord Chesterfield and him ended here; though, we believe, Jones afterwards took some pains to revive it, if we may judge from the following lines addressed to lord Tyrawley, entitled, “On his sending me to lord Chesterfield when I *durst not knock at his door*.”

Rejoic'd I went, of speeding sure,

My lord! at your command

I boldly stood at Stanhope's door,

And stoutly stretch'd my hand.

The sounding brass I rashly rais'd,

Resolv'd my hopes to crown;

Some power unseen my senses seiz'd,

I laid it silent down.

The knocker thus I thrice upheld,

And thrice I made essay—

For your command my arm impell'd,

And I would fain obey.

But Fate forbid th' intruding sound

Which would his ears assail;

By greatness aw'd, and worth renown'd,

Ikternian front must fail.

Jones, thus emancipated from the awe of his patron, seemed to turn his thoughts to the stage, as the best resource for his future fame and fortune. He had at that time made some progress in a tragedy, called “Harold,” and he flattered himself much on the profits of this production; but in this he neither estimated his industry, his economy, or reputation. He raised money (as we before observed) upon this tragedy in embryo, and such was his unaccountable indolence, and neglect of all character, that sooner than finish it for the stage, which in all probability would produce him a fair fame, and considerable profits, he chose to employ it as the temporary expedient of raising money under false pretences.

His intercourse with some of the principal performers of both houses is pretty evident, from the poems he dedicated to them from time to time. He wrote a prologue for old Husbands, the player; paid some poetical compliments to Barry on his *Hamlet*; and as Jones's muse not only reached the principal performers of his time, but occasionally stooped to flatter those of that profession who might be serviceable to him in his wants and his pleasures. The fact is, he had the lower part of the green-room at that time under a kind of contribution. He lived with them either at their lodgings, or at ale-houses, borrowed money of them, &c. &c. and for this he repaid them with puffs and poetical compliments preceding their benefits. He could be coarse too upon particular occasions; and, like his friend Hiffernan, was subject to fall *under the tyranny of the tankard*. In these moods he used to abuse the profession of the stage,

calling the performers *parrots*, who solely depended upon the words which the author put into their mouths for their reputation and support.

A life of this kind daily wore off that spirit of independence and respect for character, without which man is poor indeed. Jones soon entirely lost sight of fame, as well as establishment, and only roused himself for the provision of the day. The misery attending this situation can readily be conceived; and our author must have felt it at times, though he had not resolution to alter his conduct. Hence he experienced all the vicissitudes of an indigent and degraded condition; "the shifting tides of fear and hope, the peril and escape, the famine and the feast;" the noisy moment of intoxication, and the brooding melancholy hours of despondence and despair.

His distresses daily gaining on him, and no effort on his part exerted to relieve him, he frequently fell under the gripe of the law, and the *spunging-house* was a place that not unfrequently claimed his habitation. Here he generally drew upon his muse for his support; and, as he could assume some address and softness in his manners, he generally found out the weak side of the daughter or wife of the bailiff, and flattered them so with a copy of verses, either on their beauty or talents, as to make his quarters both comfortable and convenient. Many stories have been told of his address in those matters. Sometimes he would make himself useful by drawing petitions and memorials for persons under the same roof with him; sometimes he would assist at the tap; and sometimes would be so far con-

fided in, as to be appointed guardian of the inner door.

Two anecdotes he used to relate with no little pride, as proofs of the prevalency of his talents. The one was his borrowing *two guineas* of the bailiff whilst in his house, under an arrest for ten pounds; and the other of his writing some verses on the daughter of a bailiff, who, like a *second Lucy*, gave her lover his liberty, at the expence of her father's purse and resentment.

It would be difficult to trace Jones through all the labyrinths of his fortune. A life so totally unguarded must hang upon the events of the hour, and, if known, must form a repetition of scenes as disgusting in the exhibition as disgraceful to the actor. It is sufficient to know, that after experiencing many reverses of fortune, which his impracticable temper and unaccountable imprudence drew on him, his situation at last excited the pity of Mr. H—d—n, the master of the Bedford coffee-house; a man who, to the virtues of frugality and attention in his business, displayed, upon all proper occasions, a very feeling heart, and was well known to be particularly attentive to the wants of distressed gentlemen, decayed artists, &c. This man, knowing Jones's story, and struck with the shabbiness of his appearance as he took his morning perambulation round the Piazzas, made him an offer of a room in his house, and board every day that he was not otherwise better engaged. Jones accepted this proposal with gratitude, and for some time kept within the regulations of a private family. But the natural love of a more mixed and enlarged society, the spirit of domineering, of contrast, of dissipation,

soon

soon prevailed; and eloping one morning early from his lodgings, he did not return that night; the next night came, and Mr. H—d—n again missed his inmate. This roused his inquiries, when it appeared, that Jones, after being in a state of inebriety for two days, was found run over by a waggon on the night of the third, in St. Martin's Lane, without his hat or his coat. In this disgraceful and mutilated situation, he was taken to the workhouse of that parish, where he died a few days after (April, 1770), a strong and miserable example of the total want of that prudence, which to men with or without talents, is so absolutely necessary to conduct them through all the affairs of life.

As a man, Jones, from the report of those who knew him in the early parts of life, possessed many amiable qualities. He was generous, affable, good-natured, and complying; and perhaps his only fault was in being too much addicted to the pleasures of the table. He received his first patronization under lord chief justice Singleton, and the principal inhabitants of Drogheda too *unspoiled*, but the patronage of lord Chesterfield in time sapped the strength of his mind. To be selected by such a character as his lordship from the common mass of authors, without education or family connections; to be transplanted afterwards by him to England, as a soil more congenial to his talents; to have the *entrée* of his lordship's house; to be supported by him in subscriptions and private recommendations;—these raised a sudden tide of prosperity, which overflowed the bounds of our author's discretion, and drove him into the

ocean of life without rudder or compass.

He was, however, under some kind of restriction in his conduct till he broke altogether with lord Chesterfield. The awe of his lordship's high character, the expectations he raised upon his protection, and the necessity there was for an appearance both in dress and conversation when before him;—all these checked even such a character as Jones; and it was always readily perceived amongst his intimates when he was about to pay a visit to Chesterfield-house, by some seasonable and preparatory deviation which he made from his general conduct.

When this barrier was once broke down, he rushed into all the extravagancies of his natural and acquired vices. The great eye of the public was no censor for him: it might observe, but it observed in silence; and Jones estimated his pleasures (as he called them) above his reputation. To provide for the sensual enjoyments of the day, was all his care; and this once obtained, he was philosopher enough "to let to-morrow take care of itself."

We shall wind up this part of his character with the observation of one who seems to have known him well. "His temper (says he) was, in consequence of the dominion of his passions, uncertain and capricious, easily engaged and easily disgusted; and as economy was a virtue which could never be taken into his catalogue, he appeared to think himself born rather to be supported by others, than under a duty to secure to himself the profits which his writings and the munificence of his patrons from time to time afforded."

As an author, his character comes more critically before us: but in de-

veloping this character, we must always have an eye on his origin.

Bred in the humble line of a provincial bricklayer, with a very little better education than is generally attached to that line, much could not necessarily be augured from the efforts of his mind. To get a little forward in life by the narrow gleanings of his profession, or perhaps by some stroke of enterprize, to arrive at the rank of a *master builder*, speaking generally, would be termed a fortunate wind-up for such a character:—but when we see a young man, in the very outset of life, without family, fortune, or connections—without the incitement of example, or that collision of similar minds which rouses and invigorates the seeds of ambitious fame;—to see such a man at once abandon a profession which was his daily support, and courageously throw himself under the protection of the muses,—we must at least allow him a genius, and a force of mind very peculiar to his situation in life.

Such were Jones's efforts when, after first obtaining the patronage of lord Chesterfield, he sat down to his tragedy of the Earl of Essex. It is idle to listen to the little tales of malice and rivalry which were propagated at that time, of this play not being his own, and that he was greatly assisted in it by lord Chesterfield and Colley Cibber: whoever has read the play with any degree of accuracy, will look in vain for the marks of two such writers;—they will neither see the long-experienced dramatic contrivance of the latter, nor the elegant pointed periods of the former; they will see a story more naturally than artfully drawn from the history of their country, combined with such inci-

dents as were most likely to produce effect and illustrate the fable; aided by language appropriate enough to the characters, but more forcible than elegant, and issuing more from the first heat of the mind, than the studied lucubrations of the scholar.

Considering, therefore, the merits of this tragedy, and from the three acts of his "*Cave of Idra*," with the reports we have heard of his "*Harold*" (a tragedy, which, in the unaccountable confusion of events, is now, perhaps, for ever lost to the stage), we must pronounce Jones no inconsiderable dramatist: nay, we are warranted to say more.—That had he cultivated his talents in this line with becoming assiduity and prudence, there is every reason to think he would stand in the first line of modern tragedy writers.

Of his lighter pieces of poetry we cannot say as much. They are mostly written upon occasional and perishable subjects it is true, but then there is little of that *point* and *general reflection* which preserve such trifles from oblivion. Gray's "*Verses on a Cat being drowned in a tub of gold fishes*," seems to promise little from the title; but when we see trifling incident embellished with neat allusions to the faults of ambition, and the false friendships of the world, we read it over and over with avidity, and esteem it as one of the poetical gems of a great master.

On the whole, Jones's talents must be estimated by the line he set out in, viz. *a journeyman bricklayer with a moderate share of education*; and, considering that he neglected the means that were offered him to improve this situation, and rested almost solely on those talents which
nature

nature originally gave him, he must be considered as a very extraordinary genius.

Account of Nell Gwynn, from the notes to the new translation of Grammont's memoirs.

OF the early part of Nell's life little is known but what may be collected from the lampoons of the times; in which it is said, that she was born in a night-cellar, sold fish about the streets, rambled from tavern to tavern, entertaining the company after dinner and supper with songs (her voice being very agreeable); was next taken into the house of madam Ross, a noted courtesan, and was afterwards admitted into the theatre, where she became the mistress of both Hart and Lacey, the celebrated actors. Other accounts say she was born in a cellar in the coal-yard in Drury-Lane, and that she was first taken notice of when selling oranges in the play-house. She belonged to the king's company at Drury-lane; and, according to Downes, was received as an actress a few years after that house was opened, in 1663. The first notice I find of her is in the year 1668, when she performed in Dryden's play of *Secret Love*; after which, she may be traced every year until 1678, when I conjecture she quitted the stage. Her forte appears to have been comedy. In an epilogue to *Tyrannic Love*, spoken by her, she says,

—I walk, because I die
Out of my calling in a tragedy.

And from the same authority it may be collected that her person was small, and she was negligent in her

dress. Her son, the duke of St. Alban's, was born before she left the stage, viz. May 8, 1670. Bishop Burnet speaks of her in these terms: "Gwynn, the indiscreetest and wildest creature that ever was in a court, continued to the end of the king's life in great favour, and was maintained at a vast expence. The duke of Buckingham told me, that when she was first brought to the king, she asked only 500 pounds a year, and the king refused it. But when he told me this, about four years after, he said she had got of the king above sixty thousand pounds. She acted all persons in so lively a manner, and was such a constant diversion to the king, that even a new mistress could not drive her away; but after all, he never treated her with the decencies of a mistress." History of his Own Times, vol. i. p. 369. The same author notices the king's attention to her on his death-bed. Cibber, who was dissatisfied with the bishop's account of Nell, says, "If we consider her in all the disadvantages of her rank and education, she does not appear to have had any criminal errors more remarkable than her sex's frailty, to answer for; and if the same author, in his latter end of that prince's life, seems to reproach his memory with too kind a concern for her support, we may allow, it becomes a bishop to have had no eyes or taste for the frivolous charms or playful *badinage* of a king's mistress; yet if the common fame of her may be believed, which in my memory was not doubted, she had less to be laid to her charge, than any other of those ladies who were in the same state of preferment: she never meddled in matters of serious moment, or was the tool of working politicians; never

never broke into those amorous infidelities which others, in that grave author, are accused of; but was as visibly distinguished by her particular personal inclination to the king, as her rivals were by their titles and grandeur." Cibber's *Apology*, 8vo. p. 450. One of madame Sevigné's letters exhibits no bad portrait of Mrs. Gwynn.—"Mademoiselle de K—(Kerouaille, afterwards duchess of Portsmouth) has not been disappointed in any thing she proposed. She desired to be mistress to the king, and she is so; he lodges with her almost every night, in the face of all the court: she has had a son who has been acknowledged and presented with two duchies; she amasses treasure; and makes herself feared and respected by as many as she can. But she did not foresee that she should find a young actress in her way, whom the king dotes on; and she has it not in her power to withdraw him from her. He divides his care, his time, and his health, between these two. The actress is as haughty as mademoiselle; she insults her, she makes grimaces at her, she attacks her, she frequently steals the king from her, and boasts whenever he gives her the preference. She is young, indiscreet, confident, wild, and of an agreeable humour; she sings, she dances, she acts her part with a good grace. She has a son by the king, and hopes to have him acknowledged. As to mademoiselle, she reasons thus: This duchess, says she, pretends to be a person of quality: she says she is related to the best families in France; whenever any person of distinction dies, she puts herself in mourning: if she be a lady of such quality, why does she demean her-

self to be a courtesan? she ought to die with shame. As for me, it is my profession: I do not pretend to any thing better. He has a son by me: I pretend that he ought to acknowledge him; and I am well assured he will; for he loves me as well as mademoiselle. This creature gets the upper hand, and discomfences and embarrasses the duchess extremely." Letter 92. Mr. Pennant says, "she resided at her house, in what was then called Pall-Mall. It is the first good one on the left hand of St. James's Square, as we enter from Pall-Mall. The back room on the ground-floor was (within memory) entirely of looking-glass, as was said to have been the ceiling. Over the chimney was her picture; and that of her sister was in a third room." London, p. 101. At this house she died, in the year 1691, and was pompously interred in the parish church of St. Martin's in the Fields, Dr. Tennison, then vicar, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, preached her funeral sermon. This sermon, we learn, was afterwards brought forward at court by lord Jersey, to impede the doctor's preferment; but queen Mary, having heard the objection, answered, "What then?" in a sort of discomposure to which she was but little subject. "I have heard as much: this is a sign that that poor unfortunate woman died penitent: for if I can read a man's heart through his looks, had not she made a pious and Christian end, the doctor could never have been induced to speak well of her." *Life of Dr. Thomas Tennison*, p. 20. Cibber also says, he had been unquestionably informed, that our fair offender's

der's repentance appeared in all the contrite symptoms of a Christian sincerity. Cibber's apology, p. 451.

Account of the late George Colman, esq. from the European Magazine.

GEORGE COLMAN was the son of Francis Colman, esq. his majesty's resident at the court of the grand duke of Tuscany at Florence, by a sister of the late countess of Bath. He was born at Florence about 1733, and had the honour of having the late king George II. whose name he bears, for his godfather. He received his education at Westminster-school, where he very early shewed his poetical talents. The first performance by him is a copy of verses addressed to his cousin lord Pulteney, written in the year 1747, while he was at Westminster, and since printed in the St. James's Magazine, a work published by his unfortunate friend Robert Lloyd.* At school he had for his companions Mr. Lloyd, Mr. Churchill, Bonnel Thornton, and some others, who afterwards distinguished themselves in the literary world. From Westminster-school he removed to Oxford, and became a student of Christ-church. It was here, at a very early age, he engaged with his friend, Bonnel Thornton, in publishing *The Connoisseur*, a periodical paper which appeared once a week, and was continued from January 31, 1754, to September 30, 1756. When the age of the writers of this entertaining paper is

considered, the wit and humour, the spirit, the good sense, and shrewd observations on life and manners, with which it abounds, will excite some degree of wonder, but will at the same time evidently point out the extraordinary talents which were afterwards to be more fully displayed in the *Jealous Wife* and the *Clandestine Marriage*.

The recommendation of his friends, or his choice, but probably the former, induced him to fix upon the law for his profession; and he accordingly was entered of Lincoln's Inn, and in due season called to the bar. He attended there a very short time, though, if our recollection does not mislead us, he was seen often enough in the courts to prevent his abandoning the profession merely for want of encouragement. It is reasonable, however, to suppose, that he felt more pleasure in attending to the muse than to briefs and reports, and it will therefore to excite no wonder that he took the earliest opportunity of relinquishing pursuits not congenial to his taste. Apollo and Lyttleton, says Wycherley, seldom meet in the same brain.

On the 18th of March, 1758, he took the degree of master of arts at Oxford; and in the year 1760, his first dramatic piece, *Polly Honeycombe*, was acted at Drury-lane, with great success. For several years before, the comic muse seemed to have relinquished the stage. No comedy had been produced at either theatre since the year 1751, when Moore's *Gil Blas* was with

* In conjunction with this gentleman, he wrote the best parodies of modern times, the "Odes to Oblivion and Obscurity." When Mr Lloyd's volume of poems was about to be published by subscription, materials being wanted to complete it, Mr. Colman gave Mr. Lloyd *The Law Student*, addressed to himself, with such alterations as that circumstance made necessary.

difficulty performed nine nights. At length, in the beginning of the year 1761, three different authors were candidates for public favour in the same walk, almost at the same time, viz. Mr. Murphy, who exhibited the *Way to Keep Him*; Mr. Macklin, the *Married Libertine*; and Mr. Colman, the *Jealous Wife*. The former and latter of these were most successful, and the latter in a much higher degree. Indeed, when the excellent performance of Messrs. Garrick, Yates, O'Brien, King, Palmer, Moody, with Mrs. Pritchard, Clive, and Miss Pritchard, are recollected, it would have shewn a remarkable want of taste in the town not to have followed, as they did, this admirable piece with the greatest eagerness and perseverance.

The mention of the *Jealous Wife* in Churchill's *Rosciad*, occasioned Mr. Colman to experience some of the malevolence which that and other of Mr. Churchill's satires gave birth to. We shall only observe, that much good writing, and much wit and humour, were thrown away in this very acrimonious and disgraceful controversy.

We shall not regularly trace the several dramatic pieces of Mr. Colman as they appeared, the greater part being within the most of our readers remembrance. In July, 1764, lord Bath died, and on that event Mr. Colman found himself in circumstances fully sufficient to enable him to follow the bent of his genius. The first publication which he produced, after this period, was a translation of the comedies of Terence, in the execution of which he rescued the author from the hands of as tasteless and ignorant a set of writers as ever disgraced the name of translators. Whoever would wish

to see the spirit of the ancient bard transfused into the English language, must look for it in Mr. Colman's version.

The successor of lord Bath, general Pulteney, died in 1767, and Mr. Colman again found himself remembered in his will, by a second annuity, which confirmed the independency of his fortune. He seems, however, to have felt no charms in an idle life; as, in 1767, he united with Messrs. Harris, Rutherford, and Powell, in the purchase of Covent-Garden theatre, and took upon himself the laborious office of acting manager. The differences which arose from this association are too recent to be forgot, and the causes of them perhaps too ridiculous to be recorded. It may, however, in general, be observed, that the appeals to the public, during this controversy, do great credit to the talents, if not the tempers, of each party. As an act of oblivion of former animosities, and a general reconciliation of all parties, soon afterwards took place, we shall not perpetuate the memory of quarrels, now no longer of consequence to the public.

After continuing manager of Covent-Garden theatre seven years, Mr. Colman sold his share and interest therein to Mr. James Leake, one of his then partners, and, in 1777, purchased of Mr. Foote, the theatre in the Hay-market. The estimation which the entertainments exhibited under his direction were held in by the public, the reputation which the theatre acquired, and the continual concourse of the polite world, during the height of summer, sufficiently speak the praises of Mr. Colman's management. Indeed it has been long admitted, that no per-

son, since the death of Mr. Garrick, was so able to superintend the entertainments of the stage as the subject of this account.

To sagacity in discovering the talents of his performers, he joined the inclination and ability to display them with every advantage. To him Mr. Henderson, Miss Farren, Mrs. Bannister, Miss George, Mrs. Wells, and, in some measure, Mr. Edwin, (whose comic powers had been buried a whole season under Mr. Foote's management) besides some others, owed their introduction to a London audience; and the great improvements made by Mr. Palmer, Mr. Parsons, &c. testify the judgment and industry of their director.

Mr. Colman's attention to the theatre did not make him entirely neglect his classical studies. He gave the public a new translation and commentary on Horace's Art of Poetry, in which he produced a new system to explain this very difficult poem. In opposition to Dr. Hurd, he supposes, "that one of the sons of Piso, undoubtedly the elder, had either written or dictated a poetical work, most probably a tragedy; and that he had, with the knowledge of the family; communicated his piece or intention to Horace; but Horace either disapproving of the work, or doubting of the poetical faculties of the elder Piso, or both, wished to dissuade from all thoughts of publication. With this view he formed the design of writing this epistle, addressing it with a courtliness and delicacy perfectly agreeable to his acknowledged character, indifferently to the whole family, the father and his two sons, *Epistola ad Pisonem de arte Poetica*." This hypothesis

is supported with much learning, ingenuity, and modesty; and if not fully established, is at least as well entitled to applause as that adopted by the bishop of Worcester.

On the publication of the *Horace*, the bishop said to Dr. Douglas, "Give my compliments to C—, and thank him for the handsome manner in which he has treated me, and tell him, that *I think he is right*."

Besides the dramatic works of Mr. Colman, and those we have already mentioned, he was the author of a preface to the last edition of Beaumont and Fletcher, a dissertation prefixed to Massinger, a series of papers in the St. James's Chronicle, under the title of the Genius, and many other fugitive pieces.

At the close of the theatrical season of 1785, Mr. Colman was seized at Margate with the palsy; and at the beginning of the season of 1789, he first shewed symptoms of derangement of his mind, which increasing gradually, left him in a state of idiotism. On this occasion the concluding lines of his friend Churchill's Epistle to Hogarth, will naturally intrude themselves on our reader's attention:

"Sure 'tis a curse which angry fates impose
To mortify man's arrogance, that those
Who're fashion'd of some better sort of
clay,
Much sooner than the common herd decay.
What bitter pangs must humbled genius feel,
In their last hour to view a Swift and Steele!
How must ill-boding horrors fill her breast,
When she beholds men mark'd above the rest.

For

For qualities most dear, plung'd from that
height,

And sunk, deep sunk, in second child-
hood's night!

Are men indeed such things? And are
the best

More subject to this evil than the rest,

To drivel out whole years of idiot breath,

And sit the monuments of living death?

O galling circumstances to human pride!

Abasing thought! but not to be deny'd.

With curious art the brain, too finely
wrought,

Preys on herself, and is destroy'd by
thought.

Constant attention wears the active mind,

Blots out her pow'rs, and leaves a blank
behind."

In this sad state he was com-
mitted to the care of a person at
Paddington. The management of
the theatre was entrusted to his
son, with an allowance of 600*l.* a
year.

Mr. Colman died on the 14th
of August, 1794, at the age of 62;
at Paddington. A few hours
before his death he was seized
with violent spasms, which were
succeeded by a melancholy stu-
por, in which he drew his last
breath.

NATURAL HISTORY.

Description of Corsica.

THE island of Corsica, now united to the crown of Great Britain, is situated nearly opposite to the main-land of Genoa, between the gulph of Genoa and the island of Sardinia; and according to the best maps which Busching had seen, is in length thirty-two miles, and in breadth twelve miles, * divided almost longitudinally by a chain of mountains; and indeed the greatest part of the island is mountainous. The soil is fruitful even on the mountains, except the highest, whose summits are covered with snow the greatest part of the year. Corn grows very well, and much flax, and in many places excellent wine, and oil, and chesnuts. In the interior part of the island is plenty of cattle, and the inhabitants drive a great trade with all sorts of them, but more especially goats, whose flesh is the common food of Corsica. There are several mines of iron, lead, copper, and silver, besides stones and minerals, and a good coral fishery on the coast. The number of parishes, in 1740, was 333; of villages, 427; of hearths, 46,854; and of souls, 120,380; which, in 1760, amount-

ed to 130,000! Mr Boswell carries it to 220,000.

The kingdom of Corsica was conquered by the Genoese, who drove out the Saracens, A. D. 864. The Pisans took it from the Genoese in the 11th century, ceded it in the following, and recovered it in the next. Alphonsus V. king of Arrogan, attempted, without success, to make himself master of it 1420. In 1533, the French possessed themselves of the greatest part of the island, but ceded it by the treaty of Cambresis, 1559. In 1564, the inhabitants revolted from the Genoese; and, though reduced to obedience five years after, preserved an inveterate aversion to the Genoese, who treated them with the utmost rigour. An insurrection, on occasion of heavy taxes, broke out in 1726, which were ended by the interposition of the emperor. In 1735, fresh troubles broke out, and the islanders chose Theodore baron Neuhof their king; who, after some exertions, ended his days in prison for debt at London, where, in 1753, a subscription was raised for him by a public advertisement. Peace was at length restored during the years 1743 and 1744; and, though our fleet bom-

* These are German miles, each of which is about five English miles.

barded Bastia 1745, and the malcontents seized the town, it was soon recovered from them. May 15, 1768, the Genoese gave up Corsica to the king of France, as a compensation for the expences that crown had been and was to be at for the reduction of the island. April 9, 1769, comte de Vaux arrived at Corsica, and made a progress. May 13, Paoli and his friends embarked at Port Vecchio, on board a vessel carrying English colours. July 18, France ceded it to the king of Sardinia; and the duke de Chablais, the king's brother, prepared to take possession of it.

The clergy are very numerous, and there are sixty-eight convents of Cordeliers, Capuchins, and Servites. The revenues of the island were applied by the Genoese, in time of peace, to maintain governors, officers, and soldiers: the surplus has never exceeded 40,000 Genoese livres.

The chain of mountains divides the island into two unequal parts, and these are again subdivided into districts or provinces of different tribunals and fiefs, and these again into pieves, parishes, and paezes.

Mr. Boswell makes the length of the island 150 miles, the breadth, from 40 to 53 miles, and the circumference 322 miles. It is charmingly situated in the Mediterranean, whence continual breezes fan and cool it in summer, and the surrounding body of water keeps it warm in winter; so that it is one of the most temperate countries in that quarter of Europe. The air is fresh and healthful, except in one or two places. It is remarkably well furnished with good harbours. The great division of it is into the

country on this and on that side of the mountains, reckoning from Bastia, into nine provinces, and into many pieves, containing each a certain number of parishes. Every *paese*, or village, elects annually a *podesta*, and two other magistrates, called *padri del commune*; and once a year all the inhabitants of each village assemble and choose a *procuratore*, to represent them in the general *consulta*, or parliament of the nation, made up of several who have been formerly members of the supreme council, or have lost near relations in the service of their country. The magistrates of each province send also a *procuratore*; and two of those of the provinces, together with the *procuratore* of their magistrates, are chosen to elect the president to preside in the general *consulta*, and an orator to read the papers subjected to deliberation. — The general's office much resembles that of the stadtholder. The government exhibits a complete and well-ordered democracy.

Observations on Middlesex agriculture, by Abraham Wilkinson, M. D. From the Annals of Agriculture.

White Webb House, Enfield-Chace,
Dec. 14, 1793.

TO A. YOUNG, ESQ.

Dear sir,
PERMIT me to congratulate you on your appointment to the office of secretary to the Board of Agriculture. May the same spirit of patriotic industry, which has long distinguished your agricultural labours, pervade and invigorate the proceedings of the board. From
the

the known characters of the president and secretary, the public are justified in entertaining the most sanguine expectations.

I must confess, I should have beheld, with concern, so deserving a veteran in the service of agriculture, retiring from the field, disregarded and unrewarded by that community to whose aggrandizement he has long devoted the labours of his pen, and the sweat of his brow. The gratitude of the state preserves comfort and independence to the veteran soldier, the vigour of whose youth has been exhausted in fighting her battles, and advancing her cause. And although you have neither wielded the sword, nor pointed the cannon in her defence; the pillar of your fame simply ornamented with the *plough and the fleece*, shall prove more durable than one stained with *blood*, and emblazoned with all the *trophies of war*.

Having sent some communications to sir John Sinclair, for the History of Middlesex Agriculture, which the ingenious Mr. Beard has incorporated into his accurate survey; and having been requested, by the worthy president of the board, to continue my communications for the more complete investigation of the subject; in sir John's absence, I take the liberty of addressing a few particulars to you, as secretary to the board, which may be published in the Annals, or incorporated into some future copy of the Survey of Middlesex, or both, as you may judge proper.

In the last paper which I had the honour of communicating to the Annals, I expressed a wish for the establishment of a *national experimental farm*; and although I am

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still of opinion, that the advantages attending such an institution would be great, and more than a counterbalance to the expence; yet, as many difficulties would occur respecting the mode of conducting it and the sum to be allowed by government, it appears to me, that a method of pursuing agricultural experiments might be adopted, without incurring any considerable trouble or expence. Let a number of corresponding members be selected from the principal farmers and landholders, who might be willing to co-operate with the board of agriculture. They might be requested annually to attend a public meeting of the board, when a list of experiments for the ensuing year might be made out, and allotted to the landholders present, according to the nature of the soil they occupied, and the advantages for conducting the experiments, which their situations might respectively admit of. Corresponding members might be selected from situations which command the use of marl, chalk, and lime for the complete investigation of these valuable manures. And in regard to *live stock* and the *utensils of husbandry*, there can be no doubt, but that a sufficient number of farmers might be procured from the leading men in their profession, who could favour the board with such communications, as would tend greatly to ascertain the best instruments for the cultivation of different soils, and the most profitable stock, that can engage the attention of the grazier.

On suckling Calves.

Though Smithfield market is chiefly supplied with fat calves from
X the

the Essex farmers ; yet, on the borders of Middlesex, there are a number of cows kept solely for suckling. This to a gentleman may be considered as the most profitable expenditure of after-grass. Sheep purchased solely to consume the after-grass, where there are no turnips for winter food, are often sold again to a great disadvantage.—Suckling being easily managed by a man, requires no additional expense of a dairy-maid, and the easy access to Smithfield-market, affords a certain sale, if no neighbouring butchers can be dealt with. It is generally reckoned, that calves should pay 5s. a week as sucklers, exclusive of the value of the calf when first dropped. Some value the saleable meat at 6d. per lb. allowing what is called the fifth quarter for the butcher's profit. In order to keep up a regular supply, calves are purchased as sucklers, from a week to three weeks old ; the price varying from 16s. to 1l. 10s. A wide difference is observable in the thriving nature of the calves ; some acquiring a proper degree of fatness for the butcher much sooner than others, though kept on the same food. Could the causes occasioning this difference be discovered, they would be of great consequence to the farmer, in regulating the purchase of sucklers. When the food and treatment is in every respect the same, the difference must be referred to something constitutional in the calf, which it must be difficult to discover, unless connected with a particular breed. The butchers in general are averse to the purchase of the black calves, though there is reason to believe, that the colour of the skin has no influence on the delicacy of the

meat. The ball-faced sucklers are selected by some, in preference to other colours. The calves are confined solely to the milk of the cow ; of which they are allowed a full quantity morning and evening.—Chalk is uniformly placed in lumps in the corner of the calves pens, with a view to render the veal white ; and though this effect should not be clearly ascertained, still, however, the practice may be justified, as contributing to the health of the calf, by correcting that strong acid, which, though common to the young of all animals, seems to be peculiarly powerful in the stomach of the calf. It is customary with the butchers to bleed their calves about two days before they kill them : some bleed them frequently during the time of fattening. Though a new milched cow will give more milk than her calf will consume, yet, to render it completely fat, the assistance of another cow is generally required. The calves are sold at different ages, from eight to ten weeks, the price varying from 2l. 10s. to 3l. 13s. 6d. It is of importance to the farmer, to ascertain the exact age at which the calf should be sold, in order to secure the greatest profit. Some calves will grow, but not fatten ; in this case it is losing money to keep them long, in expectation of their being fat for the butcher. It sometimes happens that a calf, uncommonly voracious, will consume a much larger quantity of milk than any of the others demand, without acquiring growth and fatness corresponding to his proportion of food : such calves are unprofitable if kept to a large size. These observations are of importance, as the butchers in general endeavour

endeavour to persuade the farmers, to defer the sale of their calves as late as possible.

The chief advantage of suckling in winter arises from the great variety of green food, which the farmers may give the cows, without injuring the quality of the milk, particularly cabbages and turnips, which are so well known to communicate, a disagreeable taste to butter. Grains, however, and other forcing food, which give a greater quantity of milk, but of an inferior quality, cannot be used so freely as where cows are kept solely for the pail. It is the quality, and not the quantity of milk which contributes to the nourishment of the calf. I have found, by experience, that cows kept almost entirely on potatoes, will produce too thin a milk to support a thriving suckler.

It may here be observed, that cows kept solely for suckling, are more apt to miss taking the bull, than where they are confined to the dairy, after their own calves are weaned.

Turnips.

The advance of rent and taxes, obliges the Middlesex farmers to make the most of their land, by a quick succession of crops. Turnip-seed is sometimes sown on the wheat stubble, ploughed up immediately after harvest. This crop of stubble turnips, will produce about 3l. 3s. per acre, if sold in spring to the London cow-keepers. The apple will be but small; yet the scarcity of green food at that season renders the tops valuable. This autumn (1793), twelve acres of turnips have been sold for 100l. to

a London cow-keeper, who engaged to clear the crop time enough for wheat. The distance five miles from London.

Potatoes.

Potatoes are cultivated in Middlesex on a large scale. The latter end of April, and beginning of May, are found to be the best seasons for planting this root, unless the very early sorts are to be raised. The sharp frosts, so destructive to vegetation in the spring, will frequently cut down the potatoe shoots if planted early. The sorts chiefly cultivated for the table are the red-nose-kidney, the white-blossom, and the champion. If wheat is to succeed, the champions are preferred, as arriving sooner at maturity, than the kidneys. Some use the plough in taking them up, but in general they are dug up with the spade. The frosts of October frequently cut down the leaves of the potatoe plant. The root however will continue to grow, so long as the sap remains in the stem, so that in a backward season (as the present) the time of taking them up may be deferred to the middle or latter end of November. They are found not to keep well, if taken up too early, while the skin is still soft and tender.

The price of potatoes, when delivered to the London dealers, varies from two guineas to four guineas per ton, according to the quality of the root and the time of delivery. The market generally falls after a supply from Yorkshire arrives in the river. Some of the ox-noble have been cultivated, and sold at a low price to the cow-keepers. The general produce of the potatoe-crop

varies from two to four hundred bushels per acre.

Horse Beans.

The small horse bean is cultivated on the strong lands in the neighbourhood of Harrow and Pinner.—The distance between the rows is about fourteen inches, and the beans are dibbled close in the rows. The culture is very inferior to what is practised in Kent. No horse-hoes are used, nor is the hand-hoeing sufficient to keep down the weeds. But in the succession of crops they are most deficient, a fallow, instead of wheat, succeeding the beans.

Course of crops for Middlesex Agriculture.

The following course of crops will be found particularly advantageous in the vicinity of the London market: and the very considerable returns they ensure, demonstrate the absurdity of suffering land in Middlesex to lie waste and uncultivated. In several counties the manufactures are at a stand, and the poor in want of the common necessities of life. Nothing more clearly proves the importance of encouraging agriculture, which, deriving its support from the more permanent wants of man, is not subject to interruption from the vicissitudes of peace and war, or from the uncertain changes of the human fancy.

	£.	s.
1. Green pease on the clover ley, dunged, and followed by turnips the same year,	- 10	10

Carry forward, 10 10

	£.	s.
Brought forward,	10	10
2. Potatoes, 300 bushels, at 1s.	- 15	0
3. Wheat, 4 qrs. per acre, at 2l. 5s.	£. 90	
Two loads of straw, 22	11	2
4. Winter tares on the wheat stubble, dunged and followed by turnips the same year, The tares sold standing, at -	£. 66	
The turnips, -	33	
5. Barley or oats; the barley, 4½ qrs. the oats, 6 qrs. the straw being included, either crop may be fairly valued at	- 6	0
6. Clover sold to be cut green, at,	£. 66	
After-grass, -	11	

£. 59 8

Which is nearly 10l. per acre, an annual product, without any exhausting rotation of crops; and this for a course of six successive years.—Though the land is supposed to be dressed twice in the course of six years on account of the turnips, yet it would require no great quantity of manure to secure the above return. If the value of the haulm of green pease is considered as a fodder for horses, the total of the pea and turnip crop will generally exceed the above statement.

MINERAL MANURES.—Marl.

A stratum of marl has been discovered in Enfield-Chase, which has been the means of enriching some of the poorest parts of that district. It has been particularly applied with success, by Mr. Bing, member

member for the county, Mr. James, of North Lodge, and Mr. Walker, of Potter's Bar.

Chalk.

Though chalk has not yet been discovered in any considerable quantities in Middlesex, yet it abounds in the neighbouring counties of Kent and Hertfordshire. It is found on Northaw and Cheshunt commons, on the borders of Middlesex, from whence the neighbouring districts of Mims, Barnet, and Enfield, have been supplied with lime.

Lime is sold at 6d. the bushel, delivered at short distances; or at 5d. if bought at the pit. Chalk is sold at the pit, for 2s. the waggon-load. Lime is sold at Bow, at about 5d. the bushel. It is chiefly brought from the coast of Kent. A number of the Essex carts take it as back-carriage, after delivering their hay in the London market. From Bow it is sent by the lime-merchants to various parts of Middlesex; but it is used more for building than agriculture.

London affords an infinite variety of substances, which are used in agriculture as manures.

Woollen rags, at 4l. 17s. per ton.

Sugar-baker's scum, from 5s. to 7s. 6d. per load.

Night soil, 5s. ditto.

Coalashes, from 5s. to 6s. ditto.

Soot, 6d. and 7d. per bushel.

In the neighbourhood of Baldock, in Hertfordshire, they bring soot for their wheat, in broad-wheel waggons from London, to the amount of 300 bushels a load.

Train-oil, and tallow-chandler's graves, the dung of pigeons, rabbits, and poultry, soap-ashes, bones,

and horn-shavings, are sold at various and uncertain prices.

Timber and Underwood.

The oak and the elm, but chiefly the latter, are the prevailing trees of this district. The hedges are frequently formed intirely of the shoots of the elm. A custom too much prevails of nautilating these trees, by stripping them up close to the stem, which must certainly prove injurious to their growth, if the leaves have any influence in imbibing nourishment from the surrounding atmosphere. It has been observed, on cutting down elms, where the year of stripping could be ascertained, that the circle of wood which the tree annually produces, was less on those years than on any others.

There are but few oaks in this district of any size, except what have been saved from the axe for the ornament of gentlemen's pleasure grounds. Here we sometimes find that truly venerable remnant of antiquity, the pollard oak, of immense size, and rugged stem; protecting, with its hospitable shade, the panting flock from the meridian sun. An object the most beautifully picturesque that nature presents to the eye.

On the borders of Middlesex, there are woods of oak, which are cut in rotation, at seven years growth. They are generally purchased for fuel by the London bakers. In the parish of Pinner, within 13 miles of London; on an estate of my own, I have 24 acres of this underwood, which I am gradually training to a timber-grove, by reserving at every fall the most thriving of the young oaks. This

I am persuaded, is the only method of raising timber, which will answer on a smaller scale. I once devoted near thirty acres to a plantation of every species of fir and forest-tree; they were planted at two years old; but I found my plantation sustained so much injury, from sheep being put in secretly in the night time, and from the depredations of other cattle, that I preferred drawing my trees, and letting the land at 12s. per acre. I am apprehensive, that government will find the method they have taken of planting the New Forest, attended with a very precarious success. At the same time, the minister's intention, I doubt not, was highly patriotic and laudable.

Within these last twenty years, several varieties of the poplar have been introduced into Middlesex. The Lombardy, or Po poplar, is much cultivated, as an ornamental plant, in the neighbourhood of London. As a timber-tree, it is but of inferior value, not being able to bear exposure to the weather. For packing-cases, however, and other purposes, where duration of wood is not required, it may prove a cheap and useful substitute for deal. Its growth far exceeds that of any other timber-tree. It is supposed that there are few in England whose age exceeds forty years. It flourishes best on the sides of rivers, and has acquired its name from its long-flamed situation on the banks of the Po.

Of the white and black poplar, the white is most frequent in Middlesex, but the black yields the best timber. The wood of the latter, I can pronounce, from experience, to be excellent for common floors. It is much used for the purposes of

deal in the midland counties. In Worcestershire they reckon that it pays the owner 1s. a year, from the time of its being first planted. When converted into a pollard, the loppings are used for hop-poles. The boards of the poplar are so slow of taking fire, that the flames of a house on fire have been stopped at that part of the building, where the timber of the poplar had been used. They are observed to smoke a long time before they burst into a flame.

Osiers.

There are some flourishing osier-grounds near London, on the banks of the Thames. The quick growth of these aquatics, allows them to be cut every year. The cuttings are sold to the basket-makers, in bundles measuring 42 inches in circumference, at 1s. and 1s. 6d. per bundle. The basket-makers will willingly give 5l. an acre rent, for a good osier ground, thought situated at the distance of ten or twelve miles from London. But the produce of a good bed will frequently amount to 10l. per annum. Considering the small expence necessary for supporting the osier-bed, and that neither the plough nor manure are required to produce an annual crop, there is reason to believe, that land adapted to the growth of aquatics, will ensure a larger profit when planted with osiers, than in any common mode of cultivation.

The *salix vitellina*, or golden willow, and the *salix viminalis*, or green osier, are the sorts used by the basket-makers. The annual growth of these will frequently exceed six feet.

Rivers

Rivers.

In an agricultural survey of Middlesex, the rivers, which contribute so much to the fertility of the land, ought not to be omitted. Being immediately connected with the New River, which takes its course for nearly a mile through my own estate, I shall minute down a few particulars worthy of notice. The New River rises in a rich valley, about half way between Hertford and Ware. The water at the fountain head, which is remarkably clear and pure, collects in a circular basin; it then takes a course through Amwell and Hoddesdon, nearly parallel with the London road; at Cheshunt, Theobalds, and Enfield, it winds through several parks and gardens, not only supplying the inhabitants of those districts with water, but enriching the country with the fertility and beauty of its stream; at Enfield, after passing through White Webb's farm, it just touches on Enfield-chase, and returns immediately through the same farm, in a direction nearly parallel to its former course, and thus encloses completely a large tract of rich meadow-land, which requires no other fence. The mode of conducting streams across vallies was but little understood when this river was first formed, otherwise, so circuitous a course, to preserve the level, would have been unnecessary. On the chase, in its turn, it crosses a narrow vale, which after heavy rains it frequently flooded. The water being obstructed in its course by the banks of the river, would certainly have overflowed and damaged the river water, with the impurities of a land flood, had not this mischief been prevented, by an

arch of brick-work, which is thrown across the river, by means of which the waters collected in the valley, after heavy rains, pass over the stream without injuring it. In a wet season, so large a sheet of water, rushing over the New River, with great noise and impetuosity, forms a very grand cascade.

Between Enfield and London, the New River winds in so singular a manner, that in the course of ten miles you pass it as many times.

The weeds at the bottom of the river are repeatedly cut, and the mud cleared away, in order to preserve the channel free and open for the course of the water. For the care of the banks a walksman is appointed to every two miles. On trying the mud of the New River, in the neighbourhood of Enfield, I found it strongly calcareous; a considerable effervescence ensuing on being mixed with acids. This is owing to the admixture of shells and fresh water snails, which, continually subsiding, give a marly nature to the earth at the bottom of the stream. If we consider that it is now one hundred and eighty years since the river was completed, the quantity of calcareous matter thus accumulated must be considerable. The chalk which abounds in the neighbourhood of Hertford and Ware, where the river rises, may furnish an additional supply of the calcareous earth. On using this river mud, as a manure on meadow land, I have found the pasture sweetened by the great increase of the white clover. The *stole fescue* grass prevails much on the banks of the New River, owing probably to the calcareous mud scraped up from the bottom, and with which the banks are continually repaired.

This grass has been observed to abound in meadows, that have been often flooded with water, which has previously passed over calcareous earth. Land contiguous to rivers ought always to be in grass, both on account of the advantage of water to cattle, and the constant benefit that grass receives from a running stream. The loss, therefore sustained by common field land adjoining to rivers must be considerable, as the course of crops to which they are subject necessarily excludes grass. In the county of Middlesex there are several hundred acres of common field land thus situated, the rental and produce of which might be doubled by enclosure.

The above observations on Middlesex agriculture, I am persuaded would be of no value to the board, if there did not exist a backwardness, in farmers in general, to satisfy the inquiries of gentlemen, on the subject of agriculture. With my best wishes for your success, in your various and important occupations, I remain,

Your obliged humble servant,
ABRAHAM WILKINSON.

Account of some wild cattle in Northumberland. From the same.

THESE are only found in Chillingham-park, belonging to the earl of Tankerville, and as it is probable they are the only remains of the true and genuine breed of that species of cattle, we shall be more particular in our description.

Their colour is invariably white, muzzle black; the whole of the inside of the ear, and about one-third

of the out-side from the tip, downwards, red; horns white, with black tips, very fine, and bent upwards. Some of the bulls have a thin upright mane, about an inch and a half, or two inches long. The weight of the oxen is from 35 to 45 stone, and the cows from 25 to 35 stone, the four quarters; 14lb. to the stone. The beef is finely marbled, and of excellent flavour.

From the nature of their pasture and the frequent agitation they are put into, by the curiosity of strangers, it is scarce to be expected they should get very fat; yet the six years old oxen are generally very good beef; from whence it may be fairly supposed, that in proper situations they would feed well.

At the first appearance of any person they set off in full gallop; and, at the distance of two or three hundred yards, make a wheel round, and come boldly up again, tossing their heads in a menacing manner. On a sudden they make a full stop, at the distance of forty or fifty yards, looking wildly at the object of their surprise; but upon the least motion being made, they all again turn round, and gallop off again with equal speed, but not to the same distance; forming a shorter circle, and again returning with a bolder and more threatening aspect than before, they approach much nearer, probably within thirty yards, when they make another stand, and again gallop off. This they do several times, shortening their distance, and advancing nearer, till they come within a few yards, when most people think it prudent to leave them, not chusing to provoke them farther, as it is probable that in a few turns more they would make an attack.

The

The mode of killing them was, perhaps, the modern remains of the grandeur of ancient hunting. On notice being given, that a wild bull would be killed upon a certain day, the inhabitants of the neighbourhood came mounted, and armed with guns, &c. sometimes to the amount of a hundred horse, and four or five hundred foot, who stood upon walls or got into trees, while the horsemen rode off the bull from the rest of the herd, until he stood at bay; when a marksman dismounted and shot. At some of these huntings, twenty or thirty shots have been fired before he was subdued. On such occasions, the bleeding victim grew desperately furious, from the smarting of his wounds, and the shouts of savage joy that were echoing from every side; but, from the number of accidents that happened, this dangerous mode has been little practiced of late years; the park-keeper alone generally shooting them with a rifled gun, at one shot. When the cows calve, they hide their calves, for a week or ten days, in some sequestered situation, and go and suckle them two or three times a day. If any person comes near the calves, they clap their heads close to the ground, and lie like a hare in form, to hide themselves. This is a proof of their native wildness, and is corroborated by the following circumstance, that happened to the writer of this narrative, who found a hidden calf, two days old, very lean, and very weak. On stroking its head, it got up, pawed two or three times like an old bull, bellowed very loud, stepped back a few steps, and bolted at his legs with all its force; it then began to paw again, bellowed,

stepped back, and bolted as before; but knowing its intention, and stepping aside, it missed me, fell, and was so very weak, that it could not rise, though it made several efforts. But it had done enough, the whole herd were alarmed, and coming to its rescue, obliged me to retire; for the dams will allow no person to touch their calves, without attacking them with impetuous ferocity.

When any one happens to be wounded, or grown weak and feeble through age or sickness, the rest of the herd set upon it; and gore it to death.

Account of some remarkable caves in the principality of Bayreuth, and of the fossil bones found therein. Extracted from a paper sent, with specimens of the bones, as a present to the Royal Society, by his most serene highness the margrave of Anspach, &c. From the Philosophical Transactions.

A Ridge of primeval mountains runs almost through Germany in a direction nearly from west to east; the Hartz, the mountains of Thuringia, the Fichtelberg in Franconia, are different parts of it, which in their farther extent constitute the Riesenberg, and join the Carpathian mountains; the highest parts of this ridge are granite, and are flanked by alluvial and stratified mountains, consisting chiefly of lime stone, marl, and sandstone; such at least is the tract of hills in which the caves to be spoken of are situated, and over these hills the main road leads from Bayreuth to Erlang, or Nuremberg. Half way to this town lies Streitberg, where there is a post,

a post, and but three or four English miles distant from thence are the caves mentioned, near Gailenreuth and Klausstein, two small villages, insignificant in themselves, but become famous for the discoveries made in their neighbourhood.

The tract of hills is there broken off by many small and narrow valleys, confined mostly by steep and high rocks, here and there overhanging and threatening, as it were, to fall and crush all beneath; and everywhere thereabouts, are to be met with objects, which suggest the idea of their being evident vestages of some general and mighty catastrophe which happened in the primeval times of the globe.

The strata of these hills consist chiefly of lime-stone of various colour and texture, or of marl and sandstones. The tract of lime-stone hills abounds with petrifications of various kinds.

The main entrance to the cave at Gailenreuth opens near the summit of a limestone hill towards the east. An arch, near seven feet high, leads into a kind of anti-chamber, 80 feet in length, and 300 feet in circumference, which constitutes the vestibule of four other caves. This anti-chamber is lofty and airy, but has no light except what enters by its open arch; its bottom is level, and covered with black mould; although the common soil of the environs is loam and marl.

By several circumstances it appears, that it had been made use of in turbulent times as a place of refuge.

From this vestibule, or first cave, a dark and narrow alley opens in the corner at the south end, and leads into the second cave, which is

about 60 feet long; 18 high, and 40 broad. Its sides and roof are covered, in a wild and rough manner, with stalactites, columns of which are hanging from the roof, others rising from the bottom, meeting the first in many whimsical shapes.

The air of this cave, as well as of all the rest, is always cool, and has, even in the height of summer, been found below temperate. Caution is therefore necessary to its visitors; for it is remarkable, that people having spent any time in this or the other caverns, always on their coming out again appear pale, which in part may be owing to the coolness of the air, and in part likewise to the particular exhalations within the caves. A very narrow, winding and troublesome passage opens farther into a

Third cave, or chamber of a roundish form, and about 30 feet diameter, covered all over with stalactites. Very near its entrance there is a perpendicular descent of about 20 feet, into a dark and frightful abyss; a ladder must be brought to descend into it, and caution is necessary in using it, on account of the rough and slippery stalactites. When you are down, you enter into a gloomy cave of about 15 feet diameter, and 30 feet high, making properly but a segment of the third cave.

In the passage to this third cave, some teeth and fragments of bones are found; but coming down to the pit of the cave, you are every way surrounded by a vast heap of animal remains. The bottom of this cave is paved with a stalactical crust of near a foot in thickness; large and small fragments of all sorts of bones are scattered every where on the surface.

surface of the ground, or are easily drawn out of the mouldering rubbish. The very walls seem filled with various and innumerable teeth and broken bones. The stalactical covering of the uneven sides of the cave does not reach quite down to its bottom, whereby it plainly appears that this vast collection of animal rubbish, some time ago filled a higher space in the cave, before the bulk of it sunk by mouldering.

This place is in appearance very like a large quarry of sandstones; and, indeed, the largest and finest blocks of osteolithical concretes might be hewn out in any number, if there was but room enough to come to them, and to carry them out. This bony rock has been dug into in different places, and every where undoubted proofs have been met with, that its bed, or this osteolithical stratum, extends every way far beneath and through the limestone rock, into which and through which these caverns have been made, so that the queries suggesting themselves about the astonishing numbers of animals buried here confound all speculation.

Along the sides of this third cavern there are some narrower openings, leading into different smaller chambers, of which it cannot be said how deep they go. In some of them, bones of smaller animals have been found, such as jaw-bones, vertebræ, and tibiæ, in large heaps. The bottom of this cave slopes toward a passage seven feet high, and about as wide, being the entrance to a

Fourth cave, 20 feet high, and 15 wide, lined all round with a stalactical crust and gradually sloping to another steep descent, where the ladder is wanting a se-

cond time, and must be used with caution as before, in order to get into a cave 40 feet high, and about half as wide. In those deep and spacious hollows, worked out through the most solid mass of rock, you again perceive with astonishment immense numbers of bony fragments of all kinds and sizes, sticking every where in the sides of the cave, or lying on the bottom. This cave also is surrounded by several smaller ones; in one of them rises a stalactite of uncommon bigness, being four feet high, and eight feet diameter, in the form of a truncated cone. In another of those side grottoes, a very neat stalactical pillar presents itself, five feet in height, and eight inches in diameter.

The bottom of all these grottoes is covered with true animal mould, out of which may be dug fragments of bones.

Besides the smaller hollows, spoken of before, round this fourth cave, a very narrow opening has been discovered in one of its corners. It is of very difficult access, as it can be entered only in a crawling posture. This dismal and dangerous passage leads into a fifth cave, of near 30 feet high, 43 long, and of unequal breadth. To the depth of six feet this cave has been dug, and nothing has been found but fragments of bones, and animal mould: the sides are finely decorated with stalactites of different forms and colours: but even this stalactical crust is filled with fragments of bones sticking in it, up to the very roof.

From this remarkable cave, another very low and narrow avenue leads into the last discovered, or the

Sixth cave, not very large, and merely covered with a stalactical crust,

crust, in which, however here and there bones are seen sticking. And here ends this connected series of most remarkable osteolithical caverns, as far as they have been hitherto explored; many more may, for what we know, exist, hidden, in the same tract of hills.

Mr. Esper has written a history in German of these caves; and given descriptions and plates of a great number of the fossil bones which have been found there. To this work we must refer for a more particular account of them.

Observations on the fossil bones presented to the Royal Society by his most serene highness the margrave of Anspach, &c. By the late John Hunter, esq. F. R. S. Communicated by Everard Home, esq. F. R. S. From the same.

THE bones, which are the subject of the present paper, are to be considered more in the light of incrustations than extraneous fossils, since their external surface has only acquired a covering of crystallized earth, and little or no change has taken place in their internal structure.

The earths with which bones are most commonly incrustated are the calcareous argillaceous, and siliceous, but principally the calcareous; and this happens in two ways; one the bones being immersed in water in which this earth is suspended; the other, water passing through masses of this earth, which it dissolves, and afterwards deposits upon bones which lie underneath.

Bones which are incrustated seem never to undergo this change in the earth, or under the water, where the soft parts were destroyed; while bones that are fossilized become so in the medium in which they were deposited* at the animal's death. The incrustated bones have been previously exposed to the open air; this is evidently the case with the bones at present under consideration, those of the rock of Gibraltar, and those found in Dalmatia; and from the account given by the abbé Spallanzani, those of the island of Cerigo are under the same circumstances. They have the characters of exposed bones, and many of them are cracked in a number of places, particularly the cylindrical bones, similar to the effects of long exposure to the sun. This circumstance appears to distinguish them from fossilized bones, and gives us some information respecting their history.

If their numbers had corresponded with what we meet with of recent bones, we might have been led to some opinion of their mode of accumulation; but the quantity exceeds any thing we can form an idea of. In an inquiry into their history three questions naturally arise: did the animals come there and die? or were their bodies brought there, and lay exposed; or were the bones collected from different places? The first of these conjectures appears to me the most natural; but yet I am by no means convinced of its being the true one.

Bones of this description are found in very different situations, which makes their present state

* Bones that have been buried with the flesh on acquire a stain which they never lose; and those which have been long immersed in water receive a considerable tinge.

more difficultly accounted for. Those in Germany are found in caves. The coast of Dalmatia is said to be almost wholly formed of them, and we know that this is the case with a large portion of the rock of Gibraltar.

If none were found in caves, but in solid masses covered with marl or limestone, it would then give the idea of their having been brought together by some strange cause, as a convulsion in the earth, which threw these materials over them; but this we can hardly form an idea of; or if they had all been found in caves, we should have imagined these caves were places of retreat for such animals, and had been so for some thousands of years: and if the bones were those of carnivorous animals and herbivorous, we might have supposed that the carnivorous had brought in many animals of a smaller size which they caught for food; and this, upon the first view, appears to have been the case with those which are the subject of this paper; yet when we consider that the bones are principally of carnivorous animals, we are confined to the supposition of their being only places of retreat. If they had been brought together by any convulsion of the earth, they would have been mixed with the surrounding materials of the mountains, which does not appear to be the case; for although some are found sticking in the sides of the caves incrusting in calcareous matter, this seems to have arisen from their situation in the cave. Such accumulation would have made them coeval with the mountains themselves, which, from the recent state of the bones I should very much doubt,

The difference in the state of the bones shews that there was probably a succession of them for a vast series of years; for, if we consider the distance of time between the most perfect having been deposited, which we must suppose were the last, and the present time, we must consider it to be many thousand years, and if we calculate how long these must still remain to be as far decayed as some others are, it will require many thousand years, a sufficient time for a vast accumulation: from this mode of reasoning, therefore, it would appear that they were not brought here at once in a recent state.

The animal earth, as it is called, at the bottom of these caves, is supposed to be produced by the rotting of the flesh, which is supposing the animals brought there with the flesh on; but I do conceive, that if the caves had been stuffed with whole animals, the flesh could not have produced one-tenth part of the earth, and to account for such a quantity as appears to be the produce of animals. I should suppose it the remains of the dung of animals who inhabited the caves, and the contents of the bowels of those they lived upon. This is easily conceived from knowing that there is something similar to it, in a smaller degree, in many caves in this kingdom, which are places of retreat for bats in the winter, and even in the summer, as they only go abroad in the evening; these caves have their bottoms covered with animal earth, for some feet in depth, in all degrees of decomposition, the lowermost the most pure, and the uppermost but little changed, with all the intermediate degrees: in which
caves

caves are formed a vast number of stalactites; which might encrust the bones of those that die there.

The bones in the caves of Germany are so much the object of the curious, that the specimens are dispersed throughout Europe, which prevents a sufficient number coming into the hands of any one person to make him acquainted with the animals to which they belong.

From the history and figures given by Esper, it appears that there are the bones of several animals; but what is curious, they all appear to have been carnivorous, which we should not have expected. There are teeth in number, kind, and mode of setting, exactly similar to the white bear, others more like those of the lion; but the representations of parts, however well executed, are hardly to be trusted to for the nicer characters, and much less so when the parts are mutilated.

The bones sent by his highness the margrave of Anspach agree with those described and delineated by Esper as belonging to the white bear; how far they are of the same species among themselves, I cannot say; the heads differ in shape from each other; they are, upon the whole, much longer for their breadth than in any carnivorous animal I know of; they also differ from the present white bear, which, as far as I have seen, has a common proportional breadth; it is supposed, indeed, that the heads of the present white bear differ from one another, but for the truth of this assertion I have not seen heads enough of that animal to determine.

The heads not only vary in shape, but also in size, for some of them, when compared with the recent white bear, would seem to have belonged to an animal twice its size, while some of the bones correspond in size with those of the white bear, and others are even smaller*.

There are two *ossa humeri*, rather of a less size than those of the recent white bear; a first vertebra, rather smaller; the teeth also vary considerably in size, yet they are all those of the same tribe; so that the variety among themselves is not less than between them and the recent. In the formation of the head, age makes a considerable difference; the skull of a young dog is much more rounded than an old one, the ridge leaning back to the occiput, terminating in the two lateral ones, hardly exists in a young dog; and among the present bones there is the back part of such a head, yet it is larger than the head of the largest mastiff, how far the young white bear may vary from the old, similar to the young dog, I do not know, but it is very probable.

Bones of animals under circumstances so similar, although in different parts of the globe, one would have naturally supposed to consist chiefly of those of one class or order in every place, one principle acting in all places. In Gibraltar they are mostly of the ruminating tribe, of the hare kind, and the bones of birds; yet there are some of a small dog or fox, and likewise shells. Those in Dalmatia appear to be mostly of the ruminating tribe, yet I saw a part of the *os hyoides* of a

* It is to be understood, that the bones of the white bear that I have, belonged to one that had been a show, and had not grown to the full or natural size; and I make allowance for this in my assertion, that the heads of those incrustated appear to belong to an animal twice the size of our white bear.

horse; but those from Germany are mostly carnivorous. From these facts we should be inclined to suppose, that their accumulation did not arise from any instinctive mode of living, as the same mode could not suit both carnivorous and herbivorous animals.

In considering animals respecting their situation upon the globe, there are many which are peculiar to particular climates, and others that are less confined, as herrings, mackerel, and salmon; others again, which probably move over the whole extent of the sea, as the shark, porpus, and whale tribe; while many shell-fish must be confined to one spot. If the sea had not shifted its situation more than once, and was to leave the land in a very short time, then we could determine what the climate had formerly been by the extraneous fossils of the stationary animals, for those only would be found mixed with those of passage; but if the sea moves from one place to another slowly, then the remains of animals of different climates may be mixed, by those of one climate moving over those of another, dying, and being fossilized; but this I am afraid cannot be made out. By the fossils we may, however, have some idea how the bones of the land animals fossilized may be disposed with respect to those of the sea.

If the sea should have occupied any space that never had been dry land prior to the sea's being there, the extraneous fossils can only be those of sea-animals; but each part will have its particular kind of those that are stationary mixed with a few of the amphibia, and of sea-birds, in those parts that were the skirts of the sea. I shall suppose that when

the sea left this place it moved over land where both vegetables and land-animals had existed, the bones of which will be fossilized, as also those of the sea animals; and if the sea continued long here, which there is reason to believe, then those mixed extraneous fossils will be covered with those of sea-animals. Now if the sea should again move and abandon this situation, then we should find the land and sea fossils above-mentioned disposed in this order; and as we begin to discover extraneous fossils in a contrary direction to their formation, we shall first find a stratum of those animals peculiar to the sea, which were the last formed, and under it one of vegetables and land animals, which were there before they were covered by the sea, and among them those of the sea, and under this the common earth. Those peculiar to the sea will be in depth in proportion to the time of the sea's residence and other circumstances, as currents, tides, &c.

From a succession of such shiftings of the situation of the sea, we may have a stratum of marine extraneous fossils, one of earth, mixed probably with vegetables and bones of land animals, a stratum of terrestrial extraneous fossils; then one of marine production; but from the sea carrying its inhabitants along with it, wherever there are those of land-animals there will also be a mixture of marine ones; and from the sea commonly remaining thousands of years in nearly the same situation, we have marine fossils unmixed with any others.

All operations respecting the growth or decomposition of animal and vegetable substances go on more readily on the surface of the earth

earth than in it; the air is most probably the great agent in decomposition and combination, and also a certain degree of heat. Thus the deeper we go into the earth, we find the fewer changes going on; and there is probably a certain depth where no change of any kind can possibly take place. The operation of vegetation will not go on at a certain depth, but at this very depth a decomposition can take place, for the seed dies, and in time decays; but at a still greater depth, the seed retains its life for ages, and when brought near enough to the surface for vegetation, it grows. Something similar to this takes place with respect to extraneous fossils; for although a piece of wood or bone is dead, when so situated as to be fossilized, yet they are sound and free from decomposition, and the depth, joined with the matter in which they are often found, as stone, clay, &c. preserves them from putrefaction, and their dissolution requires thousands of years to complete it; probably they may be under the same circumstances as in a vacuum; the heat in such situations is uniform, probably in common about 52° or 53° , and in the colder regions they are still longer preserved.

I believe it is generally understood that in extraneous fossils the animal part is destroyed; but I find that this is not the case in any I have met with.

hells and bones of fish, most probably have the least in quantity, having been longest in that state, otherwise they should have the most; for the harder and more compact the earth, the better is the animal part preserved; which is an argument in proof of their having been

the longer in a fossil state. From experiment and observation, the animal part is not allowed to putrefy, it appears only to be dissolved into a kind of mucus, and can be discovered by dissolving the earth in an acid; when a shell is treated in this way, the animal substance is not fibrous or laminated, as in the recent shell, but without tenacity, and can be washed off like wet dust; in some, however, it has a slight appearance of flakes.

In the shark's tooth, or glosso-petra, the enamel is composed of animal substance and calcareous earth, and is nearly in the same quantity as in the recent; but the central part of the tooth has its animal substance in the state of mucus, interspersed in the calcareous matter.

In the fossil bones of sea-animals, as the vertebræ of the whale, the animal part is in large quantity, and in two states; the one having some tenacity, but the other like wet dust: but in some of the harder bones it is more firm.

In the fossil bones of land-animals, and those which inhabit the waters, as the sea-horse, otter, crocodile, and turtle, the animal part is in considerable quantity. In the stags horns dug up in Great Britain and Ireland, when the earth is dissolved, the animal part is in considerable quantity, and very firm. The same observations apply to the fossil bones of the elephant found in England, Siberia, and other parts of the globe; also those of the ox kind; but more particularly to their teeth, especially those from the lakes in America, in which the animal part has suffered very little; the inhabitants find little difference in the ivory of such tusks from the recent, but

but its having a yellow stain ; the cold may probably assist in their preservation.

The state of preservation will vary according to the substance in which they have been preserved ; in peat and clay I think the most ; however, there appears in general a species of dissolution ; for the animal substance, although tolerably firm, in a heat a little above 100°, becomes a thickish mucus, like dissolved gum, while a portion from the external surface is reduced to the state of wet dust.

In incrustated bones, the quantity of animal substance is very different in different bones. In those from Gibraltar there is very little ; it in part retains its tenacity, and is transparent, but the superficial part dissolves into mucus.

Those from Dalmatia give similar results when examined in this way.

Those from Germany, especially the harder bones and teeth, seem to contain all the animal substance natural to them, they differ however among themselves in this respect.

The bones of land-animals have their calcareous earth united with the phosphoric acid instead of the aerial, and I believe, retain it when fossilized, nearly in proportion to the quantity of animal matter they contain.

The mode by which I judge of this, is by the quantity of effervescence ; when fossil bones are put into the muriatic acid it is not nearly so great as when a shell is put into it, but it is more in some, although not in all, than when a recent bone is treated in this way, and this I think diminishes in proportion to the quantity of animal substance they retain ; as a proof of

this, those fossil bones which contain a small portion of animal matter, produce in an acid the greatest effervescence when the surface is acted on, and very little when the centre is affected by it ; however, this may be accounted for by the parts which have lost their phosphoric acid, and acquired the aerial, being easiest of solution in the marine acid, and therefore dissolved first, and the aerial acid let loose.

In some bones of the whale the effervescence is very great ; in the Dalmatia and Gibraltar bones it is less ; and in those the subject of the present paper it is very little since they contain by much the largest proportion of animal substance.

Account of a spontaneous inflammation, by Isaac Humfries, esq. in a letter from Thomas B. Woodman, esq. to Geo. Atwood, esq. F. R. S. from the same.

Ewell, June 9, 1794.

Dear sir,

I Inclose you the extract of the letter from Isaac Humfries, esq. a gentleman resident in India, and employed in the company's service, which relates to the circumstance of the fire I lately mentioned to you.

And am, yours, &c.

THOMAS B. WOODMAN.

“ On going into the arsenal, a few mornings since, I found my friend Mr. Golding, the commissary of stores, under the greatest uneasiness, in consequence of an accident which had happened the pre-

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ceding

ceding night. A bottle of linseed oil had been left on a table, close to which a chest stood, which contained some coarse cotton cloth; in the course of the night the bottle of oil was thrown down, and broken on the chest (by rats most probably), and part of the oil ran into the chest, and on the cloth: when the chest was opened in the morning, the cloth was found in a very strong degree of heat, and partly reduced to tinder, and the wood of the box discoloured, as from burning. After a most minute examination, no appearance of any other inflammable substance could be found, and how the cloth could have been reduced to the condition in which it was found, no one could even conjecture. The idea which occurred, and which made Mr. Golding so uneasy, was, that of an attempt to burn the arsenal. Thus matters were when I joined him, and when he told me the story and shewed me the remainder of the cloth. It luckily happened, that in some chemical amusements, I had occasion to consult Hopson's book a very few days before, and met with this particular passage, which I read with a determination to pursue the experiment at some future period, but had neglected to do so. The moment I saw the cloth, the similarity of circumstances struck me so forcibly, that I sent for the book and shewed it to Mr. Golding, who agreed with me, that it appeared sufficient to account for the accident. However, to convince ourselves, we took a piece of the same kind of cloth, wetted it with linseed oil, and put it into a box, which was locked and carried to his quar-

ters. In about three hours the box began to smoke, when, on opening it, the cloth was found exactly in the same condition as that which had given us so much uneasiness in the morning; and on opening the cloth, and admitting the external air, it burst into fire. This was sufficiently convincing: however, to make it more certain, the experiment was three times tried, and with the same success."

P. S. The passage Mr. Humphries alludes to, is in page 629 of Hopson's Chymistry, where, in a note, you will find mention made of a set of chymical experiments made on inflammable substances by a Mr. Georgi, of the Imperial academy of Petersburg, in consequence of the burning of a Russian frigate at Cronstadt, in 1781, although no fire had been made on board of her for five days before.

Description of a new species of warbler, called the Wood Wren, observed in May, 1792, by Mr. Thomas Lamb, A. L. S. from the Transactions of the Linnean Society.

THE length is five inches and a half; bill horn-colour; upper mandible bent at the tip, and rather longer than the under; irides hazel; nostrils beset with bristles; top of the head, neck, back, and tail coverts olive-green; throat and cheeks yellow, paler on the breast; belly and vent of a most beautiful silvery white; through the eye passes a yellow line; wings and coverts brown, edged with green; the tail consists of twelve feathers, rather forked, and of a brown colour,

lour, edged with green on the exterior webs, and with white on the interior, the first feather wanting the green edge; under part of the shoulder, bright yellow; legs rather more than an inch long, of a horn-colour; claws paler.

This is undoubtedly a new species in England, and I believe a non-descript: it inhabits woods, and comes with the rest of the summer warblers, and in manners is much the same, running up and down trees in search of insects.

I heard it first, early in May, in Whitenight's Park, near Reading; it was there hopping about on the upper branch of a very high pine, and having a very singular and single note, it attracted my attention, being very much like that of the *Emberiza Miliaria* (Linn.), but so astonishingly shrill, that I heard it at more than a hundred yards distance: this it repeated once in three or four minutes.

I never heard these birds before last spring, and nevertheless I have heard nine in the course of a month; four in Whitenight's Park, and five in my tour to the Isle of Wight, viz. one in a wood at Stratfield-sea, one at East Stratton-park, two in the New Forest, and one in a wood near Highclere: I have not heard it since June 6.—Colonel Montague informed me, he had met with it in Wiltshire, and had called it the Wood Wren; it has also been heard near Uxbridge.

It differs from the *Motacilla Hippolais* (Linn.), in being much larger, of a finer green colour on the upper parts, and more beautiful white beneath; also in the yellow streak passing through the eye, which in the *Hippolais* passes above and below the eye. It differs also from

the *Motacilla Trochilus* (Linn.) in being larger, and white on the under parts, which are yellow in the *Trochilus*. The three which I opened were all males: I shall still continue my researches for the female with the nest and eggs; and if I should at any time meet with them, I shall with pleasure submit my observations to the Linnean Society.

Objections against the perceptivity of plants, so far as is evinced by their external motions, in answer to Dr. Percival's memoir in the Manchester Transactions, by Robert Townson, esq. F. R. S. Edinburgh; from the same.

HOWEVER sanguine we may be in our expectations of extending the limits of human knowledge, we cannot avoid perceiving, that there are boundaries which it never can exceed. These boundaries are the limited faculties of the human mind, which, though fully sufficient to answer all the purposes of common life, are an insuperable barrier to the enquiries of speculative men. None feel more the truth of this observation, than those engaged in physiological enquiries; the operations of nature being so complicated, and at the same time carried on in so secret a manner, as to keep us ignorant of the most common phenomena.

If physiologists have been unsuccessful in many of their enquiries into the animal economy, they have been still more so with respect to vegetables: for how little do we know at this day of the course of their fluids, and of the power by which they are moved? Are we

not in the vegetable kingdom where we were near two centuries ago in the animal, when the great *Harvey* withdrew the veil?

The many beautiful analogies existing between the two organized kingdoms of nature, their similar origin from egg to seed, their subsequent developement, and nourishment by intus-susception; the power of continuing their species, the limited time of their existence, and, when not carried off by disease and premature death, possessing in themselves the cause of their own destruction; have been so favourable to the supposition of the existence of a complete chain of beings, that there appeared to the favourers of this opinion nothing to be wanting to connect them, but the loco-motive faculty; for irritability, from phenomena in a few vegetables, had been granted them by some. This loco-motive faculty, which is considered as a consequence of volition, which is an attribute of mind, they say, * is manifested in the direction of the roots towards the soil which affords them their most proper nourishment, and in the direction of the tender shoots and leaves towards the light, which is likewise necessary to their well-being. These facts are admitted, but not the consequence drawn from them.

It must indeed be allowed, that vegetables do on some occasions act as though possessed of volition, avoiding those things that are injurious to them, and turning towards those that are beneficial; thus appearing to act by choice, which must be preceded by perceptivity,

a favour that nature has granted, I think to the animal world alone. The following are brought as examples† :

A palm-tree twenty feet high, growing upon the top of a wall, straitened for nourishment in that barren situation, directed its roots down the side of the wall, till they reached the ground ten feet below. It has been amply repaid, say they, for its trouble ever since, by plenty of nourishment, and a more vigorous vegetation has been the consequence. On another occasion, a plant being placed in a dark room, where light was admitted only through an aperture, put forth its shoots towards the aperture, which elongating passed through it; and this likewise was rewarded for it trouble, by plenty of light and free air.

That appearances so similar to those that are observed in animals, should be considered as proceeding from the same cause, viz. volition, is not to be wondered at, when so many of the inferior orders of animals hardly possess so much of the loco-motive faculty; particularly by men of warm imaginations, who, prepossessed in favour of an opinion, were grasping at every distant analogy to support it. Though, as I have said, we are by no means acquainted with the course of their proper fluids (*succi proprii*), or with the power by which they are moved, nor even can say by what power it is that the fluids, which are its food, are taken in: yet so far we know, that here, as in the animal economy, there is a constant change and evolution of their

* Dr. Percival, Manchester Transactions. † Manchester Transactions.

fluids, and that a constant supply is necessary, without which they soon perish. This supply, so necessary, must be taken in by absorption: and it is this act of absorption that I shall endeavour to prove to be the efficient cause of these motions in vegetables, and thus exclude volition from having any causation in these phenomena; for it is from their not having been explained upon mechanical principles, that mind has been resorted to. Mind is in general our last resource, when we fail in explaining natural phenomena. I could wish that physiologists were agreed upon the kind of absorption which takes place here, whether it be by active open-mouthed vessels, which in the common opinion takes place in the animal economy, or by capillary attraction, which is the most general opinion in the vegetable; but the theory I shall offer to the consideration of the Linnean Society will agree with either.

The first consideration is—That an inert fluid is in motion.

Secondly—That, possessing no motion in itself, it owes this motion to the plant.

Thirdly—That as action and reaction are equal, whilst the plant draws the fluid towards itself, it must be drawn towards the fluid, and that in the reverse ratios of their respective resistances.

Now whether this absorption be performed by vessels acting as in the animal economy, or by vessels of the nature of capillary tubes, is of little moment, provided only that an absorption be admitted; for it is evident, that if action and reaction be the same, the absorbed fluids, which possess no motion in

themselves, cannot be put in motion by the open-mouthed active vessels, without being drawn in the direction of the absorbed fluids.—But should we prefer the theory which explains this absorption by capillary attraction, which theory I think is the most prevalent, we shall still find that the absorbing vessels are drawn towards the fluid. This is equally true as evident, whether applied to that simple hydraulic instrument, the straw, through which the school-boys sucks, or to the most complicated machine of the natural philosopher.—These principles will, I think, be sufficient to explain those appearances in vegetables which have served as a foundation, or have been considered as signs of their perceptivity and volition, and which, as far as I have learnt, have never been attempted to be explained, viz. the direction of their roots towards the soil which affords them the best nourishment, and the young and tender shoots towards the light: for here is an absorption of water and light. The absorption of water is easily ascertained; but that of light, by its subtleness, eludes our experiments, with probably many other fluids of great importance to the healthy state of the vegetable world. But to make the connexion more complete between the two organic kingdoms, it has not only been found that plants move towards their food like wise and intelligent beings, but they likewise turn aside from those soils, &c. which are injurious to them, or at least afford them but a scanty nourishment. This is a deception: it is only the immediate consequence of their motion towards

their nourishment; for when the root of a tree or plant changes its course, on account of meeting with a rock, or with a hard, stiff, and barren clay, or other object that does not afford it proper nourishment, it is owing not to any dereliction of these objects, but to no attraction from absorption acting in that direction, but one from a more favourable soil. The smallness of the resistance of these fluids cannot be urged against this theory: the motion to be explained is only the tendency of the nascent shoots, no one having pretended that the solid wood could alter its direction; and this power, however feeble, is always acting. I am not ignorant, that these are not the only motions which are thought to announce the perceptivity of plants. The motions observed in the stamina and other parts at the time of fecundation, the spiral direction of the stems of some, * the use of the cirrhi of others, and the bursting of the capsules, have all, with many other powers, been thought to favour this opinion. These are but powers nature has bestowed upon them for their preservation and production, which can no more be considered as the consequence of volition, than the fall of their leaves at stated periods, their growth and decay, which have never been considered as the consequence of mind, any more than the increase or destruction of

animal bodies, the efficient cause of which may for ever remain unknown.

When all is considered, I think we shall place this opinion amongst the many ingenious flights of the imagination, and soberly follow that blind impulse which leads us naturally to give sensation and perceptivity to animal life, and to deny it to vegetables; and so still say with Aristotle, and our great master Linnæus—*Vegetabilia crescunt et vivunt; animalia crescunt, vivunt, et sentiunt.*

Observations and inquiries made upon and concerning the coal-works at Whitehaven in the county of Cumberland, in the year 1793. By Joseph Fisher, M. D. fellow of the royal physical society in Edinburgh. From the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy.

IN the neighbourhood of Whitehaven are two coal-works or collieries, called Howguill and Whinguill. The first lies on the south-west part of the town, and the present works extend from the town towards the south about two miles and a half, reaching nearly to the valley called Sandwith, and in breadth about one mile and a half, viz. from a rivulet called the Powbeck on the east side to about nine

* I have read, and heard it more than once asserted, that the *Lonicera* and other plants with the *caulis volubilis*, which are twisted either *dextrorsum* or *sinistrorsum*, can change this natural direction: so that when two *Lonicere*, or two branches of the same *Lonicera*, meet, the one turns to the right, the other to the left, that they may afford to each other a better support. This is a mistake, and, if true, would only counteract the intention of nature, which is a mutual support; for this would prevent their uniting so firmly together. Some of the *cirrhi* of the *Bryonia*, &c. turn to the right, others to the left, but do not accommodate one another.

hundred yards under the sea towards the west, making in area about two thousand four hundred acres. This is the extent of the present workings, and is asserted to be the most extensive colliery in Great Britain.

In this colliery are now discovered five workable seams or bands of coal, besides several smaller seams which are not worth the working.

In the pit named King-pit, which is the deepest pit in this colliery, or in Great Britain, the first seam or band is called the Crow-coal, which is two feet two inches thick. It lies at the depth of sixty yards.

The second seam or band is called the Yard-band, in thickness four feet six inches, and lies at the depth of one hundred and sixty yards.

The third seam is called the Bannock-band, about eight feet thick, including two metals, which are about twelve inches thick. It lies at the depth of two hundred yards.

The fourth seam is called the Main or Prior-band, which is from ten to twelve feet thick, and about two hundred and forty yards deep.

The fifth seam is called the Six-quarters coal, about five feet thick. It lies at the depth of three hundred and twenty yards. No part of this last seam has been yet wrought.

What other seams lie below these are yet unknown. No trial has been made above twenty yards below the fifth seam, which makes the greatest perpendicular depth hitherto sunk to be three hundred and forty yards below the earth's surface.

It would not be difficult to perceive, before any coals were got, that this tract of land contained seams or bands of coal, because the Bannock or third seam, and the

Main-band or fourth seam, before-mentioned, have burst out, as it is termed, at Whitehaven; that is, they shew themselves in several places on the sloping surface of the earth, on the west side of the valley leading from Whitehaven to St. Bees. To the southward of this colliery, these seams of coal are also thrown much nearer the surface by what is called upcast dykes (words which will be hereafter explained) the largest of which is about forty yards.

At a pit called Wilson's pit, which is the most southern pit in this colliery, the Main-band, or fourth seam, before-mentioned, lies only about one hundred and forty yards below the surface; whereas at King-pit, as before stated, it lies one hundred yards deeper, or about two hundred and forty yards.

It appears, that at the first beginning to work this colliery, a level or water-course has been driven from the rivulet called Powbeck, near the copperas-work, to the south of the town about three hundred yards.

The course of this level is to the full dip or descent of the colliery, which is nearly due west, until it cuts or intersects the Bannock-band, or third seam of coal before-mentioned. This level effectually drained about three hundred yards in length, and about one hundred yards in breadth, water level course, in this seam. The extent of coals thus drained is called a winning. The depth of the pits in this winning or extent is from twenty to sixty yards.

The second winning or extent drained, has been effected by driving a level from the surface of the Powbeck, near a farm called Thick-

et, farther southward than the first winning. By continuing this level to the westward, they have cut or intersected the Main-band or fourth seam before-mentioned, about four hundred yards to the dip or west of the outburst or appearance of this coal at the surface.

This level drained about a thousand yards in length, water level course, and four hundred yards in breadth, or dip and rise course; and also something more in breadth in the Bannock-band seam of coal.

The coals obtained from these two winnings or extents must have been very considerable.

At that time the coals were drawn out of the pits by men with jack-rolls or windlasses, and laid up in banks, from whence they were carried to the ships upon the backs of little horses in pack-loads, each pack-load containing what is called a Cumberland bushel, consisting of twenty-four gallons, and each weighing about fourteen stones.

Having obtained as much coal as they could by these two levels, the third winning was made at a place now called Ginns, which is a village or hamlet near Whitehaven on the south-west.

Horizontal vertical wheels were erected here, called Ginns, by which they drew the coals with horses out of the pits, which before was done by men with windlasses or jack-rolls.

A few houses being built here, in consequence, for the colliers and workmen, became a considerable village, now known by the name of Ginns.

With these ginns or vertical wheels both water and coals were drawn from the pits; but drawing the water thus, by horses and these

vertical wheels, became too expensive, so that the coals drawn would not pay for the expences incurred. To remedy this, the late sir James Lowther purchased the materials of an engine in London, which had been formerly used there for raising water to supply the city. Report says, that this was the second steam-engine which was erected in England. The materials were sent in a ship from London to Whitehaven, where they were put together and fixed upon a pit near Ginns. The depth of this pit is about fifty-six yards from the earth's surface to the Main-bank, or fourth seam of coals. This engine had a copper boiler about ten feet in diameter, with a lead top, a brass cylinder twenty-eight inches in the diameter, and wooden pumps eight inches in diameter, with a brass working barrel.

As the number of pits was increased the water augmented, until at length it was judged necessary to erect another engine with greater powers than the first. By these two engines the water was drained from a considerable extent of the Yard-band, Bannock-band, and Main-band, seams of coals, which, being thus laid water free, supplied the town and export market for many years.

The pit, called Parker's pit, about half a mile from what is called the Staith, (a place to hold a large quantity of coals) which is near the harbour, was won in the Yard-band seam by these engines.

It was from this pit that the first waggon-way (as it is called) was laid in this country. A waggon-way is a road for a waggon with four wheels to run upon. It is made with wood laid down fast on

on each side of the road, at a proper distance, for the solid iron wheels of the waggon to move upon; the wheels are confined from running off from the wood by a protuberant rim of iron on the interior side of each wheel. The road is made so as to have a gentle descent along its whole length, so that the loaden waggon runs from the pit to the staith without any horse to draw it; where the descent is so much that the motion would be too quick, a man, who is mounted behind the waggon, by pressing down upon one wheel a piece of wood, called the convoy, which is fixed to the waggon for that purpose, can restrain the too rapid motion and regulate it properly.

A horse is used to draw the empty waggon back again to the pit from the staith, by an easy ascent along another similar waggon-way, laid along the side of the former at about three feet distance; thus it is so contrived, that the loaden and empty waggons never meet or interfere with each other.

The staith is a large wooden building on the west side of the town adjoining to the harbour and covered in. In this staith are fixed five hurries or spouts, at such a distance from each other, that a ship of three hundred tons burden can lie under each hurry and receive a loading at one time. The staith is about thirty-seven feet above the level of the quay, and when the waggons arrive there, the bottom of each waggon is drawn out and the coals are dropped from thence into the hurry or spout under it, through which they run down into the ship laid below to receive her loading. The hurries or spouts lie with an

inclining slope of about forty-five degrees.

When there are no ships ready to receive coals they are deposited in the staith, which will contain about six thousand tons, Dublin measure, or three thousand waggon loads. These coals thus deposited are once more put into waggons and dropped through the hurries or spouts into ships, when there are more vessels than the usual daily supply of coals will load. There have been two hundred waggon loads, or four hundred Dublin tons, shipped from the pits in one day, and an equal quantity on the same day from the staith, making in the whole about eight hundred tons, Dublin measure.

By the contrivance of waggons and waggon-roads, one horse carries as much coals at once as twenty-four horses used to do upon their backs before this invention.

The fourth winning or extent of coal drained was made about eighty years ago, at a place called Saltom near the sea, about a mile south-west of Whitehaven. This was a very expensive undertaking; it was, however, deemed absolutely necessary, as on the completion of this depended the future success of this colliery. A fire-engine was therefore erected here with a twelve feet boiler, a cylinder forty inches in diameter, and a pump seven inches in diameter. The pumps were divided into four sets or lifts, the pit being one hundred and fifty-two yards in perpendicular depth. It was perceived necessary, however, a few years afterwards, to erect a second steam-engine in this place, of the same dimensions as the first, because the water was increased very

very considerably by sinking several new pits.

The fields of coal already drained by these two engines have been explored from north to south about three miles, and may probably be extended about three miles more when wanted. The coal now drained, and ready to be wrought in the several working pits at present, will serve for about twenty years, according to the quantity now drawn. Pits, however, being in some time naturally exhausted, it is thought prudent now and then to drive what is called trial drifts, in order to explore the fields of coal, and to find proper places where to make new pits, when the same may be wanted.

About twelve years ago, these two engines being nearly worn out, a new one was erected at Saltom, capable of drawing more water than the two old ones. It has two boilers, each fifteen feet in diameter, a cylinder seventy inches in diameter, and a working-barrel eleven inches and a half. It can draw all the water in eight hours which is produced in summer in twenty-four hours, and in winter it requires double that time as there is double the quantity of water. This engine was repaired about three years ago at a very great expence, with a new cylinder, new regulating beam, and new cylinder and spring beams. At this time it is admitted, by several professional men who have examined it, to be the best engine of the size within the kingdom. Its maximum in working is fifteen strokes, each six feet and a half long, in a minute; each stroke draws twenty-seven gallons of water, that is, four hundred and five

gallons per minute, or nine thousand two hundred and forty hogsheds every hour.

All the bands or seams of coal in this colliery dip or descend nearly due west, sloping towards the horizon with a descent of one yard in eight to one in twelve, and the seams are always and invariably equally distant from each other, whatever be the depth. However, though these seams of coal are thus always equally distant from each other, yet they are not equally deep from the earth's surface. The seams, as before-mentioned, constantly dip or descend towards the west, and rise towards the east, till at length they shew themselves in some places on or near the earth's surface.

Besides this general descent or ascent, the seams are in some places abruptly broken off by a bed of stone or other matter of a considerable thickness, betwixt the coal, and which there is generally a cavity or hollow called at Whitehaven a gut. When a seam of coal is thus interrupted by the interposition of other matter, the workmen know that they will find the same seam either above or below this place, or, as they term it, they know that the seam is thrown either upward or downward. In order to know whether the seam of coal will be found above or below, they endeavour to discover which way the stone or other separating matter hangs or slopes. If it recedes from the coal, sloping ever so little upwards, they conclude that the seam of coal is thrown upwards (as they call it), that is, in such a case the seam is always found above the break. If the slope be hanging over the coals, sloping towards the surface,

surface, then the seam of coal is said to be thrown downwards, and is found below the break. The real fact is, that in some former time there has been some great convulsion of the earth, in which all the superincumbent covering matter, consisting of seams or beds of stone, coals, or other materials, have been moved upwards in all such chasms or breaks, leaving the seam or bed of coal below, in one part, where it was at the time the dreadful convulsive motion happened. Hanging over, and sloping upwards, or downwards, are only relative terms, depending upon which side of the interposed matter you arrive at. Where any seam or field-coal seems thus to end, the interposing matter hangs or slopes one way on one side of the matter, and the contrary on the other side, so that the superincumbent matter, with the seam of coals, has been invariably thrown upwards by the convulsion, whilst the remaining part of the bed has been left as it was before the motion.

Whitehaven collieries abound with what they there call Dykes, that is, beds of stone of a considerable thickness, which separate one field of coal from another. The principal ones run in a direction nearly east and west. They divide the seams of coal into fields, as they are called, that is, separate tracts of coal almost like the fields or inclosures of a farm. These dykes or separations are very useful, by restraining the water or inflammable air from flowing out of any adjoining field of coal, where no works are going on, into another where men are working, until it is found convenient to cut through or work a new field.

Without these dykes, it would frequently be very difficult to keep the works from being overcharged with water, but it is sometimes very troublesome and expensive to cut through them, being of a considerable thickness. Where the covering of superincumbent matter is not of so great a thickness, which is towards the rise of the seam or field, there pillars of coal are left from five to ten yards square, and the workings are from three to four yards wide, so that about one-half of the coal is taken away, and the other half left to support the earth above. Where the coals lie from one hundred and fifty to three hundred yards deep, and especially where the coal is drawn from under the sea, the pillars are left from sixteen to twenty yards square, so that about one-third part of the coal is taken, and two-third parts are left to support the roof.

Whitehaven colliery is not so much loaden with water as the collieries about Newcastle and other flat countries are, where they are not able, by what is called day levels, to take away the top water, called surface-seeds, as is practised at Whitehaven.

The coal-works at Whitehaven have produced, and still do produce, greater quantities of inflammable air, commonly called damp, than any other coal-work known. This seems to arise from the coal lying at a greater depth below the level of the sea than any other known colliery. This observation holds invariably true both here and about Newcastle, that in all coal-works lying above the level of the sea little or no inflammable air is perceived, except in the guts of the dykes, that is, in the cavities or hollows betwixt the fields

fields of coal and the dykes or beds of stone which separate the fields. The quantity of inflammable air appears to bear proportion to the depth of the works below the level of the sea.

When they began to sink the coal-pits at Whitehaven so deep that coals were drawn from below the level of the sea, inflammable air was found in such quantities, that it frequently took fire from the flame of the candles used by the workmen under ground, which caused violent and dangerous explosions, by which numbers of the workmen were burned and maimed, and by which several lost their lives. Mr. Spedding, a late eminent engineer and director of the coal-works at Whitehaven, discovered that sparks produced from flint and steel were not nearly so productive of these explosions, by kindling the inflammable air, as the flame of candles was. He therefore contrived a machine, composed so that by being turned about by a wheel it struck a great number of flints against steel in a perpetual succession. This gives a light sufficient for the workmen to work by in such depths as the inflammable air abounds in, whereby the danger is greatly abated. Without this or some similar contrivance the deepest coal-works would probably before this have been totally given up, as being so dangerous to the men employed.

It is now about one hundred and fifty years since coals are supposed to have been first raised here for exportation. What the quantity exported has been at different periods cannot now be well ascertained. Within the last twenty years the export trade has increased above one-third part of what it now is. White-

haven colliery has produced for a few years last past from one hundred thousand to one hundred and twenty thousand tons, Dublin measure, yearly. Two tons contain about a chaldron and a quarter, London measure. In general, a Whitehaven waggon of coals contains two Dublin tons, each ton weighing from twenty-one to twenty-two hundred weight. The best coals are invariably the lightest. One-third part of the main band seam, which lies in the middle thereof, would, if separated, be as good as the best Newcastle coal. The bank or bottom is worse in quality, but when mixed, they are allowed to be the best coals raised in the county of Cumberland.

On the south-west side of Whitehaven, in the part called Preston-Isle, there appears to be coal enough to supply exportation at the present rate for near two hundred years to come. There are three day holes, called Bear-mouths, where the men and horses go from the surface down a sloping cavern to the works; they are made into the different seams of coal. By these entrances horses are daily brought down to draw the coals from the places where they are hewn, in waggons, along a waggon-way under the ground, made as before-mentioned, to the bottom of the respective pits, where they are put into baskets, and drawn perpendicularly up to the earth's surface by steam-engines, through a space of near three hundred yards in depth in some places. Each engine performs what twenty-four horses used to do formerly. The men also walk up and down these caverns to and from their work, which is much easier and less troublesome than being let down and drawn up through

through the pits each night and morning, which was formerly done. In short, every thing is most wonderfully contrived to save labour and expence

On the similarity between the physiology of plants and animals; from Sullivan's View of Nature, &c.

OF the essence and properties of life we are personally ignorant. What life really is, seems too subtle for our understandings to conceive, or our senses to discern. All animals are endowed with sensation, or at least with irritability, which last has been considered as a distinguishing character of animal existence. We acknowledge sensation in organized bodies, when we perceive they have organs similar to our own, or when they act, in certain circumstances, in the same manner as we act. If an organized being have eyes, ears, a mouth, we naturally conclude it enjoys the same sensations, as these organs convey to us. If we see another being, whose structure exhibits nothing analogous to our organs of sensation, yet contracting with rapidity when touched, directing its body uniformly to the light, seizing small insects with tentacula, or a kind of arms, and conveying them to an aperture placed at its anterior end, we hesitate not to pronounce it to be animated. Cut off its arms, deprive it of the faculty of contracting and extending its body, the nature of this being will not be changed; but we shall be unable to determine whether it possesses any portion of life. This is nearly the condition of the small sections of a polypus, before their

heads begin to grow. The wheel-animal, the eels in blighted wheat, and the snails recorded in the Philosophical Transactions, afford instances of every appearances of sensation, and even of irritability, being suspended, not for months, but for several years, while yet the life of these animals is not extinguished, for they uniformly revive upon a proper application of heat and of moisture. If, then, we have no other criteria to distinguish life, than motion, sensation, and irritability, the animals just mentioned, continuing in a state for years, which every man would pronounce to be perfectly dead, life may probably exist in many bodies which are commonly thought to be as inanimate as stones.

Wherever there is a vascular system, containing a moving nutritive *succus*, there is life; and wherever there is life, there may be, for aught we can prove to the contrary, a more or less acute perception. The same kind of comparative reasoning, that would exclude vegetables from the faculty of perception, might equally exclude from animality, those animals which are provided with the most obtuse senses, when compared with such as are furnished with the most numerous, and most acute. The perception of man seems to be infinitely greater, when compared with that of corallines, sea-pens, and oysters, than the perception of these, which are allowed to be animals, when compared with the signs of perception manifested by a variety of what are called vegetable. Should I not rather call one of the blooming, gentle, and affectionate daughters of humanity, the sister of the lily of the valley, or of the rose, than of the muscle or

of

of the barnacle? Spunges open and shut their mamillæ; corals, and sea-pens, protrude, or draw back their suckers; shell-fish open or keep close their shells in search of food, or avoidance of injury; and it is from these muscular motions, we judge the beings to which they belong to have perception, that is, to be animals.

In the vegetable kingdom, the *muscular motion* of many plants may be observed to be to the full as definite and distinguishable, as those of the class of animals just mentioned. The plants called *heliotropæ*, turn daily round with the sun; by constantly presenting their surfaces to that luminary, they seem as desirous of absorbing a nutriment from its rays, as a bed of oysters does from the water, by opening their shells upon the afflux of the tide. The *flores solares*, are as uniform in their opening and shutting, as animals are in their times of feeding and digesting: some, in these motions, do not observe the seasons of the year, but expand and shut up their flowers, at the same hour in all seasons; others, like a variety of insects, which appear or not, according to the heat of the weather or climate, open later in the day, or do not open at all, when they are removed from a southern to a more northern latitude. Trefoil, wood sorrel, mountain ebony, wild senna, the African marigold, &c. are so regular in folding up their leaves before rainy weather, that they seem to have a kind of instinct of foresight, similar to that of ants. And what is still more extraordinary, vegetables appear to be a sort of *hygrometers*, for in several there is found a contorsion of the fibres, which answers, in every respect,

this purpose. The fibres of the plants, being affected by the quality of the air, the spiral part twists, or untwists, as the weather varies, and that the degrees of dryness or moisture of the atmosphere are to be observed. Young trees in a thick forest are found to incline themselves towards that part through which the light penetrate, as plants are observed to do in a darkened chamber, towards a stream of light let in through an orifice, and as the ears of corn do towards the south.

The roots of plants are also known to turn away with a kind of abhorrence from whatever they meet with which is hurtful to them; and to desert their ordinary direction, and to tend with a kind of natural and irresistible impulse towards collections of waters placed within their reach. Many plants experience convulsions of their stamina, upon being slightly touched. Whatever can produce any effect upon an animal organ, as the impact of external bodies, heat and cold, the vapour of burning sulphur, of volatile alkali, want of air, &c. is found to act also upon the plants called sensitive. But, we will not insist upon any farther instances of that class. We have already noticed many, which seem far superior in quickness to those of a variety of animals. Now, to refer the muscular motions of shell-fish, and zoophytes, to an internal principle of volition; to make these indicative of the perceptivity of the being; and to attribute the more notable ones of vegetables to certain mechanical dilatations and contractions of parts, occasioned by external impulse, is to err against the rule of philosophising, which assigns the same causes for effects of the

the same kind. The motions, in both cases, are equally accommodated to the preservation of the being to which they belong; are equally distinct and uniform; and should be equally derived from mechanism, or equally admitted as criteria of perception. The generation, nutrition, organization, life, health, sickness, and death of plants, establish no discriminative characteristic between them and animals. A communication of sexes, in order to produce their like, belongs to certain vegetables, as well as to certain animals. Expiration and inspiration, a kind of larynx and lungs, perspiration, imbibition, ar-

teries, veins, lacteals, and probably a circulating fluid, appertain to vegetables, as well as to animals. Life belongs alike to both kingdoms, and seems to depend upon the same principle in both. Both are incapable of assimilating to their proper substance, all kinds of food; for fruits are found to taste of the soil, just as the milk, and flesh, and bones, and urine of animals, often give indications of the particular pabulum with which they have been fed. Both die of old age; from excess of hunger or thirst; from external injuries; from intemperance of weather; or from poisoned food.

USEFUL PROJECTS.

Account of a method of curing burns and scalds, by Mr. David Cleg-horn, brewer in Edinburgh, communicated in three letters to John Hunter, esq. F.R.S. surgeon-general to the army, &c. and by him to Dr. Simmons. From Medical Facts.

MY first application and most powerful remedy is vinegar. If the injury is on the fingers, hands, or lower parts of the arms, the application may very properly be made by an immersion of the parts. Formerly, I used also to immerse the feet and lower part of the legs, when injured, in a pail containing vinegar: but, although no material bad consequence ensued from this practice, I found that, by placing the legs in a perpendicular posture, the sores were more apt to swell and inflame, than when they were laid up and supported in an horizontal one. When therefore the feet or legs are injured, or when the injury falls on the thighs, the body, the face, or head, where immersion would be inconvenient or impracticable, the method I follow, (and which I find very effectual) is to pour some vinegar into a plate or flat-edged dish, and to dip linen rags in the vinegar, and lay them or let them

drip on the sores. This operation of alternately dipping the rags and laying them on the parts affected, is repeated so quickly, that the parts are kept constantly wet, or rather overflowing, with the vinegar, and the plates are placed so as to receive or catch as much of it as possible; and I continue to use what falls back again into the plates for some time, till it has become somewhat vapid, when I throw it out, and pour into the plates a new supply of fresh vinegar. I have known two English quarts of vinegar used in this way, to a large scald on the legs in four or five hours; and, if the sores have a large surface, and are on the body, under which the plates cannot be so placed as to prevent it from spilling, a larger quantity still of the vinegar will be needed. So cooling and grateful are the effects of this application, while any considerable degree of pain or heat remains, and so immediately does the uneasiness return when it is too early discontinued, that the patients themselves seldom fail of giving their active assistance in this operation of wetting the parts affected.

In slight or superficial injuries, by which I mean such as are attended with no excoriation, but with pain, heat, or inflammation, and

and perhaps with small blisters, the vinegar, if early and constantly applied, is sufficient to effect a cure without any other application. It almost instantly gives relief, and in two or three hours, and often in a much shorter time, the patient will be quite at ease. The application of the vinegar may then be intermitted; but, as some degree of pain and heat may possibly return, and if not attended to, might yet produce a sore, the vinegar must be applied as often as any painful sensation returns; and, to make sure, it ought to be continued now and then for a day after. In short, it is always prudent, even in these slight cases, to use the vinegar long, and in abundant quantities.

In most instances, such slight injuries, as those I now speak of, are healed without ever breaking out into a sore; if however, through neglect of using the vinegar speedily, or not continuing it long enough, and in sufficient quantities, from something peculiar in the patient's constitution, or any other cause, the injury should degenerate into a sore, it will readily be healed by the application of chalk and poultices in the manner hereafter to be mentioned.

In severe burns and scalds which have recently happened, and which are attended with large blisters, excoriations, or loss of substance, the vinegar must be constantly applied till the heat and pain nearly cease, which will happen in from two to eight hours, according as the injury is more or less severe.—The sores must then be covered with rags or cloths well wetted, which, as often as they dry, or any sensation of pain or heat returns, must be wetted afresh with

the vinegar for two, three, or four hours.

In the worst cases I have ever met with, the pain became tolerable soon after the vinegar was applied; and in ten, or at most twelve hours, the patients were so much at ease, that in general they fell into a sound sleep.

When I first began this practice, I used to keep the wetted rags on the sores, without any other application, sometimes for two or three days; but experience showed me, that, after the pain and heat peculiar to burns and scalds were removed, the vinegar excited smarting in the tender excoriated skin; and was in fact of no farther use; I therefore never employ it longer than twelve hours, excepting on the parts round the edges, or outside of the sores, which I foment with it for a minute or two before the dressings to be afterwards mentioned, as long as they continue in any degree swelled or inflamed.

The wetted rags being removed, the sores must next be healed with other applications; and the first dressing I use, is a common poultice made of bread and milk, with a little sweet oil or fresh butter in it. I lay the poultice close to the sore, and use no gauze or cambric between them. The first dressing should remain six, or at most eight hours; and when it is removed, the sores must be covered entirely with chalk finely pounded or scraped (for, instead of pounding the chalk, I generally hold a lump of it over the sores, and scrape it with a knife upon them) till the powder has absorbed the matter or ichor from the sores, and appears quite dry all over them; a fresh poultice

is then laid over the whole, and the same sort of dressing with chalk and poultice is repeated morning and evening till the sores are healed.

In some cases, after the second or third day, if the sores are on a part of the body where it is difficult to keep the poultice from shifting, I use, instead of it, a plaster, pretty thickly spread, of the white lead ointment, through the day, (covering the sores previously with chalk), and chalk and poultices through the night, as already directed. I also use the same kind of white ointment, occasionally, through the day, when I think the constant renewal of poultices has softened and relaxed the sores too much; a circumstance which, notwithstanding the absorbent quality of the chalk, will, at times, in some degree, happen.

In cases where there are large blisters, before I apply the vinegar, I open them with a pin or lancet in different parts, and gently press the water out of them with a linen cloth. The intention of this is to bring the vinegar to act more closely upon the burnt flesh, and I have found it to have an excellent effect.

Whilst any of the skin of the blisters remains on the sore, matter will form and lurk under it, which cannot be reached and absorbed by the chalk. New punctures, therefore, must be made at every dressing, whenever matter (which must be gently pressed out with a cloth) is seen lurking; and as soon as the skin has lost its toughness, so much that it can be separated from the sore without irritating it, which in general is the case on the second or third day, it ought to be gently

and gradually picked off when the sores are dressed, and plenty of chalk instantly laid on to prevent any bad effects the air might have on sores in a state so highly susceptible of injury.

In severe cases, or such as are attended with excoriation or loss of substance, when the vinegar is not applied within twenty-four hours of the time the accidents happen, it almost always gives considerable pain; but, if the patient can endure it, the sores may safely be wetted all over for a quarter or half an hour, or even much longer. The smarting is no doubt a little irksome, but it is worst at first, and, at any rate, goes off immediately upon discontinuing the vinegar, and leaves the sores in a much cooler or less inflamed state. If the patient, however, cannot, or will not bear the vinegar on the raw and tender parts of the sore, I then cover those parts close with a plaster of the white ointment, and wet all round them with the vinegar, for a quarter or half an hour, or longer. The ointment is then taken off, and the sores are covered with the powdered chalk, and a poultice laid over all; and they are afterwards to be treated, in all respects, till they heal, as the severer sort of sores, to which the vinegar has been early applied, are already directed to be, after the pain and heat have left them.

The vinegar I prefer, is that made of the best white wine; but any sort that has enough of acid will answer, provided there be no admixture of any mineral acid. In severe cases I generally warm the vinegar before I use it, to nearly blood-heat, especially in cold weather, and where a great deal of it must

must be employed. When it is applied cold, and in great quantities, it is apt to bring on a chilliness and shivering, which I have always removed readily by wetting the feet with cloths dipped in warm water, and giving the patient a little warm water to drink, with some spirits added to it, so as to be rather stronger than good punch. If the arms or hands are badly injured, I keep them, during the cure, always slung; and, if the legs, I endeavour to support them so as to procure as much ease to the patient as possible.

Besides many people scalded with boiling water, &c. I have cured a variety of burns, occasioned by melted lead and brass, liquid pig iron, red-hot bar iron, the flames of spirits, burning coals, linen, &c. quick lime, and by the explosion of gunpowder; and there is no part of the body that one or other of my patients has not been burnt or scalded on.

One child, in going backwards, was thrown down by a pot standing on the floor, newly taken off the fire, and almost full of boiling broth, and fell into, or rather sat down in it, and scalded in a very bad manner his anus, scrotum, and parts adjacent; but was healed in a surprisingly short time, the vinegar having been early applied: and a blacksmith once was relieved and cured, who was in great agony from a spark of hot iron which flew into his eye from a piece he was striking on an anvil. In this case, the vinegar was diluted with water to one-half of its strength, and the patient let some of it into the eye. He also kept the eye shut, and bathed it with vinegar of a full strength.

In what manner my applications act, so as to prevent marks and scars, I do not pretend to explain; but I uniformly observed that, when used in time, they entirely check suppuration in all slight cases, and that even in many severe ones, pus or matter is hardly ever seen. In deep burns too, attended with loss of substance, the discharge must appear astonishingly little to those who have been accustomed to see sores cured in the ordinary way.—It has been commonly remarked, that burns and scalds spread or enlarge for eight or ten days; but, with my treatment, they visibly enlarge from the beginning. The new skin begins to form round the extremities of even a bad sore, sometimes so early as the second day; and in the middle, where there has been a loss of substance, the new flesh shoots up from the bottom with rather a fungous appearance, the surface of it being unequal, somewhat resembling heads of pins, or the candying of honey (but of a flesh colour), and continues gradually to grow till it rises to the height of the sound flesh around it, when the skin forms at once without incrustation.—When I began the practice, indeed, (I do not speak of the face, my treatment of it, and the effects thereof having always been much the same,) I used the vinegar in bad cases much longer than I do now, and did not apply the poultices for twenty-four hours, or oftentimes more; a dry scab, stained by the vinegar of a black ink-colour (easily accounted for), would then form over all the excoriated places, and under it there was always matter. The poultices which were then applied, brought off the

scab generally in a lump the third or fourth dressing, and a very tender bleeding sore, was thus exposed, which I instantly laid very thick over with scraped chalk and poultices. After this, the very same method was observed which I now follow, and the sores healed without a second scab or incrustation, and without mark or scar, as they do now. As I know little of theories, I cannot say, whether these circumstances when duly considered, will confirm or contradict, or throw any new light on the received opinion concerning the use of suppuration in the production of new flesh; but this I can safely affirm, that I have neither advanced any thing that has not actually happened in the course of my long experience; nor have I exaggerated, to my knowledge, any of the circumstances of the cases I have related, as I trust, you will in due time be convinced of from your own experience.

With regard to diet, I allow my patients to eat boiled or roasted fowl, or, in short, any plain dressed meat they like; and I do not object to their taking (with moderation however) wine, water and spirits, ale, or porter. My applications, as have been already observed, allay pain and inflammation; and also always either prevent or remove feverishness; and as at the same time (if one may judge from their effects) they have powerful antiseptic virtues: I have never had occasion to order bark, or any internal medicine whatever, and I have only once thought it necessary to let blood. When a patient is costive, I order boiled pot barley and prunes, or some other laxative nourishing food, and

sometimes an injection, but never any purgatives. It is distressing for a patient with bad sores to be often going to stool. Besides, I remarked that weakness and languor (which never in my opinion hasten the cure of any sore) are always brought on more or less by purgatives. From the effects too I have felt them have on myself, and observed them to have on others, they do not seem to me to have so much tendency to remove heat and feverishness as is generally imagined; and I suspect that, contrary to the intention of administering them, they oftener carry off useful humours than hurtful ones. But I am going out of my depth, and exposing myself to criticism, by speaking on a subject that I surely must be very ignorant of; I will, therefore, return to my vinegar. I have already said, that I always prefer wine vinegar, when it is to be had, I have however, used, with very good effect, vinegar made of sugar, gooseberries, and even alegar; but whichever of them is taken, it ought to be fresh and lively tasted.

I once made some trials (on a burn I met with myself) of oil of vitriol diluted with water, and of different degrees of strength; but I found its effects to be the very reverse of vinegar, for it increased the pain and heat even when it was pretty much diluted. I make no doubt, that distilled vinegar might do; but since the common sort, when fresh and good, has in every case been so efficacious, there seems to be no occasion to attempt improving upon it; and, as acids are of a pungent penetrating nature, perhaps it would not be safe to apply one too strong to a raw and tender sore. Even the common

mon vinegar, only by being used too cold, affected two of my patients with tremblings and chilliness, which alarmed me a good deal. I removed these symptoms indeed (as I before-mentioned) very readily, by warming the patient's feet with cloths dipped in warm water, and giving them warm water and spirits to drink; but ever since I have been careful to use precautions against the like symptoms, particularly in cold weather, by warming the vinegar a little, placing the patients near a fire, giving them something warm internally, and, in short by keeping them in every respect in a comfortable condition.

In any slight case it is not necessary to heat the vinegar, and seldom in severe ones, if the injury is on the hands or face. Were it not for the chilling effects, it ought to be used cold on every part, because heating weakens it, and hastens its becoming ravid during the application; when used warm, it must, therefore be the oftener thrown out and replaced with a fresh supply.

If the vinegar is introduced into hospitals, tubs (resembling bathing tubs, but shallower) that would hold a patient at full length would be useful in cases of universal burns and scalds. A mattress, or something soft, should be made to fit the tub, and the patient ought to be extended on it, and as much warm vinegar poured into the tub as would wet all the under part of the body and the sides, and the upper part might be wetted with cloths. I never met with such a case; but from the success I have uninterruptedly had, I should not be afraid of undertaking almost any case.

Account of a curious surgical operation, long practised in India with success, of affixing a new nose on a man's face.

COWASJEE, a Mahratta, of the cast of husbandmen, was a bullock-driver with the English army in the war of 1792, and was made a prisoner by Tippoo, who cut off his nose and one of his hands. In this state, he joined the Bombay army near Seringapatam, and is now a pensioner of the honourable East-India company. For above twelve months he remained without a nose, when he had a new one put on by a man of the brick-maker cast, near Poonah. This operation is not uncommon in India, and has been practised from time immemorial. Two of the medical gentlemen, Mr. Thomas Cruso, and James Trindlay, of the Bombay presidency, have seen it performed, as follows: a thin plate of wax is fitted to the stump of the nose, so as to make a nose of a good appearance. It is then flattened, and laid on the forehead. A line is drawn round the wax, and the operator then dissects off as much skin as it covered, leaving undivided a small slip between the eyes. This slip preserves the circulation till an union has taken place between the new and old parts. The cicatrix of the stump of the nose is next pared off, and immediately behind this raw part an incision is made through the skin, which passes around both *alæ*, and goes along the upper lip. The skin is now brought down from the forehead, and, being twisted half round, its edge is inserted into this incision, so that a nose is formed with a double hold

above, and with its *ala* and *septum* below fixed in the incision. A little *terra japonica* is softened with water, and being spread on slips of cloth, five or six of these are placed over each other, to secure the joining. No other dressing but this cement is used for four days. It is then removed, and cloths dipped in ghee (a kind of butter) are applied. The connecting slips of skin are divided about the 25th day, when a little more dissection is necessary to improve the appearance of the new nose. For five or six days after the operation, the patient is made to lie on his back; and, on the tenth day, bits of soft cloth are put into the nostrils, to keep them sufficiently open. This operation is very generally successful. The artificial nose is secure, and looks nearly as well as the natural one; nor is the scar on the forehead very observable after a length of time.

An account of some experiments upon coloured shadows. By lieutenant-general sir Benjamin Thompson, count of Rumford, F. R. S. In a letter to sir Joseph Banks, baronet, P. R. S. from the Philosophical Transactions.

Dear sir,

SINCE my last letter, being employed in the prosecution of my experiments upon light, I was struck with a very beautiful, and what to me appeared to be a new appearance. Desirous of comparing the intensity of the light of a clear sky, by day, with that of a common wax candle, I darkened my room, and letting the day-light from the north, coming through a hole near the top

of the window-shutter, fall at an angle of about 70° upon a sheet of very fine white paper, I placed a burning wax candle in such a position, that its rays fell upon the same paper, and as near as I could guess, in the line of reflection of the rays of day-light from without; when interposing a cylinder of wood, about half an inch in diameter, before the centre of the paper, and at the distance of about two inches from its surface, I was much surprised to find that the two shadows projected by the cylinder upon the paper, instead of being merely shades without colour, as I expected, the one of them, that which corresponding with the beam of day-light, was illuminated by the candle, was *yellow*; while the other, corresponding to the light of the candle, and consequently illuminated by the light of the heavens, was of the most beautiful *blue* that it was possible to imagine. This appearance, which was not only unexpected, but was really in itself in the highest degree striking and beautiful, I found, upon repeated trials; and after varying the experiment in every way I could think of, to be so perfectly permanent, that it is absolutely impossible to produce two shadows at the same time from the same body, the one answering to a beam of day-light, and the other to the light of a candle or lamp, without these shadows being coloured, the one *yellow*, and the other *blue*.

The experiment may very easily be made at any time by day, and almost in any place, and even by a person not in the least degree versed in experimental researches. Nothing more is necessary for that purpose than to take a burning candle into a darkened room in the day time,

time, and open one of the window-shutters a little, about half or three quarters of an inch for instance; when the candle being placed upon a table or stand, or given to an assistant to hold, in such a situation that the rays from the candle may meet those of day-light from without, at an angle of about 40° , at the surface of a sheet of white paper, held in a proper position to receive them, any solid opaque body, a cylinder, or even a finger, held before the paper, at the distance of two or three inches, will project two shadows upon the paper, the one blue, and the other yellow.

If the candle be brought nearer to the paper, the blue shadow will become of a deeper hue, and the yellow shadow will gradually grow fainter; but if it be removed farther off, the yellow shadow will become of a deeper colour, and the blue shadow will become fainter; and the candle remaining stationary in the same place, the same varieties in the strength of the tints of the coloured shadows may be produced merely by opening the window-shutter a little more or less and rendering the illumination of the paper by the light from without stronger or weaker. By either of these means, the coloured shadows may be made to pass through all the gradations of shade, from the deepest to the lightest, and *vice versa*; and it is not a little amusing to see shadows, thus glowing with all the brilliancy of the purest and most intense prismatic colours, then passing suddenly through all the varieties of shade, preserving in all the most perfect purity of tint growing stronger and fainter, and vanishing and returning at command.

With respect to the causes of the colours of these shadows, there is

no doubt but they arise from the different qualities of the light by which they are illuminated; but how they are produced, does not appear to me so evident. That the shadow corresponding to the beam of day-light, which is illuminated by the yellow light of a candle, should be of a yellowish hue, is not surprising: but why is the shadow corresponding to the light of the candle, and which is illuminated by no other light than the apparently white light of the heavens, *blue*? I at first thought that it might arise from the blueness of the sky; but finding that the broad day-light, reflected from the roof of a neighbouring house covered with the whitest new fallen snow, produced the same blue colour, and, if possible, of a still more beautiful tint, I was obliged to abandon that opinion.

To ascertain with some degree of precision the real colour of the light emitted by a candle, I placed a lighted wax candle, well trimmed, in the open air, at mid-day, at a time when the ground was deeply covered with new fallen snow, and the heavens were overspread with white clouds; when the flame of the candle, far from being white, as it appears to be when viewed by night, was evidently of a very decided yellow colour, not even approaching to whiteness. The flame of an Argand's lamp, exposed at the same time in the open air, appeared to be of the same yellow hue. But the most striking manner of shewing the yellow hue of the light emitted by lamps and candles, is by exposing them in the direct rays of a bright meridian sun. In that situation the flame of an Argand's lamp, burning with its greatest brilliancy, appears in the form of a dead yellow semi-transparent smoke. How

transcendantly pure and inconceivably bright the rays of the sun are, when compared to the light of any of our artificial illuminators, may be gathered from the result of this experiment.

It appearing to me very probable, that the difference in the whiteness of the two kinds of light, which were the subjects of the foregoing experiments, might, some how or other, be the occasion of the different colours of the shadows, I attempted to produce the same effects by employing two artificial lights of different colours; and in this I succeeded completely.

In a room previously darkened, the light from two burning wax candles being made to fall upon the white paper at a proper angle, in order to form two distinct shadows of the cylinder, these shadows were found not to be the least coloured; but upon interposing a pane of yellow glass, approaching to a faint orange colour, before one of the candles, one of the shadows immediately became *yellow*, and the other *blue*. When two Argand's lamps were made use of instead of the candles, the result was the same; the shadows were constantly and very deeply coloured, the one yellow approaching to orange, and the other blue approaching to green. I imagined that the greenish cast of this blue colour was owing either to the want of whiteness of the one light, or to the orange hue of the other, which it acquired from the glass.

When equal panes of the same yellow glass were interposed before *both* the lights, the white paper took an orange hue, but the shadows were, to all appearance, without the least tinge of colour; but *two*

panes of the yellow glass, being afterwards interposed, before one of the lights, while only *one* pane remained before the other, the colours of the shadows immediately returned.

The result of these experiments having confirmed my suspicions, that the colours of the shadows arose from the different degrees of whiteness of the two lights, I now endeavoured, by bringing day-light to be of the same yellow tinge with candle-light, by the interposition of sheets of coloured glass, to prevent the shadows being coloured when day-light, and candle-light were together the subjects of the experiment; and in this I succeeded. I was even able to reverse the colours of the shadows, by causing the day-light to be of a deeper yellow than the candle-light. In the course of these experiments I observed that different shades of yellow given to the day-light produced very different and often quite unexpected effects: thus one sheet of the yellow glass interposed before the beam of day-light, changed the yellow shadow to a lively violet colour, and the blue shadow to a light green; two sheets of the same glass nearly destroyed the colours of both the shadows; and three sheets changed the shadow which was originally yellow to blue, and that which was blue to a purplish yellow colour.

When the beam of day-light was made to pass through a sheet of blue glass, the colours of the shadows, the yellow as well as the blue, were improved and rendered in the highest degree clear and brilliant; but when the blue glass was placed before the candle, the colours of the shadows were very much impaired.

In

In order to see what would be the consequence of rendering the candle light of a still deeper yellow, I interposed before it a sheet of yellow or rather orange-coloured glass, when a very unexpected and most beautiful appearance took place; the colour of the yellow shadow was changed to orange, the blue shadow remained unchanged, and the whole surface of the paper appeared to be tinged of a most beautiful violet colour, approaching to a light crimson or pink; almost exactly the same hue as I have often observed the distant snowy mountains and valleys of the Alps to take about sunset. Is it not more than probable, that this hue is in both cases produced by nearly the same combinations of coloured light? in the one case, it is the white snow illuminated at the same time by the purest light of the heavens, and by the deep yellow rays from the west; and in the other, it is the white paper illuminated by broad day-light, and by the rays from a burning candle, rendered still more yellow by being transmitted through the yellow glass. The beautiful violet colour which spreads itself over the surface of the paper will appear to the greatest advantage, if the pane of orange-coloured glass be held in such a manner before the candle, that only a part of the paper, half of it for instance, be affected by it, the other half of it remaining white.

To make these experiments with more convenience, the paper, which may be about 8 or 10 inches square, should be pasted or glued down upon a flat piece of board, furnished with a ball and socket upon the hinder side of it, and mounted upon a stand, and the cylinder should be fastened

to a small arm of wood, or of metal, projecting forward from the bottom of the board for that purpose. A small stand, capable of being higher or lower as the occasion requires, should likewise be provided for supporting the candle; and if the board with the paper fastened upon it be surrounded with a broad black frame, the experiments will be so much the more striking and beautiful. For still greater convenience, I have added two other stands for holding the coloured glass through which the light is occasionally made to pass, in its way to the white surface upon which the shadows are projected. It will be hardly necessary to add, that in order to the experiments appearing to the greatest advantage, all light, which is not absolutely necessary to the experiment, must be carefully shut out.

Having fitted up a little apparatus according to the above directions, merely for the purpose of prosecuting these inquiries respecting the coloured shadows, I proceeded to make a great variety of experiments, some with pointed views, and others quite at random, and merely in hopes of making some accidental discovery that might lead to a knowledge of the causes of appearances which still seemed to me to be enveloped in much obscurity and uncertainty.

Having found that the shadows corresponding to two like wax candles were coloured, the one blue, and the other yellow, by interposing a sheet of yellow glass before one of them; I now tried what the effect would be when blue glass was made use of instead of yellow, and I found it to be the same; the shadows were still coloured, the one blue

blue, and the other yellow, with the difference, however, that the colours of the shadows were reversed, that which, with the yellow glass, was before yellow being now blue, and that which was blue being yellow.

I afterwards tried a glass of a bright amethyst colour, and was surprised to find that the shadows still continued to be coloured blue and yellow. The yellow, it is true, had a dirty purple cast; but the blue, though a little inclining to green, was nevertheless a clean, bright, decided colour.

Having no other coloured glass at hand to push these particular inquiries farther, I now removed the candles, and opened two holes in the upper parts of the window-shutters of two neighbouring windows, I let into the room from above two beams of light from different parts of the heavens, and placing the instrument in such a manner that two distinct shadows were projected by the cylinder upon the paper, I was entertained by a succession of very amusing appearances. The shadows were tinged with an infinite variety of the most unexpected, and often most beautiful colours; which continually varying, sometimes slowly, and sometimes with inconceivable rapidity, absolutely fascinated the eyes, and commanding the most eager attention, afforded an enjoyment as new as it was bewitching. It was a windy day, with flying clouds, and it seemed as if every cloud that passed brought with it another complete succession of varying hues, and most *harmonious* tints. If any colours could be said to predominate it was purples; but all the varieties of browns, and almost all the other colours I ever

remembered to have seen, appeared in their turns, and there were even colours which seemed to me to be perfectly new.

Reflecting upon the great variety of colours observed in these last experiments, many of which did not appear to have the least relation to the apparent colours of the light by which they were produced, I began to suspect that the colours of the shadows might, in many cases, notwithstanding their apparent brilliancy, be merely an optical deception, owing to contrast, or to some effect of the other neighbouring colours upon the eye. To determine this fact by a direct experiment, I proceeded in the following manner. Having, by making use of a flat ruler instead of the cylinder, contrived to render the shadows much broader, I shut out of the room every ray of day-light, and prepared to make the experiment with two Argand's lamps, well trimmed, and which were both made to burn with the greatest possible brilliancy; and having assured myself that the light they emitted was precisely of the same colour, by the shadows being perfectly colourless which were projected upon the white paper, I directed a tube about 12 inches long, and near an inch in diameter, lined with black paper, against the centre of one of the broad shadows; and looking through this tube with one eye, while the other was closed, I kept my attention fixed upon the shadow, while an assistant repeatedly interposed a sheet of yellow glass before the lamp whose light corresponded to the shadow I observed, and as often removed it. The result of the experiment was very striking, and fully confirmed my suspicions with respect to the fallacy of

of many of the appearances in the foregoing experiments. So far from being able to observe any change in the shadow upon which my eye was fixed, I was not able even to tell when the yellow glass was before the lamp, and when it was not: and though the assistant often exclaimed at the striking brilliancy and beauty of the blue colour of the very shadow I was observing, I could not discover in it the least appearance of any colour at all. But as soon as I removed my eye from the tube, and contemplated the shadow with all its neighbouring accompaniments, the other shadows rendered *really* yellow by the effect of the yellow glass, and the white paper which had likewise from the same cause acquired a yellowish hue, the shadow in question appeared to me, as it did to my assistant, of a beautiful blue colour. I afterwards repeated the same experiment with the apparently blue shadow produced in the experiment with day-light and candle-light, and with exactly the same result.

How far these experiments may enable us to account for the apparent blue colour of the sky, and the great variety of colours which frequently adorn the clouds, as also what other useful observations may be drawn from them, I leave to philosophers, opticians, and painters, to determine. In the mean time I believe it is a new discovery, at least it is undoubtedly a very extraordinary fact, that the eyes are not always to be believed, *even with respect to the presence or absence of colours.*

I cannot finish this letter without mentioning one circumstance, which struck me very forcibly in all these experiments upon coloured shadows,

and that is, the most perfect harmony which always appeared to subsist between the colours, whatever they were, of the two shadows: and this harmony seemed to me to be full as perfect and pleasing when the shadows were of different tints of brown, as when one of them was blue and the other yellow. In short, the harmony of these colours was in all cases not only very striking, but the appearances were altogether quite enchanting; and I never found any body to whom I showed these experiments whose eyes were not fascinated with their bewitching beauties. It is, however, more than probable, that a great part of the pleasures which these experiments afforded to the spectators arose from the continual changes of colour, tint, and shade, with which the eye was amused, and the attention kept awake. We are used to seeing colours fixed and unalterable, hard as the solid bodies from which they come, and just as motionless, consequently dead, uninteresting, and tiresome to the eye; but in these experiments all is motion, life, and beauty.

It appears to me very probable, that a farther prosecution of these experiments upon coloured shadows may not only lead to a knowledge of the real nature of the harmony of colours, or the peculiar circumstances upon which that harmony depends: but that it may also enable us to construct instruments for producing that harmony, for the entertainment of the eyes, in a manner similar to that in which the ears are entertained by musical sounds. I know that attempts have already been made for that purpose; but when I consider the means employed, I am not surprized that they did not

not succeed. Where the flowing tide, the varying swell, the *crescendo* is wanting, colours must ever remain hard, cold, and inanimate masses.

I am very sorry that my more serious occupations do not at present permit me to pursue these most entertaining inquiries. Perhaps at some future period I may find leisure to resume them.

I am, &c.

Munich, 1st March, 1793.

Specification of the patent granted to Joseph Greene, of Westhill, in the parish of Wandsworth, Surrey, gentleman; for his invention and method of warming rooms, and buildings, with hot air of a more pure quality than has hitherto been used. From the Repertory of Arts and Manufactures.

Dated December 9, 1793.

TO all to whom these presents shall come, &c. &c. Now know ye, that I, the said Joseph Greene, in pursuance of, and in compliance with, the said proviso in the said letters patent, do hereby describe and ascertain the nature of the said invention, and in what manner the same is to be performed, as follows, that is to say, the principle on which my invention is founded is the heating air, for the purpose of warming buildings, by means of hollow vessels, or pipes, immersed in hot water or steam, whereby too great a degree of heat is avoided, and the air remains unburnt, and fit for respiration; and I provide a boiler made of iron, copper, or other fit materials, with a cover fastened thereto. Within

the boiler I fix a hollow vessel or worm, and sometimes several such vessels or worms, made of lead, copper, earthenware, or other proper materials; and into each of these hollow vessels or worms I introduce the external or open air, by the medium of a pipe, which I make to pass through a convenient part of the boiler, firmly soldered or cemented into it; and which pipe I communicate with the said vessels or worms. The boiler may be fixed in the ordinary manner in any of the lower apartments, or other convenient part of the house or buildings; or it may be fixed behind a stove or grate, so as to be heated by means of a common fire, in any of the rooms, and the size of it should be regulated by the extent of the building proposed to be warmed. From the hollow vessels or worms above-mentioned, pipes of any of the above-mentioned materials are fixed and carried in the most convenient manner, to the different rooms, or parts of the buildings, to which the warm air is to be conveyed. To these pipes are fixed cocks or sliders, in order to admit or prevent the introduction of the warm air into any particular room or place; and in some convenient part of the pipes I place a shifting valve, or self-acting cock, to prevent the bursting of the boiler, or pipes, by the force of the steam. The boiler being in part filled with water, a fire is lighted in the furnace, and the water made to boil, or brought to such a degree of heat as may be found necessary; by this heat the air contained in the hollow vessels or worms before-mentioned, being rarified and warmed, will ascend, and is to be admitted, by means of the above-mentioned cocks or sliders,

or

or by any other convenient mode, into the several apartments to be warmed. When the rooms are at too great a distance from the boiler to be warmed by single pipes, then, in order to prolong the direction of the heat, I either inclose the pipes, through which the warm air is conveyed, in larger pipes, to which the steam rises from the boiler, or I introduce the warm air into the larger, and the steam into the smaller, pipes; by which means the air-pipes are prevented from growing cool so soon as they would do if they were exposed to the action of the open air. I also in certain cases, where I judge it proper and more convenient, place my air-vessel or worm in a vessel distinct from the boiler, but still having a communication therewith for the steam from the boiler to pass, and thus heat the air vessel or worm by means of steam only; by the above process too great a degree of heat is avoided, and the air remains unburnt, and fit for respiration. In witness whereof, &c.

On the method of making instruments of elastic gum, with the bottles that are brought from Brazil, by M. Grossart (Chirly). From the Annales de Chimie.

CAOUTCHOUC, or elastic gum, is a substance which has engaged the attention of philosophers ever since it has been known. Its singular elasticity, its flexibility, and the little action most substances have upon it, have caused it to be considered as very valuable for many purposes, particularly in the art of surgery. But it has hitherto been impossible to procure instru-

ments of this substance, inasmuch as almost the whole quantity of caoutchouc brought into Europe comes from Brazil already fashioned into bottles, birds, or other figures; this has rendered its use extremely circumscribed.

It is known that these are made, in that country, by means of moulds, with the juice of a tree of the order of Euphorbiæ. The liquid is drawn from the tree by incision, and it thickens in the manner of resinous juices. It would be easy, could we procure it in its original state of fluidity, to give it all the forms under which it might be useful to us; but the communications with Brazil are very difficult for the greatest part of Europe; and the necessity of passing the line, in bringing it to our parts, is another obstacle to the juice arriving in a proper state for our purposes; as it is decomposed by heat in the same manner as milk, exhaling at that time an extremely fetid odour, and having no longer its original properties. Sir Joseph Banks, president of the royal society of London, so well-known by the voyage round the world, which his attachment to the sciences prompted him to undertake, told me he had a bottle of it in its original state, but which after a little time became decomposed; since which he had not been able to procure any more from Lisbon, although he had offered even to the value of fifty guineas for a second bottle.

Most of the persons to whom the liquid has been sent, whether from Cayenne, or from the isle of France (where the tree that furnishes this liquor is also known,) have never received it but in a decomposed state. I had for some time about a
pint

pint of it in that state; it was given to me by M. d'Arcet, to whom some had been sent from the Isle of France. It was kept several winters in a room without a fire; but after the hard frosts of 1788-9, I found the bottle broke. I think it may be useful to take notice of this accident, as the like, most probably, has not been recorded. I am not able to point out, either at what degree of temperature the decomposed liquor passed to the solid state, or in what manner it crystallised; because I did not go into the place where it was kept until the weather had become much milder.

The difficulty of procuring the juice unaltered in this country is evident; and the distance of the places where the trees grow; the necessity of having agents there to see the necessary articles properly executed; the length of time we should be obliged to wait before we could receive what was ordered, all concur to render it an object of desire both to philosophers and artists, that they might be able to use the bottles of caoutchouc, which we have here in abundance, so as to make from them the various instruments they may have occasion for. Many persons have employed themselves in this research, but I know not that as yet any one has succeeded.

It was soon discovered, that it was not possible to employ liquefaction by means of heat; caoutchouc indeed melts as easily as other resins; but when cooled it remains liquid and adhesive. Alcohol, or spirits of wine, the usual solvents of resinous substances, did not act upon it, nor was it dissolved in water, as gums are. It was then tried to dissolve it in drying oils, and it was found that by the aid of heat the

caoutchouc was dissolved, and formed an excellent varnish, supple, impervious to air or water, and resisting a long time the action of acids. With this varnish Messrs. Charles and Robert covered their balloons; and an ingenious artist, M. Bernard, and afterwards the brothers Durand, made with it several instruments useful in surgery. Their catheters are much used, and are known by the name of catheters of elastic gum; they are flexible and have a sufficient elasticity; they are, however, nothing but taffety, covered with a solution of elastic gum in some kind of drying oil. This covering after some time cracks, and falls off in scales, and they then become unserviceable. They have not the property of lengthening, and again recovering their former dimensions, like a tube of caoutchouc: perhaps there may be cases where, for this very reason, these instruments may be preferable to those which might be made of the pure elastic gum.

Macquer also made some researches on this subject, and to him I believe it was first known that ether dissolves caoutchouc without altering its nature. He proposed to apply the solution, layer upon layer, on a mould; and to let the ether evaporate; this process was however too long, and too expensive, to be of much use: moreover the very fact of the dissolution has been contested by many chymists, who have not succeeded in repeating the experiments of Macquer; respecting which, there is not at present any manner of doubt, although it is not yet determined whence arose the different results in the experiments of those who were occupied on this subject. A well-known fact, the publica-
tion

tion of which we owe to Mr. Cavello, may perhaps explain the matter. Ether, which before being washed only makes the caoutchouc swell, dissolves it with ease after it has been washed with a large quantity of water. It necessarily loses, by this operation, that acid, of which indications are frequently found, and saturates itself with water. Be that as it may, it is easy at present to obtain, by means of this process, a solution which, after the evaporation of the solvent, is pure elastic gum: yet this mode of making instruments, though possible, is nearly impracticable, as it is not only too expensive, from the loss of the ether which evaporates, and of that which is taken up by the water; but it is also very inconvenient to manage the concentrated solution of caoutchouc, because it adheres to every thing that it touches, and bubbles of air are apt to be retained in the pellicles of elastic gum, which are formed by the evaporation of the ether.

Several essential oils, as those of the turpentine and lavender, act upon the caoutchouc, even when cold: yet in making use of them, in the manner already explained, we shall succeed still less than with ether, either in obtaining pure elastic gum, or in forming instruments. M. Fourcroy, in a memoir read in December, 1790, at the royal society of agriculture, in which he mentions all the facts known in regard to caoutchouc, and adds many interesting experiments, has expressed his wishes, and given his idea of the manner by which the juice of the caoutchouc may be brought to us without alteration. The desire of a philosopher so worthy of praise, and the little probability

there exists of seeing his wishes fulfilled, made me recur to some ideas I had formed upon the subject; and I have succeeded in making, with the bottles of elastic gum, the tubes which are now presented to you. My work is indeed very imperfect; yet, being certain that my ideas, by being made known, will sooner acquire in the hands of artists the perfection of which they are susceptible, I shall not keep back, from selfish motives, the knowledge of a process which may be useful in many arts.

The following is the path I have pursued, and the methods I have employed; it may be easy to substitute better; but those of which I am about to give an account may certainly be of some advantage, inasmuch as they may prevent others who may employ themselves in such researches from making useless trials.

It appeared, even in my first experiments, that I was attempting too much, and giving myself useless trouble, in searching for a manner of completely dissolving the elastic gum, so that it might be again made up in new forms. I then thought that it would be easier to find out a method, as it were, of soldering it, and of not acting upon it more than might be necessary to cause its softened parts to reunite. Experience has shewn me that a strong pressure made upon two pieces of caoutchouc (when brought to that state of softness) and continued until they are entirely dry, caused them to contract so strong an adhesion, that the piece, being pulled out till it broke, often broke, not at the united part, but by the side of it.

By means of ether I immediately succeeded in making these tubes; the

the method which appears to me to succeed the best is, to cut a bottle circularly in a spiral slip of a few lines in breadth. It is very easy to cut a bottle in such manner as to form a single long slip, and thus unnecessary joinings are avoided.

The whole slip is to be plunged into ether, until it is sufficiently softened, which comes to pass sooner or later, according to the quality of the vitriolic ether that is employed. Half an hour frequently suffices; but I have already observed, that there is a great diversity in the manner in which different sorts of vitriolic ether act, and of which the cause is not yet, so far as I know, determined.

The slip being taken out, one of the extremities is to be taken hold of and rolled, first upon itself at the bottom of the tube, pressing it; then the rolling is to be continued, mounting spirally along the mould, and taking care to lay over and compress with the hand every edge, one against the other, so that there may not be any vacant space, and that all the edges may join exactly. The whole is then to be bound hard with a tape of an inch in width, taking care to turn it the same way with the slip of elastic gum. The tape is to be tied over with packthread, so that by every turn of the packthread joining another an equal pressure is given to every part; it is then left to dry, and the tube is made.

The bandage is to be taken off with great care, that none of the outward surface, which may have been lodged within the hollows of the tape (of which the caoutchouc takes the exact impression) may be pulled away. I advise the application of a tape before the packthread,

because, especially in the thinner tubes, we should run the risk of cutting the caoutchouc, if the packthread were applied immediately upon it.

It is easy to take off the tube of elastic gum which has been formed upon a solid mould of one piece; if the mould be made rather conic, it may be made to slide off by the smaller end: at the worst, it is easily accomplished by plunging it into hot water, for it is softened by the heat, and is distended; without this precaution it would be sometimes difficult to draw it off when dry, because, having been applied upon the mould whilst it had its volume augmented by the interposition of the ether, the parts of the caoutchouc are drawn nearer each other by the evaporation of the interposed body.

The great affinity between these two bodies is seen by the length of time that the odour of the ether remains, notwithstanding the great volatility of the latter, and that the apparent dryness of the tube seems to shew that there is none remaining; nevertheless, after a certain time, the odour disappears intirely. One of those tubes which are now before you, and which was made with ether, after the method here described, does not retain the least trace of the solvent. It is needless to say, that it is easy to make tubes as thin, or as thick, as may be judged proper.

Although the process that I am now describing is but very little expensive, yet I have tried to employ other solvents in lieu of ether, because it is not to be had in every place, and requires a particular care in its preservation. I have employed, with some success, the essential

tal oils of lavender, and of turpentine; both of them speedily dilate the caoutchouc, and are of no great price. The disagreeable smell of the oil of turpentine becomes perhaps, in process of time, less disagreeable than that of lavender. This last is dearer, but the difference is not so great as it appears at first, for we may make some advantage of the oil of lavender that is employed by the following operation; upon plunging into alcohol the elastic tube prepared with oil of lavender, the alcohol charges itself with the oil, and forms a very good lavender-water; the same as would be made by an immediate mixture of oil of lavender with spirit of wine. Immersion in this liquor also serves to hasten the drying of the caoutchouc instruments, thus made by means of essential oils. I have made tubes with the oils of turpentine and of lavender; both are much slower in evaporating than ether. The oil of turpentine particularly appeared to me always to leave a kind of stickiness, and I know not as yet, that we have any means whereby to get speedily rid of its smell.

Nevertheless there is a solvent which has not that inconvenience; it is cheaper, and may easily be procured by every one; this solvent is *water*. I conceive it will appear strange to mention water as a solvent of elastic gum, that liquid having been always supposed to have no action upon it. I myself resisted the idea; but, reflecting that ether by being saturated with water is the better enabled to act on caoutchouc, and that this gum when plunged into boiling water becomes more transparent at the edges, I presumed that this effect was not

due simply to the dilatation of its volume by the heat. I thought that, at that temperature, some action might take place, and that a long continued ebullition might produce more sensible effects. I was not disappointed in my expectations, and one of those tubes was prepared without any other solvent than water and heat. I proceeded in the same manner as with ether; the elastic gum dilates but very little in boiling water, it becomes whitish, but recovers its colour again, by drying it in the air and light. It is sufficiently prepared for use when it has been a quarter of an hour in boiling water; by this time its edges are somewhat transparent. It is to be turned spirally round the mould, in the manner we described before, and replunged frequently into the boiling water, during the time that is employed in forming the tube, to the end that the edges may be disposed to unite together. When the whole is bound with packthread, it is to be kept some hours in boiling water, after which it is to be dried, still keeping on the binding.

If we wish to be more certain that the connection is perfect, the spiral may be doubled; but we must always avoid placing the exterior surfaces of the slips one upon the other, as those surfaces are the parts which most resist the action of solvents. This precaution is less necessary when ether is employed, on account of its great action upon the caoutchouc.

It might be feared, that the action of water on caoutchouc would deprive us of the advantages which might otherwise be expected; but these fears will be removed if we consider that the affinities differ according to the temperatures; that it

is only at a very high temperature that water exercises any sensible action upon caoutchouc. I can affirm that at the hundred and twentieth degree of Reaumur's thermometer, [302 of Fahrenheit] this affinity is not such as that the water can give a liquid form to caoutchouc; and it does not appear that we have any thing to fear in practice from a combination between these two bodies, which, though it really is a true solution, does not take place in any sensible degree but at a high temperature. It is therefore, at present, easy to make of caoutchouc whatever instruments it may be advantageous to have of a flexible, supple, and elastic, substance, which is impermeable to water at the temperature of our atmosphere, and resists the action of acids, as well as that of most other solvents. As to the durability of these instruments, few substances promise more than this, because it may be soldered afresh in a damaged part. Any woven substance may be covered with it, it is only required that the substance should be of a nature not to be acted upon, during the preparation, either by ether or by boiling water; for these two agents are those which appear to me to merit the preference. Artists will frequently find an advantage in employing ether, as it requires less time; so that a person may make, in a single day, any tube he may have occasion for. The expence of ether is very little, since it is needful only to dispose the caoutchouc to adhere; and, being brought into that state, the caoutchouc may be kept in a vessel perfectly well closed. It would also diminish the expence of the ether, if, instead of washing it with a large

quantity of water, there should be added to it only as much water as it can take up.

On a method of ascertaining an universal and invariable standard of measure, by Mr. Robert Leslie, watch-maker, of London. From the Repertory of Arts.

THROWING together the inequalities of solar days, a mean interval, or day, has been found, and divided, by very general consent, into eighty-six thousand four hundred equal parts.

A pendulum, vibrating in small and equal arcs, may be so adjusted in its length, as, by its vibrations, to make this division of the earth's motion into eighty-six thousand four hundred equal parts, called seconds of mean time.

Such a pendulum then becomes itself a measure of determinate length, to which all others may be referred, as to a standard.

But even the pendulum is not without its uncertainties.

First, the difficulty of ascertaining in practice its centre of oscillation, as depending on the form of the bob, and its distance from the point of suspension; and the effect of the weight of the suspending wire, towards displacing the centre of oscillation, (that centre being seated within the body of the bob, and therefore inaccessible to measurement), are sources of considerable uncertainty.

Secondly, both theory and experience prove that, to preserve its isochronism, it must be shorter towards the equator, and longer towards the poles.

Thirdly, to continue small and equal vibrations through a sufficient

cient length of time, and to count these vibrations, machinery and a power are necessary, which may exert a small but constant effort to renew the waste of motion; and the difficulty is, so to apply these as that they shall neither retard nor accelerate the vibrations.

In order to avoid the uncertainties which respect the centre of oscillation, I have substituted an uniform cylindrical rod, without a bob, for the pendulum.

Could the diameter of such a rod be infinitely small, the centre of oscillation would be exactly at two thirds of the whole length, measured from the point of suspension. Giving it a diameter which shall render it sufficiently inflexible, the centre will be displaced indeed, but, in a second rod, not the $(1/600,000)$ part of its length, and not the hundredth part so much as in a second pendulum with a bob. This displacement is so infinitely minute then, that we may consider the centre of oscillation, for all practical purposes, as residing at two-thirds of the length from the point of suspension. The distance between these two centres might be easily and accurately ascertained in practice.

But the whole rod is better for a standard than any portion of it, because sensibly defined at both its extremities.

The uncertainty arising from the difference of length requisite for the second pendulum or rod, in different latitudes, may be avoided by fixing on some one latitude, to which our standard shall refer.

To give an uniform impulse to the rod, to renew the waste of motion occasioned by the friction and resistance of the air, I have made

an improvement on the escapement of the common clock, which effectually prevents any irregularity, that might otherwise be occasioned by the unequal action of the wheels.

To make the experiment, nothing more is necessary than such a clock, and a piece of straight iron wire, of about the diameter of a common goose-quill; and the length that will be found to vibrate seconds, will be about fifty-eight English inches, from the point of suspension to the end of the rod. The most certain way of proceeding in the experiment is, to have the rod at first too long, and to continue cutting small portions off the lower end, till the clock is brought to time.

The advantage that the above has over all other pendulums, for ascertaining an universal standard of measure, are,

First, that it can be regulated with more certainty.

Secondly, that it is one-third longer, and therefore can be divided with more certainty.

And, thirdly, its simplicity, which puts it in the power of any person to make the experiment with the greatest accuracy, even without the use of figures; the whole (after the clock is regulated) being ascertained by one single measurement of a straight line.

A method of preparing a sulphureous medicinal water, by the reverend Edward Kenney. From the Irish Transactions.

CHEMISTS differ in opinion concerning the process of nature in the formation of sulphureous waters. Whilst all agree, that sulphur by itself is not soluble in water,

ter, some consider sulphureous waters as impregnated by the fumes only of sulphur: others assert, that these waters contain sulphur combined with an alkali; and each party thinks, and possibly justly, that its opinion respecting particular waters is supported by the analysis of them. Artificial sulphureous waters have often been prepared on the former of these principles; and they have been prepared on the two principles combined by M. Le Roy, of Montpellier, who applied a strong and continued heat to water mixed with small quantities of sulphur and magnesia, until the fumes of the sulphur had strongly impregnated the water.

My method is founded on the second principle. Its simplicity, and the probability, that it is similar to that pursued by nature in the formation of some of the most powerful sulphureous waters, induced me to make trial of it. The same considerations may possibly be deemed, by gentlemen of the medical faculty, a recommendation of this artificial medicinal water for trial in the course of their practice.

The method is this: mix sulphur and magnesia, in the proportion of four drachms of each with one quart of cold water. Care must be taken, that every particle of the sulphur and magnesia be made so wet as that none can float. Pour this mixture into a vessel in which it may be conveniently shaken several times every day, during the space of three weeks. Let it then settle for two days, and rack off the liquor. This, first racked off from the sulphur and magnesia, will be of the colour of water, and free from any bad smell. If a like

quantity of water be poured into the vessel in which the magnesia and sulphur remain, and be frequently shaken, it will in a fortnight be found to be as strongly impregnated as the former; and in like manner, may many successive impregnated liquors be obtained; but they will differ from the first in having a yellow tinge, and emitting a foetid odour. However, in their component parts and medicinal properties, all these impregnated liquors seem to me, from the trials I have made of them, perfectly to agree. These liquors almost instantly change the colour of silver. They are most effectually decomposed by powdered nutgalls and alum, the alum being added a few minutes after the nutgall. In this process a very copious precipitation ensues.

Flowers of sulphur and magnesia are to be mixed with water in the proportion of four drachms of each to a quart of water. They should previously be ground together in a glass mortar, for the purpose of breaking all the small lumps of sulphur which would otherwise float on the water. They should then be gradually wetted with the water, and worked up with it by the hand. When so mixed, as that none of the sulphur floats, the whole is to be poured into a close vessel, in which it may conveniently be shaken two or three times every day for three weeks. After that time, it is to settle for two days, and then the liquid to be racked off fine. The same ingredients will impregnate the like quantity of water two or three times, to an equal degree of strength, in a space of time somewhat shorter than the first.

N. B. I have not found that the finest, light, white, magnesia, succeeds as well as a darker and heavier sort.

The liquid thus racked off, contains in solution what may be named a magnesiatic liver of sulphur.

Some powdered nutgalls being mixed with this liquid, and afterwards some alum, the water is by their stiptic quality rendered incapable of holding the magnesiatic liver of sulphur in solution: the latter is therefore precipitated, but not decomposed.

One ounce of this solution of magnesiatic liver of sulphur, mixt with a quart of pure water, free from any stiptic or acid mixture, makes a medicinal sulphureous water fit for use. If an acid be added to it, it decomposes the liver of sulphur, uniting with the magnesia to form a *sal catharticus amarus*. — Fixed air would therefore be an improper additional to this medicinal water.

A grown person may take of this medicinal water, at first, half a noggin twice in the day; and gradually increase the quantity to three noggins in the day. I have not known it to cause the head-ach in any person except myself; and I have always been immediately relieved by taking six grains of camphor, and six drops of ether in honey and water.

I have had ample experience of the efficacy of this medicinal water, in the cure of those disorders which are sometimes called the land scurvy, and sometimes said to proceed from impurities of the blood; such as eruptions on the head; the herpes exedens; a white, dry, scaly scurf; and those various infectious eruptions, which in Scotland are

named the sibbens; and amongst the common people of this country, pass under a variety of names.

The itch is also effectually cured by this water.

It has had remarkably good effect in the few cases of scrofula, in which I have had opportunity of trying it.

In every case of worms, in which I tried it, and they have not been few, it has destroyed them; those particularly called ascarides. In some of those cases, the patients were in a state of high fever when they took this medicine. This is the only case in which I give this water, whilst symptoms of fever are perceivable.

I have also found this water to be very successful in the cure of the chronic rheumatism.

I have thus, my dear sir, noted down the particulars which you wished me to commit to writing for you, and am

Your very affectionate
humble servant,
EDWARD KENNEY.

The method of preparing the medicinal sulphureous water, from this strongly impregnated liquor is very simple, being as follows, viz.

Mix one ounce of the impregnated liquor with twelve ounces of cold water.

This medicinal water should be used with caution. Two ounces at a time may be, in general, a proper quantity for a person to begin with.

The strongly impregnated liquor, and the medicinal water prepared from it, may be kept a long time unimpaired.

EDWARD KENNEY.

Moviddy, Cork, Jan. 28, 1793.
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On the improvement of coppices, by the bishop of Llandaff; from Pringle's General View of the Agriculture of the county of Westmoreland.

IN some parts of Westmoreland, considerable portions of land are covered with coppices, consisting principally of oak, ash, elder, birch, and hazel. These underwoods are usually cut down every sixteenth year: the uses to which they are applied are chiefly two—hoops and charcoal. The hoops are sold in the wood at 5l. a thousand; they are generally manufactured in the country, and sent by sea to Liverpool; the charcoal is sent to the iron-furnaces in the neighbourhood. The value of a statute-acre of coppice-wood, of sixteen years growth, is variable from 10l. to 15l.; and if it consists altogether of oak, its price may amount to twenty guineas; 6l. for the charcoal, and 15l. for the bark; it being the custom here to peel the balls, and all the branches of the oak, which are equal to the thickness of a man's thumb.

It is an extraordinary thing to see any trees left to stand for timber in these underwoods; the high price of bark is a temptation to cut the whole down. Fine saplings, from nine to twelve inches in circumference, at five feet from the ground, and with bark as splendid as polished silver, are felled by the unfeeling proprietor with as little regret, as if they were thorns or briars. Of late, indeed, some few owners of underwoods have left standards, and if they consult their interest, the practice will become general. As this is a point denied by many proprietors of coppices,

it may be of use to explain the principles on which the observation is founded.

Suppose a statute-acre of underwood to be, in the spring of 1794, sixteen years old, and that the whole is then cut down and sold for 14l. This sum will, in sixty-four years (reckoning compound interest at 4l. per cent.), amount to 172l. In 1810, another fall of underwood, of the same value, will be made; the 14l. then arising, improved from forty-eight years, in the same way, will produce 91l. In 1826, another 14l. will arise from another fall of the underwood; this sum improved for thirty-two years, will amount to 49l. In 1842, another fall will produce 14l. which, in sixteen years, will become 26l.—And, lastly, in 1858, or in sixty-four years from 1794, another fall will produce 14l. The amount of the value of the five falls, thus estimated and improved, will be 352l. Let us now calculate the profits which would result, in the same time, from the same acre of underwood, if it was managed in a different way. Instead of cutting the whole down in 1794, let us suppose that 150 of the best young oaks are left to stand for timber; the then value of these, at 2d. a tree, is 25s. this being subtracted from 14l. the value of the whole coppice, leaves 12l. 15s. 0d. This sum, improved as before, will amount, in sixty-four years, to 156l. (shillings and pence in these calculations being neglected). The next fall in 1810 ought not to be valued at more than 10l. as 150 trees, then of thirty-two years growth, will do some injury to the underwood; 10l. in forty-eight years, will amount to 65l. The next fall

in

in 1826, may be valued at 8l. and at that time seventy-five trees should be taken down; these trees will then be forty-eight years old, and worth 15s. a tree, or 56l. in the whole; this added to 8l. the value of the then underwood, makes 64l. which, in thirty-two years, will produce 224l. Without estimating the underwood in 1842, and in 1858 at any thing, or the value of the pasturage for thirty-two years at any thing, let us suppose the seventy-five remaining trees to be cut down in 1858, being then eighty years old, and that they would, one with another, be worth 4l. a piece, or 300l. in the whole. The sum of the profits, thus arising, is 745l. or more than double the other amount.

It is a general opinion in this, and, I believe, in other countries, that it is more profitable to fell oak-wood at fifty or sixty years growth, than to let it stand for navy-timber to 80 or 100. According to the price which is now paid for that commodity, either by the navy-board or the East-India company, I believe the opinion to be founded in truth. The following observations contain the reason for this belief.

If profit is considered, every tree of every kind ought to be cut down and sold, when the annual increase in value of the tree by its growth, is less than the annual interest of the money it would fell for: this being admitted, we have only to inquire into the annual increase of the value of oaks of different ages,

In the Philosophical Transactions for 1759, there are some useful tables respecting the growth of trees, by Mr. Marsham; from these tables,

the two following inferences may be drawn.

1. That it is highly profitable to let young thriving oaks, which are not worth above 30s. a tree, continue standing.

2. That it is not profitable to let oaks of 80 or 100 years growth continue standing.

Three oaks marked in the tables, No. 8, 11, 12, in April, 1743, before they began to shoot, contained eleven and one-half feet of wood, and were altogether worth, at 18d. a foot, bark included, 17s. and 3d. The same trees, sixteen years afterwards, contained thirty-four and one-half feet, and were worth 2l. 11s. 9d. Now, if 17s. and 3d. had been improved at the rate of 7 per cent. at compound interest for sixteen years, it would not have amounted to 2l. 11s. 9d. and of consequence the proprietor, by letting such oak stand, improves his property in as high a degree, as if he put out his money to interest, at near seven and a half per cent.

Three oaks, No. 2, 3, 5, in 1743, contained 100½ feet of timber, and were worth 7l. 10s. 9d. The same trees, sixteen years afterwards, contained 132½ feet, and were worth 9l. 18s. 6d. Now, 7l. 10s. 9d. the value of the trees in 1743, improved at the low rate of interest at two per cent. would in sixteen years amount to a sum exceeding 9l. 18s. 6d. The proprietor then, by letting such trees stand, does not improve his property at the rate of 2l. per cent.

The oak, No. 1, in the third table, was worth 1l. 2s. 6d. in 1757, it gained in one year one foot, or 1s. 6d. in value; if it has been worth 30s. and had gained one

foot, there would have been no profit in letting it stand, as the interest of 30s. at 5 per cent. would have produced 1s. 6d. in the year; and it is for this reason that I have fixed upon 30s. as the value of trees which should be cut down; if they are cut sooner or later, the proprietor will be a loser. It must not be supposed, however, that great precision can attend this observation; since particular soils, or the greater or less thriving condition of the wood, may render it useful to cut down trees before they are worth 30s. or to let them stand a while longer. It ought to be remarked also, that large trees sell for more per foot than small ones do, yet the usual increase of price is not a compensation to the proprietor for letting his timber stand to a great age. This may be made out from the following experiment.

In the 27th of October, 1792, I measured, at six feet from the ground, the circumference of a very fine oak of eighty-two years growth, from the time of its being planted, and found it to be 107 inches; on the same day of the month, in 1793, it measured 108 inches. There is not one oak in fifty (at the age of this) which gains an inch circumference in one year. The length of the boll of this tree was about eighteen feet, it contained about eighty-four feet of timber, and was worth, at 3s. a foot, 12l. 12s. It gained in one year very little more than one foot and a half of timber, or 4s. 6d. in value; but the interest of 12l. 12s. at 4 per cent. amounts in one year, to above twice the value of the increase, even of this tree, which is a singularly thriving one.

I have been the more particular on this subject from a public consideration. Many men are alarmed, lest our posterity should experience a scarcity of oak-timber for the use of the navy; and various means of increasing its quantity have been recommended with great judgement. In addition to these means, the making a much greater than the ordinary increase of price on timber of a large scantling, might be not improperly submitted to the consideration of those who are concerned in the business. If the navy-board would give 8l. or 9l. a load for timber trees containing 100 cubic feet or upwards, instead of 4l. or 5l. every man in the kingdom would have a reasonable motive for letting his timber stand till it became of a size fit for the use of the navy; whereas, according to the present price, it is every man's interest to cut it down sooner.

In the neighbourhood of Ambleside, there is found a stratum of grey lime-stone, which, though it contains a little clay, might be as serviceable as the purest sort for agricultural purposes; but, unfortunately, for the improvement of this part of the country, coal is so dear, that very little of this lime-stone is burned, the lime which is used in the culture of the lands being either fetched from Kendal, or brought up Windermere-lake at a great expence. As there is great plenty of coppice-wood in the district here spoken of, it may be useful for the farmers and land-owners to consider, whether the burning of lime with fagots in a flame-kiln, as is practised in Sussex, may not be a more beneficial application of the underwoods, than the converting them

them into charcoal. Even the spray-wood, here called chats, which is too small to be made into charcoal, and which is now sold for sixpence a cart, or more generally left on the ground, might be made into fagots, and mixed with wood of a larger size, so that no part of the coppice would be lost. In Sussex, they use 600 fagots, cut in the winter, and weighing, when dry in the spring, thirty-six pounds each, for the burning of 480 Winchester bushels of lime.

On the manufacture of Indigo at Ambore, by lieutenant-colonel Claude Martin; from the Transactions of the Asiatic Society.

I Present the society with a short description of the process observed in the culture and manufacture of indigo, in this part of India. The Ambore district is comprised within a range of surrounding hills of a moderate height: the river Pallar, declining from its apparent southerly direction, enters this district about three miles from the eastward, washes the Ambore Pettah, a small neat village, distant three miles to the southward of the fort of that name, situated in a beautiful valley; the skirts of the hills covered with the Palmeira and Date trees, from the produce of which a considerable quantity of coarse sugar is made. This tract is fertilized by numerous rills of water, conducted from the river along the margin of the heights, and throughout the intermediate extent; this element being conveyed in these artificial canals (three feet deep), affording a pure and crystal current of excellent water for the supply of

the rice-fields, tobacco, mango, and cocoa-nut, plantations; the highest situated lands affording indigo, apparently without any artificial watering, and attaining maturity at this season, notwithstanding the intenseness of the heat, the thermometer under cover of a tent rising to 100, and out of it to 120; the plant affording even in the driest spots good foliage, although more luxuriant in moister situations. I am just returned from examining the manufacture of this article.—First the plant is boiled in earthen pots of about eighteen inches diameter, disposed on the ground in excavated ranges from twenty to thirty feet long, and one broad, according to the number used. When the boiling process has extracted all the colouring matter ascertainable by the colour exhibited, the extract is immediately poured into an adjoining small jar fixed in the ground for its reception, and is thence ladled in small pots into larger jars, disposed on adjoining higher ground, being first filtered through a cloth; the jar, when three-fourths full, is agitated with a split bamboo extended into a circle, of a diameter from thirteen to twenty inches, the hoop twisted with a sort of coarse straw, with which the manufacturer proceeds to beat or agitate the extract, until a granulation of the fecula takes place, the operation continuing nearly for the space of three-fourths of an hour; a precipitant composed of red earth and water, in the quantity of four quart bottles, is poured into the jar, which, after mixture, is allowed to stand the whole night, and in the morning the superincumbent fluid is drawn off through three or four apertures, practised in the side of the jar

jar in a vertical direction, the lowest reaching to within five inches of the bottom, sufficient to retain the fecula, which is carried to the houses and dried in bags.

This is the whole of the process recurred to in this part, which, I think, if adopted in Bengal, might in no small degree supersede the necessity of raising great and expensive buildings; in a word, save the expenditure of so much money in dead stock, before they can make any indigo in the European method; to which I have to add, that indigo thus obtained, possesses a very fine quality.

As I think these observations may be useful to the manufacturers in Bengal, I could wish to see them printed in the Transactions of the Asiatic Society.

Ambore, 2d April, 1791.

Extract from a treatise on the manufacture of indigo, at Ambore, by Mr. De Cossigny; from the same.

THIS experiment (the Indian process) infallibly shews, that indigo may be produced by different methods, and how much it is to be regretted, that the European

artists should remain constantly wedded to their method or routine, without having yet made the necessary enquiries towards attaining perfection. Many travellers on the coast of Coromandel having been struck with the apparent simplicity of the means used by the Indians in preparing Indigo, from having seen their artists employed in the open air, with only earthen jars, and from not having duly examined and weighed the extent of the detail of their process, apprehend that it is effected by easier means, than with the large vats of masonry, and the machinery employed by Europeans: but they have been greatly mistaken, the whole appearing a delusive conclusion from the following observation, viz. that one man can, in the European method of manufacture, bring to issue one vat, containing fifty bundles of plant, which, according to their nature and quality, may afford from ten to thirty pounds of indigo; whereas, by the Indian process, one employed during the same time, would probably only produce one pound of indigo: the European method is, therefore, the most simple; as well as every art where machinery is used, instead of manual labour.*

* Experience alone must decide between the opposite opinions of Colonel Martin and Mr. De Cossigny.

ANTIQUITIES.

Copy of a scarce printed paper, being the resolutions of the loyal gentry of Lincolnshire, 1642.

THE resolution of the gentry of Lincolnshire, to provide 168 horse for the maintenance and defence of his majesty's just prerogative, and the preservative of the public peace; the said horse to be disposed within the county of Lincoln for three months, after the 20th of this instant July, at such time, and in such way, as his majesty shall by his commission direct.

F. Fane, 4.
 Per. Bertie, 4.
 John Monson, 12.
 Edward Hussey, 6.
 George Heneage, 6.
 John Bolles, 5.
 William Felham, 3.
 William Thorold, 6.
 Ch. Hussey, 2.
 Daniel Deligne, 3.
 Robert Thorold, 3.
 Jervase Scrope, 4.
 Jervase Neville, 2.
 John Burnell, 2.
 Chris. Beresford, 2.
 Robert Tredway, 2.
 Ralph Ewes, 4.
 Edm. Ellis, 1.
 Arthur Redher, 1.
 George Walker, 1.

Hustwait Wright, 1.
 William Stone, 1.
 William Langton, 1.
 John Fornery, 4.
 Charles Bolles, 3.
 Ch. Dallyson, 4.
 Anth. Meres, 1.
 William Saltmarsh, 2.
 Ste. Anderson, 2.
 Thomas Ogle, 2.
 Thomas Reid, 1.
 George Bradley, 1.
 William Quadring, 1.
 William Cony, 3.
 William Tyrwhit, 2.
 Robert Tyrwhit, 2.
 Edward Heron, 1.
 Thomas Monson, 1.
 Robert Markham, 4.
 Robert Bellese, 1.
 Thomas Rands, 1.
 Jo. Columbell, 1.
 Jo. Stutt, 1.
 Th. Herington, 2.
 William Dallyson, 4.
 N. Smith, 1.
 Jo. Oldfield, 2.
 And. May, 3.
 Edward Tournay, 1.
 Anth. Butler, 2.
 Anth. Topham, 4.
 Hamlet Marshal, 3.
 Robert Meres, 3.
 Morgan Winne, 2.
 Thomas Hurst, 2.
 Robert Sanderson, 1.

Robert

Robert Haslewood, 1.
 Adam Cranwell, 1.
 Ste. Primet, 1.
 Ch. Harrington, 1.
 Henry Pigg, 1.
 Davy Williamson, 1.
 John Chapel, 1.
 William Welby, 2.
 Edward Middlemore, 1.
 William Disney, 2.
 Fran. Welby, 1.
 John South, 3.
 Hen. Fiennes, 1.
 Robert Mathew, 1.
 Richard Parke, 1.
 Richard Fancourt, 1.
 Mont. Cholmeley, 1.

*Pensions granted by king Charles
 the Second, 1673.*

MONEYES frankly given away,
 since the beginning of May,
 to Christmas, 1673, as it was taken
 out of the signet-office.

	£. s. d.
A warrant for the earle of Arlington	10,000 0 0
A warrant for the duke of Bucks	2,030 0 0
Given to the earle of Berkshire	3,000 0 0
To the earle of St. Alban's	2,500 0 0
To the lord Buck- hurst	4,400 0 0
To the privy purse	29,000 0 0
To the lord Grandi- son	500 0 0
To the earle of Bris- toll	2,120 0 0
To the earle of Ar- lington	5,338 0 0
To the duke of Lau- derdale	1,000 0 0

	£. s. d.
To the lady Falmouth	11,289 0 0
To the earle of Ox- ford	2,000 0 0
To the marquis of Worcester	1,200 0 0
Granted to the du- chesse of Cleave- land and her chil- dren, out of the wine-licence office 3,300l. per ann.	20,340 0 0
To the duchesse of Cleveland's eldest daughter; in case it could not be ready paid out of the ex- chequer, then to be charged out of the remaining part of wood of the Forrest of Deane	20,000 0 0
To the lord Clifford and his heirs male fee farm rent, pay- able out of the Norch at Exeter 145l. per ann.	2,610 0 0
To the earle of Angle- sey a pension dure- ing life, 3,000l. per annum by the trea- sury-office	21,000 0 0
To sir Jo. Woorden	1,090 0 0
To Thomas Lott	6,000 0 0
To sir Rob. Rye	900 0 0
To Mr. Harbert	9,000 0 0
To sir Rob. Holmes	690 9 4
To sir John Duncombe	2,000 0 0
Default of sir George Cartwright	16,336 0 0
A pension to the lady Falmouth, 1000l. per ann.	7,000 0 0
A pension for sir Jo. Holmes, 500l. per ann.	2,500 0 0
A pen-	

	£.	s.	d.
A pension to the earle of Arlington, 200l. per ann.	1,400	0	0
A pension to the duke of Monmouth, 6000l. per ann.	42,000	0	0
A pension to the lord Obryen, 100l. per ann.	700	0	0
A pension to Henry Savile, 500l. per ann.	3,500	0	0
A donative to the earle of St. Albans, in trust for sir Rich. Talbotsonn	14,000	0	0
A pension to James Hamilton	2,450	0	0
More to the earle of Oxon and his lady, 200l. per ann. during their lives, payable out of the first fruits	20,000	0	0
The totall summe is	791,255	9	4

Account of the remains of Pompeii and Herculaneum; from Gray's Tour through Germany, &c.

AT our first slight descent at the entrance, we see the soldiers' quarters, with the names of some ancient Romans, inscribed above seventeen centuries ago, on the walls; the platform and proscenia of two theatres: some rooms of a private house, with a human skull that once was animated with the features of Roman genius; the impression of a foot sunk in yielding lava; the perfect form of the temple of Isis, built of stuccoed brick; its columns, its altars; the cœna-

bulum of the priests, in which the bones of some fish were found; the slaughter-house with the still-existing ring to which the generous and struggling victim was tied, and the canal by which the blood was conducted away.

If, ascending by the Appian way, we proceed across the vineyard to a suburb of the town, we behold two narrow streets, each about ten feet wide, entirely cleared: we have a perspective view of both at the same time diverging obliquely from a fountain at a sharp angle. We see the rows of houses on each side unroofed, indeed, and with walls dilapidated, and presenting the appearance of buildings half destroyed and cleared away after a fire. The pavement, the narrow trottoir, and the channels worn by the wheels, are still perfect. We enter into the houses, which, excepting one distinguished by its colonnade and double stair-case, are very small, and generally built with a portico enclosing a court, into which fountains were usually introduced. The apartments, particularly those of the surgeon's house, where surgical instruments and manuscript rolls were found, as also those supposed to have belonged to the vestals, are painted with figures, many of which have been removed, but a few still remain and look beautiful, when their colours are refreshed by water thrown upon them. In some rooms are the remains of Mosaic pavement. The utensils now used by soap-boilers were found at the house of one of that business. The stain of a heated cup is still visible on the front slab of a tavern; and the indecent symbol of a brothel bears testimony to the gross manners of the people who were destroyed

destroyed in the town. The walls of the sepulchre, at the outside of the city, are sculptured with ancient masks.

Some ruins in the neighbourhood exhibit a specimen of an ancient villa with the whole plan of the house, its out-houses, and its garden, which is about, perhaps, half an acre, and divided into compartments, in one of which was a pond. The walls of the rooms retain some delicate painting. The cellars still contain Amphoræ, with wine, encrusted by ashes to a solid substance. In the cellars of this villa the skeletons of some unhappy sufferers were found, who had fled there for shelter from the shower of ashes which buried the district.

At Herculaneum the remains of a theatre still may be seen, with its seats, its orchestra, and several departments, all much more below the surface of the ground than are the ruins of Pompeii. The ruins of Stabia have been so little cleared, that we were told it was not worth while to visit them.

If afterwards we turn to Portici, we find a display of every article which can illustrate the private and domestic economy of the ancients. In one museum is collected almost all the furniture useful and ornamental of a Roman house. The lectisternia, the side-board, the culinary utensils, and even the eatables are preserved. The weights and scales and steelyards are scarce excelled by modern improvements. The caledavia with heaters first suggested the idea of tea-urns. The implements of agriculture, which resemble those used in our own time, prove that necessity always operates by the most simple contrivances, and suggests nearly the

same means. The tops, and different representations of ancient amusements, prove the antiquity of many games, as well as do the lines of Horace, that speak of riding on sticks, and playing at odd and even. The toilet and its furniture unfold the decorations of female taste. The chirurgical instruments here are not sufficient in number to illustrate much of the state of surgery at the time when they were used. Among the musical instruments is an uncommon trumpet, which Dr. Burney conceives to be the ancient clangor tubarum. The altars and the sacrificial vessels exhibit the parade of Paganism. The lachrymatories and amulets of indecent superstition expose the artificial and credulous follies of the people.

The paintings, which fill rooms, sometimes engage our admiration by the display of elegant figures and descriptions, of Bacchanals and Fauns dancing on the tight rope, of Chiron teaching Achilles, of Dido abandoned of the victory of Theseus over the Minotaur, of Genii with their attributes. These, being found on the walls of private houses, demonstrate the high perfection to which the art of painting was advanced, while the filthy representations which painting and sculpture sometimes exhibit, argue the coarseness and corruption of ancient taste, and disgust us with the idea of a people, among whom superstition consecrated unnatural conjunctions, and female delicacy was not shocked by the most unchaste ornaments. He that sees them cannot but marvel much at the affected refinement of some modern advocates of natural religion, who pretend to extract from the emblems of a loose and popular credulity,

credulity, a pure and elevated philosophy, and instructive intimations of moral import.

The scrolls of the Papyrus, hard and resembling rolls of portable soap, particularly struck us; four or five have been explicated by an elaborate process: but, instead of the lost and regretted books of Livy and Tacitus, they unfold a dry treatise on the Epicurean philosophy; a work or two on morality and rhetoric; and a dissertation on music, by Philodemus, containing, as some say, a vindication of the arithmetical proportions, in confutation of the system of Aristoxenus, or, as others state, some reflections on the bad effects of music in a republic. Two only of these works have, I believe, yet been published. A third treatise is soon to appear, and the examiners will, I hope, persevere till we recover some of the works of which we regret the loss, and some of equal value with those which we possess.

Letter from Robert Vaughan, the celebrated Welch antiquary, to archbishop Usher.

To the most reverend James Usher, archbishop of Armagh.

Reverend father,

IN performance of your request and my promise, have at last sent you the annals of Wales, as, out of the ancient copy which you saw with me, I did faithfully translate them into the English tongue, as near as I could, word by word; wherein (knowing my weakness) I laboured not so much to render a sweet harmony of speech, as the

plain and simple phrase of that age wherein it was written, which I thought would please you best, though haply with others it will not so well relish. Be pleased to receive it as a token from him who honours your worth. As you read it, I pray you correct it, for I know it hath need. There was a leaf wanting in my book; which defect (viz. from 900 to ann. 950), and some passages besides, I was fain to make up out of other ancient copies, whereof though we have many in Wales, yet but few that agree *verbatim* with one another. And I believe some mistakings will be found in the times of some transactions in this book, if they be narrowly examined, as in the very frontispiece of this author we find.

In most copies we find that Cadwalader went to Rome *anno* 680, or the year after, as it is in my copy; nevertheless, it is confessed and granted by all of them, that the great mortality happened in that year that he went to Rome; but I find no mention of any great mortality of people that happened about *anno* 680, and therefore I think it not very likely that Cadwalader's going to Rome was deferred to that year. Moreover, venerable Bede, and other ancient writers, do affirm, and the great mortality fell about 664, about the 22d year of king Oswi's reign over Northumberland, in whose time Cadwalader lived and reigned, as is manifest from the tract which is added to some copies of Nennius (if I may give credit to that corrupt copy of it which I have) in the words following: "Osguid, filius Edelfrid, regnavit 28 ann. et sex mensibus, dum ipse regnabat, venit mortalitas hominum, Catgualater regnante apud Brittones, post patrem

patrem suum, et in ea periit." This evidence doth persuade with me, that Cadwalader went to Rome far before ann. 680. But if *in ea periit* be meant of Cadwalader, for king Oswi ruled five or six years, unless we grant that the plague endured twelve years, as our Welsh historians do aver, it maketh such breach in the history, that I (for my own part) knew not how to repair it; for, if it be true that Cadwalader died of that plague, then he went not to Rome; and to deny his going to Rome is no less than to deny our British and Welsh antiquities in general.

Therefore, I desire you will vouchsafe not only to give me your sense of Cadwalader's going to Rome, and the time (whereby I may rest better satisfied than at present), but also the loan of your best copy of Nennius, with the tract before cited, which is added to some copies thereof. And, if I be not over-troublesome to your patience already, I have another request unto you, which is, that you will select all the notes and histories that you have that treat of the affairs of Wales, and princes thereof, and that you will candidly impart them unto me by degrees; as I shall have done with one piece, so be pleased to send another, and you may command any thing that I have, or can come by; for, it is, not labour, pains, or expence of money (to my power), shall retard me in your service. My love and zeal for my poor country, and desire to know the truth and certainty of things past, moves me sometimes to a passion, when I call to mind the idle and slothful life of my countrymen, who, in the revolution of a thousand years, almost afford but only Caradoc of Lancarvan, and the continuance

thereof, to register any thing to the purpose of the acts of the princes of Wales that I could come by or hear of (some few piecemeals excepted). Dr. Powel, in his Latin History of the Princes of Wales, citeth Thomas Maelorius de Regibus Gwynethiæ (North Wales); but I could not hitherto meet with that book, and I am persuaded he lived not much before Henry the VIth's time; peradventure you have seen it: and I do not remember that he citeth any other author of our countrymen; it may be, there are some extant yet, though I had not the felicity hitherto to see them. I hope, by your good means hereafter, I shall attain to some hidden knowledge of antiquity. But I am too tedious; pardon me, I pray you, reverend father; think of my request, and put me not off with excuse any longer; and my prayer shall be for your health, peace, and prosperity, in this world, and everlasting felicity in the world to come.

Your friend and servant,

ROBERT VAUGHAN.

Hengwrt, near Dolgellen, in the county of Merioneth, April 14, 1651.

An account of the game of Chess, as played by the Chinese, in a letter from Eyles Irwin, esq. to the right honourable the earl of Charlemont, P. R. I. A. from the Irish Transactions.

My lord,

I Consider no apology necessary for this intrusion on the public situation in which your talents and reputation have placed you. Whatever tends to the accession of knowledge, or the illustration of antiquity,

quity, cannot prove unacceptable to your lordship, when adding a mite to the Transactions of the academy which is distinguished by your superintendence.

Why I have addressed a subject of this nature to the Irish academy, when there is a society existing, who seems to have a title to it from its name—or why the first offering of my researches should proceed from the remote empire of China, are, I trust, questions that are not necessary for me to resolve. If a patriot wish to promote the spirit of investigation in my country, by the exertion of my mean abilities, be not denied me, I am indifferent to censure or praise on this occasion.

I must premise to your lordship, that, during a long residence in the East Indies, where the game of Chess is generally supposed to have originated, I had often heard of its existence in China, though on a different footing, as well in respect to the powers of the king, as to the aspect of the field of battle. The Bramins, who excel in this game, and with whom I used frequently to play for improvement, had a tradition of this nature, which is a farther argument in behalf of what I am about to advance. But, with all my enquiries from persons who had been there, and from the publications relative to China, I could never obtain any confirmation of the game being ever known in the country, except that Chambers, in his Dictionary, mentions it to be the favourite pastime of the ladies, but quotes no authority for the assertion.

Some unlooked for circumstances in the course of the last year, at length brought me to the quarter, which I had once wished, but ne-

ver expected to visit. I need not say, that among other objects of curiosity, I was eager to ascertain the reality of the Bramins story. And if the difficulty of acquiring information here, not more from the want of interpreters, than the jealousy of the government, were not well known in Europe, I should be ashamed to tell your lordship that I despaired of success for some time. A young Mandarin, however, of the profession of arms, having an inquisitive turn, was my frequent visitor; and what no questions could have drawn from him, the accidental sight of an English chess-board effected. He told me, that the Chinese had a game of the same nature; and on his specifying a difference in the pieces and board, I perceived, with joy, that I had discovered the desideratum of which I had been so long in search. The very next day my Mandarin brought me the board and equipage; and I found, that the Bramins were neither mistaken touching the board, which has a river in the middle to divide the contending parties, nor in the powers of the king, who is entrenched in a fort, and moves only in that space, in every direction. But what did I not before hear, nor do I believe is known out of this country, there are two pieces, whose movements are distinct from any in the Indian or European game. The Mandarin, which answers to our bishop, in his station and side-long course, cannot, through age, cross the river; and a rocket-boy, still used in the Indian armies, who is stationed between the lines of each party, acts literally with the motion of the rocket, by vaulting over a man, and taking his adversary at the other end of the board.

B b

Except

Except that the king has his two sons to support him, instead of a queen, the game, in other respects, is like ours.

As the young man who had discovered this to me, was of a communicative and obliging disposition, and was at this time pursuing his studies in the college of Canton, I requested the favour of him to consult such ancient books as might give some insight into the period of the introduction of Chess into China; to confirm, if possible, the idea that struck me of its having originated here. The acknowledged antiquity of this empire, the unchangeable state of her customs and manners, beyond that of any other nation in the world; and more especially the simplicity of the game itself, when compared to its compass and variety in other parts, appeared to give a colour to my belief. That I was not disappointed in the event, I have no doubt will be allowed, on the perusal of the translation of a manuscript extract, which my friend Tinqu brought me, in compliance with my desire; and which accompanied by the Chinese manuscript, goes under cover to your lordship. As the Mandarin solemnly assured me that he took it from the work quoted, and the translation has been as accurately made as possible, I have no hesitation to deliver the papers as authentic.

In the pursuit of one curiosity I flatter myself that I have stumbled by accident on another, and have gone some length to restore to the

Chinese the invention of gun-powder, so long disputed with them by the Europeans; but which the evidence on their chess-board, in the action of the rocket, seems to establish beyond a doubt. The institution of the game is likewise discovered to form the principal æra in the Chinese history; since, by the conquest of Shensi, the kingdom was first connected in its present form, and the monarch assumed the title of emperor, as may be seen in the extract which I have obtained from their annals.

From these premises I have therefore ventured to make the following inferences:—That the game of Chess is probably of Chinese origin. That the confined situation and powers of the king, resembling those of a monarch in the earlier parts of the world, countenance this supposition; and that, as it travelled westward, and descended to later times, the sovereign prerogative extended itself, until it became unlimited, as in our state of the game. That the agency of the princes, in lieu of the queen, bespeaks forcibly the nature of the Chinese customs, which exclude females from all power or influence whatever: which princes, in its passage through Persia, were changed into a single vizier, or minister of state, with the enlarged portion of delegated authority that exists there; instead of whom, the European nations, with their usual gallantry, adopted a queen on their board.* That the river between the parties is expres-

* That on the acquisition of so strong a piece as the vizier, the Pao were suppressed, this as possessing powers unintelligible, at that time, to other nations; and three pawns added, in consequence, to make up the number of men; and that as discipline improved, the lines, which are straggling on the Chinese board, might have been closed on ours.

sive of the general face of this country, where a battle could hardly be fought without encountering an interruption of this kind, which the soldier was here taught to overcome; but that, on the introduction of the game into Persia, the board changed with the dry nature of the region, and the contest was decided on *terra firma*. And, lastly, that in no account of the origin of chess, that I have read, has the tale been so characteristic or consistent as that which I have the honour to offer to the Irish academy. With the Indians, it was designed by a Bramin, to cure the melancholy of the daughter of a rajah. With the Persians, my memory does not assist me to trace the fable; though, if it were more to the purpose, I think I should have retained it. But, with the Chinese, it was invented by an experienced soldier, on the principles of war. Not to dispel love-sick vapours, or instruct a female in a science that could neither benefit nor inform her; but to quiet the murmurs of a discontented soldiery; to employ their vacant hours in lessons on the military art, and to cherish the spirit of conquest in the bosom of winter quarters. Its age is traced by them on record near two centuries before the Christian æra; and among the numerous claims for this noble invention, that of the Chinese, who call it, by way of distinction, Chong Kè, or The Royal Game, appears alone to be indisputable.

I have the honour to remain,

My lord,

Your lordship's obedient

Humble servant,

EYLES IRWIN.

Canton, March 14, 1793.

Translation of an extract from the Concum, or Chinese annals, respecting the invention of the game of Chess, delivered to me by Tingqua, a soldier mandarin, of the province of Fokien.

Three hundred and seventy-nine years after the time of Confucius, or one thousand nine hundred and sixty-five years ago, Hung Cochü, king of Kaingnan, sent an expedition into the Shensi country, under the command of a mandarin, called Hansing, to conquer it. After one successful campaign, the soldiers were put into winter-quarters; where, finding the weather much colder than what they had been accustomed to, and being also deprived of their wives and families, the army, in general, became impatient of their situation, and clamorous to return home. Hansing, upon this, revolved in his mind the bad consequences of complying with their wishes. The necessity of soothing his troops, and reconciling them to their position, appeared urgent, in order to finish his operations in the ensuing year. He was a man of genius, as well as a good scholar; and having contemplated some time on the subject, he invented the game of Chess, as well for an amusement to his men in their vacant hours, as to inflame their military ardour, the game being wholly founded on the principles of war. The stratagem succeeded to his wish. The soldiery were delighted with the game; and forgot, in their daily contests for victory, the inconveniences of their post. In the spring the general took the field again; and, in a few months, added the rich country of Shensi to the kingdom of Kaingnan,

Kiangnan, by the defeat and capture of its king, Choupayuen,* a famous warrior among the Chinese. On this conquest Hugh Cochu assumed the title of emperor, and Choupayuen put an end to his own life in despair.

Explanation of the position, powers, and motives of the pieces on the Chinese chess-board, or Chong Ké royal game).

As there are nine pieces instead of eight, to occupy the rear rank, they stand on the lines between, and not within, the squares. The game is consequently played on the lines.

The king, or Chong, stands in the middle line of this row. His moves resemble those of our king, but are confined to the fortress marked out for him.

The two Princes, or Sou, stand on each side of him, and have equal powers and limits.

The Mandarins, or Tchong, answer to our bishops, and have the same moves, except that they cannot cross the water or white space in the middle of the board to annoy the enemy, but stand on the defensive.

The knights, or rather horses, called Maa, stand and move like ours in every respect.

The War-chariots, or Tchê, resemble our rooks or castles.

The Rocket-boys, or Pao, are pieces whose motions and powers were unknown to us. They act with the direction of a rocket, and can take none of their adversary's men that have not a piece or pawn intervening. To defend your men from this attack it is necessary to open the line between, either to take off the check on the King, or to save a man from being captured by the Paë. Their operation is, otherwise, like that of the rook. Their stations are marked between the pieces and pawns.

The five Pawns, or Ping, make up the number of the men equal to that of our board. Instead of taking sideways, like ours, they have the rook's motion, except that it is limited to one step, and is not retrograde. Another important point, in which the Ping differs from ours, is, that they continue in *statu quo*, after reaching their adversary's head-quarters. It will appear, however, that the Chinese pieces far exceed the proportion of ours; which occasions the whole force of the contest to fall on them, and thereby precludes the beauty and variety of our game, when reduced to a struggle between the pawns, who are capable of the highest promotion, and often change the fortune of the day. The posts of the Ping are marked in front.

EYLES IRWIN.

* The same romantic tales are circulated of the prowess of Choupayuen as of our celebrated Guy Earl of Warwick.

Unpublished letters respecting Dr. Walton's translation of the Bible, transcribed from the common place book of Mr. John Dwight, secretary to bishop Wallis.

"To the right honourable the counsel of state the humble petition of Brian Walton, D. D.

"Humbly sheweth,

"THAT, whereas sundry editions and translations of the Holy Bible (the divine treasury of saving truth) have been formerly made in divers learned languages, which have highly tended to the honour of God, and advancement of religion, especially those great and famous editions of the Complutense, the Antwerpe; and the late Paris, Bibles: and whereas, your petitioner having perused the said editions, and compared the same with sundry others, and finding that a more compleat and perfect edition than any of them may be made, which may be more usefull, and withall afforded at a fifth part, or thereabouts, of the price of those of Paris, whereby the same will become more common and great encouragement be given to the study of those tongues which conduce most to the understanding of the text, hath, with the advice of sundry learned men, drawn up a form of an edition in the original languages, with the most ancient translations, according to better and more authentic copies than those of the former editions, with addition of sundry things needful, which are wanting in them all; and hath digested the same in such order, whereby the several languages may be represented to the reader's view

at once, and the whole may be printed in a few ordinary volumes, and sold at the price aforesaid; a draught whereof, with a printed proof, and the suffrage and approbation of eminent learned men, is herewith exhibited: your petitioner, therefore, humbly prayeth, that your honours will be pleased to take the premises into your grave and serious consideration, and (as those former editions, though less perfect have been furthered by public authority) so you would be pleased to give your approbation of this work, with such furtherance, by recommendation or otherwise, as in your wisdoms shall be thought fit, where by your petitioner, and those that shall join with him herein, may be the better enabled and encouraged to go on in so great a work, so much conducive to the public good and honour of this nation. And your petitioner shall ever pray," &c. &c.

[Not delivered.]

"To his excellency the lord general Cromwell, the humble petition of Brian Walton, of London, D. D.

"Humbly sheweth,

"That, whereas your petitioner, with the advice of divers learned men, hath drawn up a form of an edition of the Bible in the original and other learned languages, which the late counsell of state, by their order of July, have declared to be an honourable work, and deserving encouragement, whereupon divers persons have subscribed several sums of money towards the printing thereof, as a work much tending to the honour of God and the nation; your petitioner humbly prayeth,

B b 3

that

that, in regard the power and authority of the said counsell is now ceased, your excellency would be pleased, for the encouragement of the petitioner and others employed in the said design, to declare your approbation of the said work, whereby it may go on without lett or disturbance, and your petitioner shall ever pray," &c. &c.

"I think fit that this work of printing the Bible, in the original and other languages, go on without any lett or interruption.

"O. CROMWELL."

"May 16, 1653."

Certificate of my lord primate and Mr. Selden about the Bible.

"Whereas, there hath been presented to us a draught of an edition of the Bible in the original and other languages, with a proof, or printed paper, wherein the same are, in several columns, represented at once to the reader's view; which (as is suggested) are according to better copies and editions than are used in those famous editions of the Complutense, Antwerp, and Paris, Bibles, besides sundry needful additions which are wanting in them, whereby this edition will become more perfect, and fitter for use, than those formerly mentioned, and yet the price very much lessened; we, whose names are subscribed, having viewed and well considered the said design, and being desirous to give our judgments and opinions thereof, do conceive that, both in regard of the said editions and copies, which are more exact than those followed in the other Bibles, and also of the various readings and other addi-

tions, as of the method and order wherein the several languages are digested, this work will be more complete and perfect, and also more useful, than any that hath been hitherto published in that kind, and that the printing thereof will much tend to the glory of God, and the public honour of our nation; and, therefore, we do heartily desire, that it may receive all due encouragement and furtherance from all whom it may concern,

"JA. ARMACHANUS,
"JOHN SELDEN."

The Greek fire; an ancient mode of warfare; from Andrews's History of Great Britain, A. D. 1191.

AT the celebrated siege of Acre both parties made use of the 'Greek fire;' a diabolical species of flame, which burnt the fiercer for the application of water. It is thus sung by a Leonine bard.

Percat, O, utinam! ignis hujus vena!
Non enim extinguitur aqua sed arenâ;
Vixq' vinum acidum arctat ejus fræna,
Et urina stringitur ejus vix habena.
Ignis hic confiscitur tantum per Paganos
Ignis hic exterminat tantum Christianos
Incantatus namque est per illos prophanos
Ab hoc perpetuo, Christe! libera nos!

MON: FLOR: de EXPUNG:
ACCONENS!]

Imitated.

May the fiend fly away with this odious
Greek fire!
Not water to quench it but sand we re-
quire;
Then vinegar's acid its power must lend
us,
And lye, in its turn, too, must help to
defend us.
The Pagans alone by this pest are pro-
tected,
'Gainst the Christians alone are its powers
directed.

By

By the pagans 'tis arm'd by most foul incantation,
Oh save us, kind Saviour, from such conflagration!

I. P. A.

The idea which the French knights formed of this destructive fire seems to have been almost unutterable. "Each man," said Gauthier de Cariel, an old and experienced warrior, "should throw himself on his elbows and knees when that fire is thrown, and beseech the Lord (who alone can help him) to avert the dreadful danger." This counsel was practised, and Philip himself, as often as he heard the Greek fire discharged in the night, raised his body from his bed and with uplifted hands prayed, "Lord, preserve my people!" Beau sire, &c.

Joinville (a gallant officer who was present) thus describes the Greek fire. "It was thrown from a 'Petrarie.' It was as large as a barrel of verjuice, had a flaming tail like a broad sword, made a report like thunder, and appeared like a dragon flying through the air: giving such a light that, in the camp at midnight, one might see as well as at noon-day."

G. de Vinesauf (a brave and learned French baron) thus expresses his horror at this destructive pest. "This fire has a most foetid smell with livid flames, and consumes even flints and iron. Water quenches it not; sand checks its force; but vinegar alone can extinguish it."

To complete the story of the Greek fire we will forestall the order of time. Philip of France, finding a quantity of this odious ammunition ready prepared at Acre, took it with him to Europe and meanly made use of it. (so says Pere

Daniel) against the fleet of England at Dieppe. It was used afterwards in France; and one Gaubert, of Mant, gained the secret of making it; but with him it expired. In 1380, the warlike bishop of Norwich and his army in Flanders suffered great annoyance from a composition of this inflammatory kind. And it is asserted by the most diligent of antiquaries, Grose, that a chymist still enjoys an annuity from government, on condition of keeping secret a composition of the same destructive cast.

This species of fire is perhaps very ancient. In his history of the Goths, Procopius speaks of an infernal mixture, called "Medea's oil," which had much the same properties. And the Kilan Tartars are said to have introduced it to China in 917, under the name of "The oil of the cruel fire."

Account of the first newspapers established in England. From lord Mountmorres's History of the Irish Parliament.

JULY 9, 1662, a very extraordinary question arose, about preventing the publication of the debates of the Irish parliament in an English newspaper called "The Intelligencer;" and a letter was written from the speaker to sir Edward Nicholas, the English secretary of state, to prevent these publications in those diurnals, as they call them. The "London Gazette" commenced Nov. 7, 1665. It was at first called the "Oxford Gazette," from its being printed there during a session of parliament held there on account of the last plague. Antecedent to this period, sir R. l'Es-

trange published the first daily newspaper in England.

From the following passage in Tacitus, it appears that somewhat like newspapers were circulated in the Roman State: *Diurna populi Romani per provincias, per exercitus, curatius leguntur: quam ut non noscatur, quid Thræsea, fecerit.*"

In a note of Mr. Murphy's excellent translation of Tacitus he laments that none of these diurnals, or newspapers, as he calls them, had been preserved, as they would cast great light upon the private life and manners of the Romans.

With the long parliament originated appeals to the people, by accounts of their proceedings. These appeared periodically, from the first of them, called "Diurnal Occurrences in Parliament," Nov. 3, 1641, to the restoration.

These were somewhat like our magazines, and they were generally called "*Mercuries*;" as "*Mercurius Politicus*," "*Mercurius Rusticus*;" and one of them, in 1644, appears under the odd title of *Mercurius Fumigosus*; or the Smoking Nocturnal.

The number of these publications appears, from a list in an accurate, new, and valuable, piece of biography, from 1641 to 1660, to have been 156.

These publications of parliamentary proceeding were interdicted after the restoration, as appears from a debate in Grey's Collection, March 24, 1681, in consequence of which, the Votes of the House of Commons were first printed by authority of parliament.

From the first regular paper, the above-mentioned "Public Intelligencer," commencing Aug. 31, 1661, there were, to 1688, with

the "Gazette," which has continued regularly, as at present, from Nov. 7, 1665, 70 papers, some of a short, and others of a longer duration.

The first daily paper, after the revolution, was called "The Orange Intelligencer;" and thence to 1792 there were 26 newspapers.

From an advertisement in a weekly paper, called "The Athenian Gazette," Feb. 8, 1696, it appears, that the coffee-houses in London had then, exclusive of the Votes of Parliament, nine newspapers every week; but there seems not to have been in 1696 one daily paper.

In the reign of queen Anne, there were, in 1709, 18 weekly papers published; of which, however, only one was a daily paper, "The London Courant."

In the reign of George I. in 1724, there were published three daily, six weekly, and ten evening papers, three times a week.

In the late reign there were published of newspapers in London, and in all England,

	in 1753	7,411,757
	1760	9,464,790
and in the present		
reign	in 1790	14,035,639
	1791	14,794,153
	1792	15,005,760

In 1792 there were published in London 13 daily, 20 evening, and nine weekly papers. In the country 70; and in Scotland 14 country papers.

Though Venice produced the first Gazette in 1536, it was circulated in manuscript long after the invention of printing, to the close of the 16th century, as appears from a collection of these Gazettes in the Magliabechian library at Florence, according

according to Mr. Chalmers, in his curious and entertaining *Life of Ruddiman*, p. 114.

Mr. Chalmers observes, that it may gratify our national pride to be told, that we owe to the wisdom of Elizabeth, and the prudence of Burleigh, the circulation of the first genuine newspaper, "The English Mercurie," printed during the time of the Spanish armada. The first number, preserved still in the British museum, is marked 50; it is dated the 23d of July, 1588, and contains the following curious article:

"Yesterday the Scotch ambassador had a private audience of her majesty, and delivered a letter from the king his master, containing his most cordial assurances of adhering to her majesty's interests, and to those of the Protestant religion; and the young king said to her majesty's minister at his court, that all the favour he expected from the Spaniards, was, the courtesy of Polyphemus to Ulysses, that he should be devoured the last."

These publications were however then, and long after, published in the shape of small pamphlets; and so they were called in a tract of one Burten, in 1614: "If any one reads now-a-days, it is a play-book or pamphlet of newes," for so the word was originally spelled.

From 1588 to 1622, and during the pacific reign of James I. few of these publications appeared; but the 30 years war, and the victories of the great king Gustavus Adolphus, having excited the curiosity of our countrymen, a weekly paper, called "The Newes of the present Week," was printed by Nathaniel Butter, in 1622, which was continued afterwards in 1620, under another title, by Mercurius

Britannicus; and they were succeeded by "The German Intelligencer," in 1630, and "The Swedish Intelligencer," in 1631, which last was compiled by William Watts, of Caius college, who was a learned man, and who thus gratified the public curiosity with the exploits of the Swedish hero, in a quarto pamphlet.

The great rebellion in 1641 was productive of abundance of those periodical tracts above-mentioned, as well as of all those that have been published since the first newspaper that appeared in the present form, "The Public Intelligencer," published by sir Roger L'Estrange, Aug. 31, 1661.

Mr. Chalmers subjoins to these curious researches the account of the first paper printed in Scotland, in February 1622, "The Edinburgh Gazette," which was accompanied afterwards, in 1705, by "The Edinburgh Courant;" and, at the period of the Union, Scotland had only three newspapers.

The publication of "The Caledonian Mercury," by Ruddiman, April 28th, 1720, led this curious and entertaining biographer to this minute and laborious investigation; from which it appears, that England had, in 1792, 35 town and 70 country papers, published at Edinburgh and in the country.

An essay on the invention of printing. From the Gentleman's Magazine.

ABDALLA's Chinese History, 1317, mentions wooden tablets engraven to print entire pages. Trigault asserts that the Chinese practised

practised the art of printing five centuries before his time. Count Terre Rezzonico found at Lyons plates with words and names engraven by a Nuremberger, 1380. The Chinese way of stamping a whole page with one intire block, Costar used at Harlem, about the year 1480. He used single types of wood before the year 1440; when these characters were spirited away to Mentz either directly or by degrees; probably by the elder Genfleisch; who, with his brother John Gutenberg, cut metalline types under the patronage of John Faust, whose son-in-law, Scheffer, cast the types. Costar's earliest known impressions were, a book of eight pages, containing an alphabet, the Lord's prayer, and three other prayers; a little Catholicon, or vocabulary; confessionals; Donatus printed before 1440; and, probably, the Art of Memory, and a Treatise of Antichrist; both with figures; likewise Christ's History, and the *Speculum Salutis*, kept in a silver chest at Harlem; that, in Dutch, has (like the Donatus) capitals; see Meerman. The Latin *Speculum* (at Wilton) was partly printed with fixed types, partly with moveable. John Naucier and Olric Zell, who printed at Cologne, 1467, the book *De Singularitate Clericorum*, now at Blenheim-house; and the Bible, 1458, in Daly's late collection; wrote that "printing was invented at Mentz, 1440, and improved till 1450, when a Latin Bible was printed; yet the Donatus at Harlem led the way." The Latin Bible was printed, with cut metalline types, at Mentz, 1450. The Chronicon of Mat. Palmer, of Pisa (born 1423) asserts, that printing was invented 1440, and gene-

rally propagated 1457. Seiz tells us, that "John Baptist Fulgosius Dux Ianuensium 1487 dixit, Literar' imprimendar' Artem 1440 inventam." That Laurence Costar, 1439, cut single letters of lead; and, 1438, invented a method of casting single types; and printed the Dutch *Speculum*, also Donatus. Gutenberg printed an alphabet; also Alexandri Galli de Villa Dei Doctrinale sive Grammaticam, and Petri Hispani Logicalia, with wooden types, 1442. Gutenberg and Mentel, 1446, printed *Biblia Latina*. An edition of the Bible by Faust's Artists appeared 1462, price five marks; see Fenn's Letters. Peter Scheffer, 1452, Matrices formandi Artem excogitavit. The Psalms were printed, by Faust, at Mentz, with the date 1457; but many of the earliest books were not dated. He printed the *Officiale Durandi* with cast types, 1459. The Clementine constitutions are at Neustift, in Tyrol, 1460. At an eminent London bookseller's, in Fleet-street, was on sale, Dec. 1790, the Latin Lexicon, styled *Johannis de Januâ Summa, Catholicon dicta, impressa Moguntiaë*, 1460. Petersheim printed at Francfort, 1459, when Hen. Bourcher, archbishop of Canterbury, introduced the art into England. Mariangel Accursius saw with Aldusa Donatus by Faust, printed with coppertypes (says Fabricius) in 1450; as was the Confessional. Accursius wrote thus: Joh. Faust et Joh. Schæffer admoniti ex Donato Hollandiæ prius impresso Donatum et Confessionalia, 1450; imprimebant. The Chronicon of Cologne, printed 1490, informs us, "the art of printing was cultivated at Mentz, on the Rhine, from the year 1440." But although the

the present method was invented there, yet the sample of printing was obtained from the Dutch editions of Donatus. Polydore Virgil wrote thus: "Joh. Gutenberg Teutonicus, equestri vir dignitate, ut ab ejus civibus accepimus, primus omniu' in Mônguntio Germaniæ oppido imprimendar' Literar' artem excogitavit; decima sexto deinceps anno (qui fuit A. Sal. 1458). Conradus, homo itidem Germanus, arte in Italia attulit." Hadrian Junius mentions printing at Mentz, 1442; but with Costar's types. Caxton (as Meerman notes) 1482, set the invention of the art in 1455; about that time, indeed, it became public and general; as Palmer of Pisa, Polydore Vergil, and Werner's *Fasciculus Temporis* evince. It ensued on the separation of Faust's Artists. But John Mentel exercised the art at Strasburg about 1444. Wintpheling (who died 1528) says, that Gutenberg had an imperfect knowledge of printing at Strasburg; though Peter Scheffer's son John asserts, that "Gutenberg invented (rather founded) printing at Mentz, 1450; where his father and John Faust improved it. "Elsewhere, he explains this of types. John Scott, 1531, attributes the invention to John Mental 1444. And Spiegel, the emperor Maximilian's secretary, wrote, that "John Mental, at Strasburg, in the year 1444, invented the art of printing;" see Seiz. About the year 1458, both Gutenberg and Mental could stamp 300 sheets daily. But I think that Gutenberg's eldest brother was a workman with Costar, and fled to his brother at Strasburg, but afterwards repaired to Mentz. This accounts for the report that the art was brought from Strasburg thither.

How else could Gutenberg, who resided at Strasburg, from 1434 to 1444, learn the art from his elder brother; except, indeed, he visited him at Harlem, or both brothers served Costar, and about 1434 removed with the types first to Strasburg; for Seiz quotes an old manuscript, that says, they resided there, 1444; whence the eldest brother retired to Mentz about 1440. John Dun, a goldsmith, attested that he sold to Gutenberg, articles useful in printing about 1436. Thus at Harlem were invented wooden types, both fixed and moveable, about 1430; cut single letters of lead about 1436; and cast leaden types about 1438. Gutenberg introduced the art at Strasburg about 1439. His elder brother at Mentz about 1440; he printed under Faust's auspices in 1442. Afterwards Gutenberg came thither; and metalline types were cut for the Bible, 1450; and used for the Psalter, 1457; when the art as aforesaid became general. Scheffer, Faust's son-in-law, invented, or at least improved, cast types; with which Durandus was printed, 1459. Therefore, considering the early account of printing at Strasburg, given by Scott and Spiegel, and that the book *De Miseriâ Lotharii* was dated 1448, why doth Blainville (who recites an epigram, dated 1454, attributing the invention of printing to Germany) suspect, after Misson, the date of the book on Predestination, at Spire, which is 1446; the date of the *Leonard des Utino*; a book whose type greatly resembles the specimens of Mental's press, in Meerman; and bears every mark of a most ancient performance in that art. The large introductory capitals are not printed

ed. Neither pages nor folios are numbered, even though there is a table referring to the folios. The sheets have no marks; nor are there any catch-words, or *custodes*, at the bottom of the pages; the small capitals were in a very simple style. The letters are of unequal size; and the lines are uneven. The sentences have no distinguishing marks, except quadrangular points. No labels adorn the heads of the pages, as in the Nuremberg Chronicle, 1493. It is probable, a religious society would have embraced the earliest opportunity to honour a member of their own body by committing his book to the newly-invented press, which must have been much admired as soon as understood. Therefore, Leonard's work appears as old as its date, maugre any opinionated Frenchman's positive *ipse dixit* to the contrary. The admirable Tully afforded a plain hint towards the invention; where (on the nature of the gods) he speaks of collecting and arranging a great number of separate letters; which, says he, could never fortuitously compose any intelligible or coherent treatise.

Conference between bishop Gardiner and sir James Hales, 1453; copied verbatim from a scarce specimen of early printing in the possession of the late Mr. Ames. From the same.

Chauncellor. MASTER Hales, M^y ye shall understand that like as the quenes highnes hath hertofore receivid good opinion of you, especialle, for that he stonde both faithfullie and lawfulli in hir

cause of just succession, refusing to set your hande to the booke, among others that were against hir grace in that beholfe; so now, through your owne late desertes, against certain hir highnes dooings, ye stande not well in hir graces favour. And therefor, before you take anie othe, it shal be necessarie for you to make your purgation.

Hales. I praie you, my lorde, what is the cause?

Chauncellor. Information is given that ye have indicted certain priests in Kent, for saing of masse.

Hales. Mi lorde, it is not so. I indicted none; but indede, certaine indictments of like matter wer brought before me at the last assises there holden, and I gave order therein, as the lawe required. For I have professed the lawe, against which, in cases of justice, will I never (God willinge) proceed, nor in anie wise dissemble, but with the same shewe forth mi conscience, and, if it were to do againe, I would do no lesse than I did.

Chauncellor. Yes, master Hales, your conscience is known wel enough. I know ye lacke no conscience.

Hales. Mi lorde, ye maie do wel to serch your own conscience, for mine is better knowne to mieself than to you; and to be plaine, I did as well use justice in your saide masse case bi mi conscience as bi the lawe; wherein I am fulli bent to stand in trial to the uttermost that can be objected; and if I have therein done anie injurie or wrong, let me be judged bi the lawe, for I will seek no better defence, considering chiefly that it is mi profession.

Chauncellor. Whi, master Hales, although ye had the rigour of the lawe

lawe on yourside, yet ye might have hadde regard to the quene's highnes present dooinges in that case. And further, although ye seme to be more then precise in the lawe; yet I thinke, ye wolde be veri loth to yelde to the extremitie of suche advantage as might be gathered againste your proceedings in the lawe, as ye have sometimes taken uppon you in place of justice. And, if it were well tried, I believe ye shud not be well able to stond honestlie thereto.

Hales. Mi lord, I am not so perfect but I may erre for lacke of knowledge; but, both in conscience, and such knowledge of the lawe as God hath given me, I will do nothing but I will maintain and abide in it. And if mi goodes, and all that I have, be not able to counterpoise the case, mi bodie shal be redi to serve the turne, for thei be at all the quenes highnesse pleasure.

Chauncellor. Ah! sir, ye be very quicke and stoute in your answers; but as it shoulde seme, that which ye did was more of a will, favouring the opinion of your religion against the service howe used, then for an occasion or zeale of justice, soinge the quenes highnesse doeth set it forthe, as yet wishinge all hir faithful subjects to imbrace it accordingli; and where ye offer both bodie and goods in your triall, there

is no such matter required at youre handes, and yet ye shall not have your owne will neither.

Hales. My lord, I seke not wilful will, but to shew myself as I am bound in love to God, and obedience to the quenes majestie, in whose cause willingly, for justise sake, al other respectes set apart, I did oflate, (as your lordship knoeth), adventure as much as I had. And as for my religion, I trust it to be such as pleaseth God, wherein I am redy to adventure as well my life as my substaunce, if I be called thereunto. And so in lackie of mine owne power and wil, the Lordes will be fulfilled.

Chauncellor. Seeing ye be at this point, master Hales, I wil presently make an end with youe. The quenes highnes shal be informed of youre opinion and declaration. And as hir grace shal therupon determine, ye shal have knowledge, until which tyme ye may depart as ye came without your oth, for, as it appeareth, ye are scarce worthi the place appointed.

Hales. I thanke your lordship, and, as for my vocation, being both a burthen and a charge, more than ever I desired, to take upon me; whensoever it shall please the quenes highnes to ease me thereof, I shall most humbli, with due contentation obei the same.—*And so this upright judge departed from the bar.*

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

The Land of Nineveh, a fragment ; addressed to the farmers of Great Britain and Ireland, by a friend to husbandry ; from the Annals of Agriculture.

AND there lived a king in the land of Nineveh, who ruled the country in peace, and he distributed his favours among his people, giving to one great authority, and to others situations of emolument ; but no man was oppressed thereby, for he gave but his own, and what the laws of the land permitted.

And his nobles confederated together and said, " Why suffer we this thing ? This man placeth over us whom he listeth, and giveth away what he pleaseth to others, and pays no proper respect to our claims : Let us endure it no longer : Let us displace him : Let us divide his possessions and authority amongst us, and we shall be happy." And they did so, and the king fled, and lived in another country, and the nobles returned triumphing each to his own home.

And the husbandmen of the country heard this, and they assembled together, and said, " Behold the king that reigned over us has fled ; and his nobles has seized every thing he had, and they claim the inheritance of the land. What giveth them a right to do so ?

What mattereth their wax or their parchments ? The land is ours, for we till it, and we will pay them their heavy exactions no more." And the nobles were few in number, and no man could trust another, and they fled, and the husbandmen took each man the land he possessed, and he kept it as his own, and he lived in his own house rejoicing.

And these husbandmen had many servants, who were employed in tilling the land ; and the servants said unto one another, " Whence cometh this ? The king that reigned over us has fled, and his nobles are driven from their estates, and the husbandmen possess the soil, and they claim the whole land as their own ; but what right have they to do so ? Where are their deeds or parchments ? Are their titles better than ours ? Surely not. Let us then join together, let us drive these wicked men from our bounds, and let us divide the land among us." And they did so, and the husbandmen fled every where, and none of them retained a spot of the land they had formerly possessed, and the servants said, " There is none now to contest with us, we shall soon become rich and happy, we formerly tilled the land of others, we shall now cultivate our own."

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And behold in the cities of that country, there dwelt persons professing different occupations ; and these persons met together, and said, " What is this that we hear ? The king that reigned over us has fled, and his nobles are banished from the land, and the husbandmen are driven from amongst us, and their servants are now possessors of the soil. Why should this be suffered ? We live in crowded cities ; we breathe unwholesome air ; we toil for others more than for ourselves ; we can procure but a bare subsistence. Let us join and act together. Our enemies are scattered over the face of the land. We will soon drive them before us, and enjoy their possessions in peace." And they assembled together, and took arms, and went against the servants of the husbandmen, and drove them out of the country, and those who resisted they put to death.

And the men of occupation now possessed the whole land, and they said, " Let us divide it equally amongst us, that none may have more than his neighbour, and that all may share alike." And they quarrelled about the division, and no man was satisfied with what he got, and they had no means of cultivating the soil, and they had no skill to do it, and famine spread over the land, and they wept bitterly, and said, " When we had no land, we got what it produced in abundance, and now we have land, it yieldeth us nothing," and they cried, " Give us some bread to eat."

And the Lord saw what the people suffered, and how much they repented of their transgressions, and he had compassion upon them, and

he sent a prophet to announce it them the way in which they should walk, and the prophet said unto them, " Let the men of occupation return to their professions by the exercise of which they obtain their share of the produce of the soil. Let the servants labour for their masters, that the earth may be duly cultivated. Let the husbandmen hire their land, from those who lawfully inherit it, for no man must possess the territory of another without his consent. Let the nobles be restored to their property, and they will watch over the interests of the state. Let the king be re-established on his throne, that he may protect his people from injury. And let property be held sacred, the sure basis of the prosperity of a state, **AND ALL SHALL BE WELL.**" And it was so ; and the people blessed the Lord, and said, " Now we see what is good for us, and how alone a multitude of people can dwell together." And they lived happily, and increased in numbers, and all the neighbouring nations rejoiced with them.

*On planting, by Arthur Young, esq.
from the same.*

THERE can hardly be a more interesting question in political agriculture, than that of the national benefit resulting from plantations of the many sorts of trees which are made to occupy various soils and situations,—some good, some bad. Great merit is assigned, by many writers, to such works ; and societies have confirmed the opinion, by offering numberless premiums for the encouragement of similar undertakings.

takings. Upon questions of such importance to the national interests, it is much to be wished, that the very best intelligence may be procured, and that the most deep and careful attention be given, to ascertain the comparative utility to the public, of the different modes of applying the soil.

It seems, at first sight, a little singular, that the conversion of the soil to a state of nature, should be esteemed so great an improvement, as to call for premiums to reward those who are the readiest to take these retrograde steps towards changing the corn, cattle, and sheep of Britain, into the savage robe of an American wilderness. Every acre we have in England, if securely enclosed, would, in the process of no long lapse of time, become a forest: it is the residence of people, with their flocks and herds, and prosperity in their train, that proves the destruction of all forests. What an odd policy, to be solicitous to drive back the natural progress of all that creates wealth, and cover our lands with those woods, which the creation of wealth has extirpated. One great reproach of the Venetian government in Istria, is, that the state is more anxious to preserve the woods than the people; that they have, by severities, driven away the inhabitants, as animals very noxious to woods, with such success, that their aim is answered; the people are gone, and the forests flourish. We are anxious for the same effect, but by different means: we would not drive away the people, but we would occupy those lands with timber, which at present produce some mutton, and with the expence of planting,

would produce a great deal: this is pretty much the same thing, as the way to have people, is to be able to feed them; and what food is yielded by a well-preserved wood I am yet to learn.

This fact is so clear, that we may safely accept it for a maxim, that the more wood there is in the kingdom, the fewer people there must necessarily be fed on the product of our own soil. This is demonstration. It is a poor reply to say, that some soils *may* be planted, which will not yield food for man; there are, I confess, that yield little, but all yield some; I know no waste lands that do not feed either sheep or rabbits, or cattle; and the black moors and mountains, where the soil is peat, feed great numbers, are well adapted to sheep, and, with very obvious improvements, would feed an infinitely greater number. Thus, in every case of planting, the food of man is excluded in favour of something else. *To be sure—food for man is excluded for fuel for man; the one is as necessary as the other.* This reply is more obvious than true.—Coals are so inexhaustible in this island, that every man in Britain may be warmed by them for ten centuries to come. Such plenty points out the palpable policy, that the bowels of the earth should warm, and its surface feed us. To plant with a view to firing, is to reject the beneficence of nature, and to encumber those fields with a commodity which can be spared, to the exclusion of others which cannot. The same observation is exactly applicable to timber for naval and building uses: it is infinitely cheaper to buy, than to raise such: so many countries yet remain in a

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waste and desert state, *being fully planted*, that we need not have the least apprehension of a supply.— That the royal navy is safe in this respect, we have the highest authority to assert; for we learn, by the report of the commissioners of the crown-lands, that the price of oak, in the king's yards, has risen nothing in the last thirty years. This is, of all others, the most decisive proof, either that the quantity has not declined, or that the foreign supply is fully adequate. He, who has viewed as much of France as I have done, will know, that a country may support a great navigation and an immense navy without growing oak, which is scarcely seen in that kingdom of a capital size.

It is sometimes contended, that timber is such a necessary of life, that it ought to be raised at home. I grant that it is necessary, but that does not prove, that we ought to produce it at home; facts speak a directly contrary language; for let it be remembered, that, from one end of the kingdom to the other, all buildings, of any consequence, are erected of fir, imported from the Baltic, the scantlings of which are cut to so little loss, as to be much cheaper than any products of our own. The kingdom has been, for more than fifty years, and, in a good measure, for a hundred, using foreign wood; or, to adopt the common language, dependant on foreigners for this undoubted necessary; and who has yet found any inconvenience in so doing? Why then affect such fears and alarms at a situation which we have actually been in a constant habit of for so long a time, without the smallest inconvenience?

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No doubt can be entertained of the superiority of well-inclosed and well-managed plantations, when compared with wastes fed, *in common*, by a wretched breed of starved sheep. But this is ever a most idle comparison: the parallel ought to be drawn between such wastes enclosed, improved to the amount of the expence of planting, and fed with the best breed of sheep the land then would carry; in which case, I believe the superiority would be found on the other side of the question.

All these reasonings, therefore, of a supposed want of timber, or fuel, are founded upon very insufficient data, even for the purpose of a fair argument; but when they are made the basis of propositions, that must affect the greatest and most important interests of the nation, they surely ought to be received with abundant caution; they ought to be sifted with the most inquisitive solicitude, and examined with the most close attention to every collateral circumstance.

Forest countries consider wood as a nuisance, and their idea of a well-improved country is one well *cleared*; perfectly *denuded* of trees, as Dr. Johnson expressed, rural nakedness: when they are told, that we, on the contrary, look at woods and plantations as capital improvements, they have reason to think that we act on principles which to them appear marvellous.

At first sight, the contrast of the application of the soil to feed people, or to raise wood, is so strong—the one apparently so important—the other seemingly so inconsiderable,—that the difference should decide the question. But this contrast

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trast becomes infinitely greater and more forcible when it is considered, that in this kingdom apprehensions of a want of bread are almost periodical, and that government, on every occasion, manifest an alarm, lest those apprehensions should be founded. That in the same kingdom, there is a constant and immense importation of corn; of wheat to some amount, of oats to a very great one. That in the same kingdom the price of every sort of butcher's meat marks no superfluity; that the products of the dairy have risen in price remarkably; that, within a year, wool had risen, in no long term, 50 per cent. and consequently marked an active demand. In a country thus circumstanced, abounding with the greatest commerce and manufactures in the world, and a population increasing rapidly in every quarter,—in such a country to adopt the forest policy,—to tread back the steps of national improvement,—to bid forests once more breathe their browner horror over scenes applicable to the food of mankind.—and take the same clothing which covered them when Boadicea drew forth her barbarians from their bosoms, must seem a strange exertion of modern politics.

However, if private interest calls for such exertions, by their great profit, it is then in vain to reason against them on public principles. Let us examine shortly the ideas of imaginary profits that are, by some, annexed to woods and plantations.

The expences of planting are all thrown away, if fences are not made most effectively, which is a heavy charge, unless the under-

taking is upon an enormous scale; it has been calculated, that a thousand acres, in one enclosure, may be enclosed and planted so cheaply as for 20s. an acre, provided only five hundred larches are assigned to each acre. This supposes, that the price would not rise with the demand, which possibly might be the case; but it also supposes it right to plant only five hundred on an acre, yet many planters of great experience recommend nearer ten times as many. Many calculations which demand attention, from the great ability of their authors, suppose the land, previous to planting, to be worth an exceedingly small rent, even down to a few pence per acre; but I may observe, that all ideas of the present value of land, derived from the application, unenclosed, and in a state of commonage, must be liable to a good deal of error. In a country where *the right of turning* tea sheep on a common may be hired for 6d. probably an *enclosed* moor could not be hired for ten times such a rent. And as a power of enclosure is supposed, before the land can be planted, so ought the same power to be supposed for ascertaining the value of the land previous to planting.

The highest parts of the moors in Knaresborough forest, which are chiefly peat moors covered with ling, support a Scotch sheep per acre through the year, and consequently cannot be estimated worth a less rent than 2s. an acre, being enclosed with walls and tithe free; if the *gross* produce (and this is always to be reckoned in a national view) amount only to three rents, it rises to 6s. an acre, but call

call it 5s. If you plant such moors, you must calculate the progressive increase of 5s. per annum, at compound interest during the term your trees are to stand; such a calculation will not turn out any inducement to change sheep for timber. And here some considerations deserve attention, relative to the quality and value of planted woods.

Mr. Farquharson, of Invercauld, has, in a very able memoir, printed in Mr. Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*, observed upon the great difference in value between the firs and pines of natural woods, and those planted artificially. We are apt, in calculations, to estimate a larch or a fir to be worth, fifty or sixty years hence, the price or value of a *good* larch or fir; but they turn out sometimes almost good for nothing, except for the most inferior uses. Larch growing in a state of nature, on the Alps, is found to be the most durable of all timber. The late earl of Orford tried various species of wood in a lift of posts and rails, in an exposed situation,—and *planted* larch was the first that rotted. This tree, which is justly a favourite for its rapid growth, has not yet attained to a maturity in England, sufficient to ascertain its merit. As to firs, they have been found, when felled or offered to sale in large quantities, absolutely unscalable. Thus the production of inferior sorts of wood, in large quantities, becomes a speculation of very questionable profit.

As to oak, if felled at early periods of its growth, the value per foot is small, for no timber is worse than sap oak; and if kept to such an age, as to become an ob-

ject of national defence, all our authorities agree, that the profit lessens.

I do not offer these considerations as decisive of the question—I only presume to call so much attention to them, that they may be in no danger of being overlooked. The quality of productions that are to occupy the soil for so many years, to the exclusion of man and his food, is a subject of consequence to the individual who plants, and to the nation whose population receives a prohibition.

Convert all our wastes, to the amount perhaps of twelve or fifteen millions of acres, into crops of corn, or mutton, or beef, or hides, or wool; and let the plenty be as great as a sanguine fancy can paint it, the progressive prosperity of the kingdom promises to advance with a celerity, that shall find consumption for the whole.—Turn them to savage forests, producing bad wood, and possibly no timber, or the best if you will, and what comparison can there be between the two applications of the soil? It is commonly said, that any sort of planting would be preferable to the present waste state, while under the torture of common rights; but the comparison is vague: when enclosed and divided, they will be ready for any application, and it surely then becomes a question, what that application should be?

Landlords are apt to consider the benefit of woods and plantations, in a light that tends a little too much to self-love. They receive almost the whole of the gross produce of such—the nation has very little more interest in them than the amount of the landlord's re-

ceipt; but this is abundantly different with every other production; a plantation of fir or larch, that, at fifty years growth, shall be worth 40l. and consequently shall have paid 20s. per cent. per annum, may be felled for 20s. or 30s. and the tops faggotted perhaps for twice as much more. If fenced in large divisions, a mere traffic in repairs for ten or a dozen years; the labouring poor might, therefore, in 20s. come in for 1s. or 1s. 6d.; and there ends the statistical account: no farmer—almost no labourer—no artizan—the landlord reigns the solitary lord of the silent desert, as unconnected as the roaming savage, and as free from the support of human industry, as the Siberian or the Tartar. To raise his produce, demands little assistance; to work up and consume it, affords still less employment. Such is the state of the soil to which so many would, *by way of improvement*, reduce us! Such the amelioration for which honorary premiums are offered!

But, however right I may think it to condemn planting, with the views of a crop, much is to be said in its favour, when intended merely for sheltering cattle; I say nothing of ornament; however, plantations with this view, are not usually very extensive, nor do all situations want them; they are entirely removed from the Sussex system of surrounding small enclosures with wood, to a degree that almost excludes the sun and wind from all power of drying wet soils, and renders critical seasons at harvests doubly pernicious. Such a system

is destructive to the tenant; a circumstance of some consequence to a landlord when he lets a farm.

The comparative authenticity of Tacitus and Suetonius, illustrated by the question, "whether Nero was the author of the memorable conflagration at Rome," by Arthur Browne, LL.D. S. F. T. C. D. and M. R. I. A. From the Irish Transactions.

SO much has been said of the candour of Suetonius, and of his work being the most accurate narration extant of the lives of the emperors, that it is worth the pains to enquire, how far their praises are due. Others are said to have been actuated by hatred, or slaves to adulation; he is represented alone as fair and uninfluenced.* For my own part, I so much differ from this opinion, that I have ever considered the rank allotted to Suetonius, in the scale of historical merit, as elevated much beyond his deserts. I am not inclined to trust either his candour or his accuracy, particularly when opposed to, or compared with, his rival historian. We are accustomed, I know not how, at an early age, from contemporary studies, to unite the names of contemporary historians, and from thence perhaps insensibly to infer a similarity of excellence. The authors perused treat of the same facts, they are read at the same time, and the mind is yet too young for accurate discrimination. May not such associations have had some effect with respect to Suetonius and Tacitus?

* See the encomiums collected by Pritseus, in the preface to his edition of Suetonius.

But the exercise of maturer judgement readily separates such unions, and detects the apparent parallelism of objects, which, sufficiently pursued, will be found in time infinitely to diverge. This judgement, however, is in many cases never exercised at all.

A premature perusal of the classics often prevents a subsequent cool revisal of their beauties and their merits, impels the man to consider the subjects of the studies of the boy as trifling and disgusting, and indolently to acquiesce in first impressions, rather than retrace steps which appeared unpleasant, because involuntary. But he who, at maturer years, is led, by taste or inclination, to examine and compare the lights of antiquity, will be astonished at their numerous detections of his errors first imbibed, and corrections of the implicit faith which he has put in some of its oracles; and perhaps no where will he find less reason for confidence than in the secretary of Adrian (for such was Suetonius), however high his post, or good his means of information.

The title of this essay, indicates my intention to confine my obser-

vations to the comparative fidelity in narration, of the celebrated writers therein-mentioned, without touching on their other relative perfections or imperfections. The instance which I have selected to illustrate this point (for abundance of them might be found*) may to some appear trifling; and it may be asked, who, in the eighteenth century, can be interested in the question, whether at Rome, in the first, was burnt by the hand of her natural protector, or of what utility is the discussion which tends to wash away one spot from the bloody garb of Nero? The objection should not come from the theoretic lover of truth, never despising enquiry and discrimination; nor will the expulsion of falsehood from history ever appear trifling to its practical admirers. The question too, is not totally unconnected with the well-known controversy in morals, on the existence of gratuitous malevolence, as any alleged motives for this supposed conduct of the tyrant, are utterly unsatisfactory to the rational mind: † But its chief importance rests on the grounds I have premised. If we detect an historian in any one instance, in a pe-

* Such as Suetonius's assertion, that Tiberius abolished the privilege of sanctuary, when the contrary, which is asserted by Tacitus, is proved beyond a doubt, by coin subsequent to his reign; his making Germanicus conquer a king of Armenia, when Armenia had no king, and was not at war with Rome; his representation of the character of Nero, in many respects differing from the traits given by Tacitus and others; his mentioning the loss of an army in Asia, when from Tacitus it appears, it was only the rumour of such a loss. Surely, these variances would not have appeared trifling to Lipsius, who took such pains to reconcile these authors, when differing in the point, whether Agrippa Posthumus was killed by a *centurion* or a *tribune* of the soldiers. Josephus observes, that no man's character has been more misrepresented, from adulation on the one side, and prejudice on the other, than Nero's.

† The desire of seeing the resemblance of Troy in flames, is too childish to be imputed even to the fantastical mind of Nero, and the design of burning a great city, in order to improve and rebuild it, if indeed necessary, in the plenitude of his power, for such object (while under our moderate government similar improvement is without difficulty attained on valuing the houses pulled down) does not seem to be confirmed by his subsequent actions.

remptory and dogmatical assertion of a disputed, nay, improbable, charge, have we not cause to view his writings with general suspicion, and scrutinize with jealous eye his accuracy or his candour? And we cannot select a better example than that of a direct and unqualified allegation of a plain and simple fact, into which, if false, the writer could not from any circumstances be supposed to be innocently or unwittingly betrayed.

Suetonius, then, directly and circumstantially ascribes the conflagration at Rome, in the time of Nero, to that detested emperor, while Tacitus only says, *forte an dolo imperatoris incertum*. The authority of the former seems to have prevailed, and few traditions have been more strongly believed, or sayings more frequently applied, than "that Nero fiddled while Rome was burning." I apprehend, therefore, that the following arguments to the contrary will have at least the recommendation of novelty, as the opposite opinion has never been hinted by any writer whom I have met, except the Abbé Millot, who annexes no reasons for his doubts.

The reader, who recollects the idle calumnies, which, upon a similar occasion, were thrown out against a prince of our own, Charles the Second, and the numberless insinuations of opposite parties at that period, branding each other with the name of incendiaries, will not incautiously assent to the rumour bred by inflamed imaginations, ascribing to malice the offspring of accident.

Whoever has implicitly believed, that Rome was burnt by Nero, will find, to his surprise, on the first peep into Tacitus, this passage, *Hoc*

tempore, Nero Antii agens, the paragraph which first indeed, by exciting my wonder, drew my attention to this subject. The man, who is depicted as sitting on a lofty tower of his palace, attuning to his harp the poet's numbers on the destruction of Troy, in the midst of the imperial city, with whose fires his eyes were feasted, was not, at their commencement, at least, in Rome at all. This should seem almost to terminate the question: but, no! the critic will say, Antium was only ten miles from Rome, and the emperor had ample time to arrive there long before the extinction of the flames; in fact he did so, when he found that the most vigorous orders which he had issued from Antium had no effect.—Such orders he had issued, and it shews his alacrity in trying to have the fire extinguished before his arrival. Let us see then how he acted after his arrival. During the very confusion and terror of the conflagration, it may have been difficult to ascertain the conduct of the prince; and it is during that period, that Suetonius charges him with encouraging the flames, and cherishing the incendiaries. "Voices of men," says he, "were heard, exclaiming, that they acted by orders from the emperor, and emissaries from his very household might have been apprehended in the act of spreading the flames." That the emperor should have been absurd enough to furnish incendiaries with the authority of his name is incredible; but let us remember, that within three years past, the destroyers of the castles of the nobility in France, pleaded authority from that king, whose throne they were on the point of overturning. To these
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idle tales, I oppose the acknowledged behaviour of Nero, after the extinction of the fire, when it stands unveiled by that cloud of confusion and rumour, which always attends present calamity. He opened his gardens for the sufferers, he pitched tents for them, he laboured to provide them with necessaries, he cheapened the price of corn; such are the testimonies of Tacitus. On his previous absence, on his subsequent conduct, I might perhaps, then rest his innocence; but it is confirmed by some other strong arguments, to which I now proceed.

The emperor is charged with setting fire to the city, that he might enjoy the beauty of the sight. It appears, from Tacitus, that so far from coveting the spectacle, his fault was, indolent reluctance to move from Antium. He issued from thence the most rigorous orders for extinguishing the flames, but he refused to stir till his own palace was on fire. It was in this situation, that he must be supposed to have run up with his harp, immediately on his arrival, to the top of the tower of Mæcenas; a station where he stood a very reasonable chance of being broiled for his pains. The supposition is too ludicrous to admit a doubt of its falsehood; and this being as confidently asserted as any circumstance, must make us doubt of the truth of all the rest. Let us combine, then, the absence of the emperor from the capital when the fire began, his active orders before he left Antium, his unwillingness to leave it, the situation of the city on his arrival, and his behaviour after the conflagration, and see where we can find the least probable trace of the tale of Suetonius.

The spot, where the fire broke out, affords another very strong argument of want of design: *In prædiis Tigellini Æmilianis proruperat*, says Tacitus. He observes, indeed, that *plus infamie incendium habuit*, for that reason, that is, because it was on the estate of Tigellinus; but where were these Prædia? in the district called the Æmiliana. Now this district was quite without the city, as any one will find upon consulting the plan of ancient Rome. *Eorum ædificia qui habitant extra Portam Frumentariam, aut in Æmilianis*, says Varro, lib. iii. *De re Rustica*. What could have induced the emperor, whose ability does not seem to have been contemptible, to have adopted such an extraordinary method of firing the city, by kindling the flame in its remotest suburbs? "He was accused," says Tacitus, "of having been actuated with a desire of founding a new city, and calling it by his name." Did he do so? And what prevented him? The consequence did not follow, and the imputed means were absurdly disproportionate to the motive.

That the fire in the Æmiliana was accidental, will become more than probable, when we find, that it was a quarter where dangerous and extensive conflagrations had happened before. It appears from Suetonius, in his account of the reign of Claudius, chap. 18. that one had obstinately raged in this region during the life of that prince: *Ubi Æmiliana pertinacius arderent*. And it appears, that it was of consequence enough to call for the presence and incessant labour of the emperor himself and his whole court; we may reasonably conjecture, therefore, that it was a part

of the suburbs, for some reason or other, perhaps by being the site of hazardous manufactures, particularly exposed and obnoxious to these calamities.

It is true that Tacitus, in another place, says, with a seeming contradiction, *Initium in ea parte Circi orium, quæ Palatino Calioque Montibus contigua est*; and Fleury, in his Ecclesiastical History, founding the assertion on this passage, says it broke out in some shops about the Circus, without taking notice of the other alleged site of its commencement.

The commentators on Tacitus have endeavoured to reconcile the difference, and insist that it broke out in two places, the Circus and the Æmiliana. Now, as to the Circus, Tacitus himself accounts for its rise and progress there, *Ubi per tabernas, quibus id Mercimonium inerat quo flamma alitur coeptus ignis*. The fire began in certain shops filled with inflammable materials, and naturally calculated to originate and diffuse the flames. Where they could so easily be accounted for, who would have seen, reflected by their light, the deadly visage of the tyrant, but those whose horrors of his crimes and terror of his wickedness raised on every occasion the imperial phantom before their alarmed imaginations. Let us not fear that by deducting this little burthen of guilt we shall leave too small a portion of infamy to satiate resentment and deter imitation. The bloody roll of Nero's crimes will scarcely appear diminished by expunging this inferior title to abhorrence.

It is an inferior circumstance, yet not entirely unworthy of note, that the rumours which had reached the

ears of the two historians, as to Nero's conduct, essentially varied. To the one he had been represented as going openly and publicly to the summit of Mæcenas's tower to sing the fate of Troy, while to the other he was depicted as retiring into his private apartments (*in domesticam scenam*), there secretly to enjoy the devastation of his groaning country. Uncertainty and contradiction are the sisters of unfounded report.

From the account given us of this event by Tacitus, we find that the emperor's object, in at length leaving Antium to go to Rome, was to save his palace. Now in this he did not succeed. The palace was destroyed, and yet he is afterwards accused of constructing a new palace of wonderful magnificence, out of the ruins of his country (*Usus est patrie ruinis*, says Tacitus), not without insinuation that such might have been partly the object of the antecedent devastation. There is nothing in his previous conduct to support the suspicion, for he was anxious to save his former residence, and to prevent the necessity of erecting a new one.

The anxiety of Nero to avoid the charge is utterly incompatible with the narration of Suetonius. *Incendit urbem tam palam*, says that historian, *Ut plerique Consulares, Cubicularios ejus, cum stupra tædæque, in prædiis suis deprehensos non attigerint*. Is it credible that he, who so much dreaded the imputation, should have committed the fact without disguise. That he used every exertion to avert the charge appears from Tacitus—by anxious and active care to expedite the rebuilding of the city—by princely largesses to the sufferers—by supplications and atoning sacrifices to the gods, he laboured to extricate

extricate himself from the infamy. It is true he was not successful. Such was the odium against him. *Non ope humana, non largitionibus principis, aut deum placamentis decedebat infamia.* He then endeavoured to throw the suspicion on the Christians, since he found the world too prejudiced to ascribe the event to accident—with equal want of success indeed. But all which I wish to infer is, that this extreme anxiety confutes the notion of his rash unguarded promotion of the calamity; and that he was particularly distressed at this rumour appears from his known character, which was, in general, to despise all rumours. *Nihil patientius quam maledicta et convitia hominum tulit.* Suetonius, p. 258.

The extent of the power of prejudice against this miserable prince at this period cannot be more strongly exemplified than in the murmurs which Tacitus mentions, occasioned by his opening the city and widening the streets, because, as was alleged, the old narrow streets and lofty houses contributed exceedingly to the salubrity of Rome, by protecting the passenger from the heat of the sun. I will even draw an argument from the virulence of Suetonius. "He would not suffer," says the writer, "the bodies of the dead, who perished in the fire, to be burnt by their friends, nor the ruins of the edifices to be removed by the owners, but took the charge upon himself, for the sake of plunder." Whether those who were burnt already required to be burnt again I know not; but does not the ill-nature of the remark proclaim the inclination of the author? Is it not more natural to suppose, that the

fear of pestilence, from the exposition of bodies left to the random care of individuals, in a time of general distraction, required the interposition of government and the adoption of public regulations, to prevent the possibility of private negligence? And was it not right in the governing power of the state to refuse to trust to the weakness or indolence of the subject, the office of removing rubbish and ruins, whose immense heaps forbade improvement and postponed renovation?

The truth is, when Suetonius wrote, invective against the race of Cæsar opened the way to honour and preferment. Abuse of the Augustan family was the fashion of succeeding times, and the instrument of flattery with succeeding emperors. With infinite caution, therefore, are we to admit the adulatory invective of the writers of the age of Trajan. The fidelity of history was made to bow to the etiquette of courts and the interests of historians.

This propensity to blacken the Cæsars, received in the particular instance of Nero, additional height in later times, from the enmity of the Christians. His cruel persecution of Christianity, and his inordinate wickedness, in averting upon its votaries the calumny thrown upon himself, with the signal martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul, under his dominion, have stamped him with the most sanguinary dye in the annals of religion. It was natural to surmise that the man who so unjustly accused others, had not been unjustly accused himself. His innocence was supposed to include their crimination; and as the empire became Christian, it became

in a manner impious to doubt his guilt.

On whom does the authority of this legend rest? As appears to me, on the authority of Suetonius alone. The careful peruser of Tacitus will, I think, agree with me, that he did not believe the tale; he wrote before Suetonius, and possessed earlier and better channels of enquiry. Suetonius was secretary to Adrian, whose reign was preceded by the death of Tacitus.* The next author who mentions the charge with confidence is Dio Cassius, who lived in the reign of Alexander Severus, two hundred years after the event; no testimony can go beyond its first original; the tribe of servile copyers add not a jot of weight to the evidence.

Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, Marcus Aurelius Cassiodorus, and Jornandes, the only subsequent Latin writers who repeat the clamour, merely echo the assertions of Suetonius and Dio. They could not be much better judges of the matter than we at this day, had they even taken the trouble to weigh the evidence. Aurelius Victor and Eutropius lived at a period three hundred years distant from the time of the conflagration, in the reigns of Julian and Valentinian; Cassiodorus was consul under Theodoric, and born in 476; and Jornandes, in Justinian's age, was secretary to a king of the Goths. As to the principal modern writers who assert and insist on the fact, and particularly the ecclesiastical historians, Xiphilinus, Vitranus, and Sulpicius, though they lived earlier than Fleury, who in the present century

supports their opinion, their assertions can have no more weight than his, nor their knowledge of the facts be greater than ours. Xiphilinus was the professed abridger of Dio Cassius. Dio repeated from Suetonius, and upon the foundation of Suetonius's authority the whole fabric must ultimately depend. If any thing has been added, it has probably been the work of exuberant imagination, like that of Karkholtus, of Hamburgh, a modern ecclesiastical writer, who represents the emperor at a banquet sending forth troops of incendiaries, and sitting to hear at intervals the triumphant tale of their horrid exploits, a picture of which he could not have found the least trait in any ancient historian. It remains only to observe, that Suetonius, the father of this tale, could not have been unwittingly deceived into this assertion.

Thus have I endeavoured to scrutinize, in this instance, the accuracy and authenticity of Suetonius, which may be a clue to his general character as a writer, the only object perhaps which could have justified my calling the attention of this revered assembly to a question so remote, and seemingly so uninteresting. Always, as I have said, has that historian appeared to me to be over-rated; the indecency of his descriptions has been often condemned, and it was well observed, that Suetonius wrote the lives of the emperors with the same licentiousness with which they lived. Were I to compare Suetonius with any writer of our own time, in point of credit due to his narration, I would

* As is generally supposed.

scarcely assign him a place superior to Smollet's; I mean not with respect to composition, but as to authenticity and materials. Both of them seem to have compiled from the *actus diurni*, or newspapers of the day, and to merit equal authority with those crude and hasty chronicles. If the one has lived for eighteen centuries, while the other possibly may not for one, it has perhaps been owing to the charms of his composition, not to the dignity of his history.

If these remarks shall in any degree tend to ascertain the rank of this famed historian in the scale of history, or rather by calling the attention of more accurate observers to the general complexion of his works, to induce them to ascertain it, they will have an importance which at this remote time they could not borrow from the subject itself. They may, perhaps, also derive some additional claim to attention, from the circumstance of a celebrated attack having been lately made by Mr. Whitaker, of Manchester, on the authenticity of his rival historian, in a comparison between Tacitus and Gibbon.

Account of a singular club from the Looker-on, a periodical paper, by the rev. Simon Olive Branch, A. M.

I regard it as the most fortunate occurrence of my life, that I am surrounded by a worthy set of parishioners who all study to make my residence among them the most agreeable in the world. It is true, indeed, I had the advantage of succeeding to a rector who was not of the same contented turn, and was more frequently at issue with his

brethren on a point of law, than a point of doctrine. My placid temper was no sooner discovered, than it gained me the hearts of most of my flock; and I observe that this friendly disposition towards me is hourly improving in them, as they find they can reckon upon a continuance of this content and tranquility on my part.

I have often thought that a small augmentation of tithes is dearly purchased by the sacrifice of this mutual cordiality and confidence. There is something in the consciousness that others share our joys and enter into our feelings, and that our health add happiness are a real concern to our neighbours, which cherishes the soul, and seems to dilate its capacities: I glow with satisfaction, when, after some days confinement, I see sincere congratulations in the looks of every one I meet: methinks at that moment I love myself the more for their sakes; and the delight of my honest parishioners is multiplied into my own.

Since I have been settled here, we have been gradually forming ourselves into a society that has something novel in its principle and constitution. Our number is sixteen, and includes many of the principal gentlemen in the neighbourhood. We have a discipline among us, the object of which is, to promote the ends of company and conversation, by maintaining the most perfect order, sobriety, and peace. My quiet behaviour, and known habits of complacency, have raised me, though with some reluctance on my part, to the place of perpetual president.

The fundamental article of our constitution, is the prohibition of every

every species of noise; for, as long as this is inadmissible, we think ourselves out of all danger of quarrelling, from which a degree of noise is inseparable: and though nonsense is not statutable among us, yet we are not afraid of its going to any great lengths under the evident disadvantages of order and tranquillity. There is a certain severity in silence, which will often check the course of an idle argument, when opposition and ridicule are employed in vain. I remember hearing a plethoric young man run on with surprising volubility, for an hour and a half, by the help only of two ideas, during the violence of a debate; till a sudden pause in the rest of the company proved clearly that he was talking about a matter which bore no relation to the point in dispute. The attention of the company being now wholly turned towards him, he began to totter under the mass of confusion he had so long been accumulating; when with one spring he cleared the present difficulty, and leaped from Seringapatam into the minister's budget: here, however, being nearly smothered, he made a violent effort; and before we could turn about to assist him, he was up to his neck in tar-water. He was, twice after this, in danger of being lost in the southern ocean; but an African slave-vessel took him up each time, and landed him, some how or other, at Nootka Sound. If I remember right, he held out till the siege of Otchakof, where he was put out of his misery by a summons from Tartary to the tea-table. Thus a great deal of precious time is husbanded by this rule of silent attention among the members of our society; and many an idle

speech falls to the ground ere it can get three sentences forwarns, and is strangled like a Turkish criminal by dumb executioners.

Any elevation of voice, above a certain pitch, is highly illegal, and punishable accordingly; and to ascertain this proportion as duly as possible, we have taken a room for our purpose, in which there is a very distinct echo, which must not be roused from its dormant state, under very heavy penalties. Any man provoking it to repeat his last word, is judged to be defeated in the argument he is maintaining, and the dispute must be abandoned altogether; the echo pronounces his sentence, from which there is no appeal. The abuse of superlatives is also cognizable among us; and no man is allowed to say, that his house is the pleasantest in the neighbourhood, that his dogs run the best, or that his crops are the most plentiful. Whatever carries the notion of a challenge with it, or can lead to a wager, we are pledged to discountenance. We admit neither toasting nor singing upon any pretext; and it would be as great an offence to raise a horse-laugh in a Quaker's meeting, as to encourage any rude expression of joy among us. An ancient gentleman, lately admitted, was bound over last Saturday, for an eulogy upon old Mr. Shapely's fresh countenance, and a hint at his maid Kitty's corpulency, accompanied with a wink to Mr. Barnaby, the churchwarden.

We admit no betts upon any question whatever; and gaming is proscribed by the most solemn inhibitions. The merits of our neighbours is a topic we are forbid to descant upon; and it was a question at our last meeting but one, whether

ther the mention of Mr. Courtly's carbuncle was not unconstitutional. As we are all old fellows, and have pretty well lived over the petulance and heyday of passion, these restraints bear less hard upon us, and forfeits become every day less frequent among us; insomuch that we are likely soon to be forced upon some regular contributions, in place of the fines from which we have hitherto drawn our support. I am in hopes we shall at last bring our plan to that state of perfection, that a breach of any statute will stand upon our records as a remarkable occurrence.

The first visit of a new member is a spectacle diverting enough, and it is generally a full half-year before we can shape him and clip him to our standard. It is now about three years since squire Blunt bought a large estate in our neighbourhood; and, during the first twelve months, we heard of nothing but this gentleman's quarrels and litigations. As I sometimes walk in his chesnut groves to meditate upon matter for the entertainment of my worthy readers, I have been twice indicted for a trespass, and for breaking down his pailings in pursuit of game; and, happening one day to take a telescope out with me, I was threatened with a prosecution for carrying a gun on his manor.

As it is looked upon as some honour to be of our society, this rough gentleman was suddenly seized with an unaccountable inclination to become a member; and it was astonishing to every body, that after being well apprised of the inconvenience and rigour of our institution, and his own inability to perform the engagement of it, his ambition seemed no wise discouraged, and

he still persisted in his design of proposing himself. As we have a certain term of probation, we rarely refuse to any body above the age of fifty (which is the age of admission), the favour of a trial. The following is a list of Mr. Blunt's forfeits in the black book.

1st day—Endured his own silence so long, that he fell asleep. On being awakened at the hour of separation, swore a great oath, and paid a guinea.

2d day—Had threeshillingsworth of superlatives, and a sixpenny whistle; besides paying a crown to the echo.

3d day—Offered to lay a bottle that he would eat two hundred oysters, and paid five shillings:—went to sleep for the rest of the evening.

5th day—Called for a song, and paid a shilling instead; nine shillings and sixpence for disturbing the echo; paid thirty shillings and six-pence for contumacy, and swore himself to Coventry.

Here there was an interval of some months, during which our novice absented himself. We were surprized, however, one day, with his company, after we had given him up as irreclaimable. He appeared indeed to bring with him a disposition greatly corrected, and actually incurred only two forfeits the whole evening; namely, for bursting into a horse-laugh on Mr. Sidebottom's missing his chair, and giving Mr. Barnaby a slap on the back that raised the echo, and a violent fit of coughing. Since this time he has been twice off and on, but

but has at last so far accommodated himself to the conditions of the society, as to be counted a valuable member. Having made a great progress in the science of self-correction, his understanding has obtained its proper poise; his reason has had room to exert itself, and has given life and energy to a mass of much good meaning, that lay buried at the bottom of his mind.

The fame of this mighty cure hath brought us a great accumulation of credit and power; and it hath actually been in speculation among the freeholders and other voters in the county, to elect their representatives in future from our society: a rule that would ensure to them men of ripe understandings, and regular habits. We are subject (as every good institution is) to ridicule from without: the young gentlemen are very pleasant upon us; and we pass under a variety of names among them, as, the Automations, the Quietists, the Meeting, the Dummies, the Whig Club, the Rough Riders' Company, the Bearded Magdalens, the Grey Friars; the Court of Death, and the House of Correction. Such as have not quite turned the corner of fifty, and want a few months of being eligible, are very severe upon our age, call us the Antediluvians, and talk much of an opposition club of young fellows. While we have daily proofs, however, of the good effects of our institutions, we are indifferent to attacks of every kind. We have the sensible pleasure of finding that the operation of our system is spreading; our married men return with sober spirits to their homes, and hearths; and adopt, in part, our peaceful regulations into the bosom of their families; and it is not un-

common to see one of our old bachelors preferred by the ladies to beaux of five and twenty.

But the advantages resulting from these our institutions are not merely of a moral kind; topics of literature and criticism come frequently under our consideration, which will necessarily flourish under circumstances of peace and good order.

On points of religion and politics it is but rare that we allow ourselves to expatiate: Religion being throughout a connected and analogous system, is never fairly viewed but when we take in the whole, and therefore can never properly become the object of broken and desultory conversation: Politics being a question that produces much heat, and little satisfaction, where obliquity of views and attractions of interest are sure to falsify the balance of our minds, we have almost entirely proscribed it; and, if it be by accident introduced, it is presently condemned by the spiritual censures of the infallible echo.

But although we place great dependence on the efficacy of this regimen of tranquillity and order, for the cure of a great many complaints in our social system, yet there are some which we are obliged to abandon to severer modes of chastisement.

An avowed party-man is utterly inadmissible, whatever may be his other pretensions:—we set a higher value upon truth and temper, than upon the finest philippic in the world.

We have no room for atheists, or idiots, or any such enemies to rule, especially as we hear that they have a club of their own, which meets sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, as chance directs, but
very

very often in a street called Pall-Mall, or Pell-Mell, from some analogy in the name, which association, in strict conformity to their principles and confusion, is composed of all sorts except the good, and includes princes, and lords, and jockies, who are jumbled together like their world of atoms.

We admit no man who keeps a woman, while he is kept by his wife.

We admit no notorious parasites or hangers-on. Mr. Sykes, the curate of the next parish, has been refused for having the run of the squire's kitchen, and the combing of my lady's lap-dog. Mr. Barnaby, the church-warden, has complained of fleas, and the smell of parsnips, ever since he came to propose himself. When this gentleman is disposed to be facetious, he suggests the idea of a Parasitical club, on the plan of one that was formerly established among the turn-spit-dogs, when this fraternity was in its full glory and consequence, who were observed to meet every morning in the Grove, at Bath, for the sake of business, friendship, or gallantry, and then distribute themselves about the town according to their different destinations.

We have a rooted abhorrence of all gamesters, liars, and debauchees: we are therefore particularly on our guard against all such as have aspired to the infamy of certain great connections. Bad husbands and sons, and all those who sin against the sacred duties and charities of life, we include under one solemn sentence of proscription.

We are very shy of a man who, after the age of fifty, continues to be called Dick or Jack such-a-one: such men have probably sacrificed

too much to notoriety to deserve respect.

We have also a prejudice against a description of persons, who are called ingenious gentlemen, who have in general no other claim to this title than what is derived from the solution of an enigma in the *Lady's Magazine*, or a contribution to the poet's corner. A rage for riddles and impromptues, were it to get footing among us, would be a mighty hindrance to the flow of conversation. It creates a kind of scramble in the mind of one that has a turn for these pleasantries, and scatters abroad his ideas like a ruined ant's nest; while those who are used to reason right forward, and to keep a steady point in view, are forced to sit in vacant silence, with their faculties bound up in a stupid thralldom.

I shall conclude my paper of today with informing my readers that the gentleman who had the principal share in drawing up our code of laws, is a Mr. Anthony Allworth, a most valuable member of this our society, of whom I shall have frequent occasion to speak in the course of my speculations, when I wish to hold up a more animated picture than ordinary of sublime virtue and practical religion. This gentleman is now in his seventieth year, and keeps himself in health by the diversion of his mind, and the exercise of his body, in his unwearied search after objects for his beneficence. He was one of our earliest members, and still suffers no weather to prevent his constant attendance. As he passes through many scenes in the course of every day, he never fails to introduce some agreeable or pathetic story, that sends us away more chearful or more resigned.

His

His example and admonitions are principally instrumental in conciliating new members, and rendering them more docile and tractable; he has completely won Mr. Blunt's esteem, and has never been known to raise the echo himself, but in the cause of unprotected innocence, or forsaken truth.

*Extracts from Mrs. Piozzi's British
Synonymy.*

Narration, account, recital.

IN order to give a good *account* of the fact (say we) it is necessary to hear a clear *recital* of the circumstances; but if we mean to make a pleasing *narration*, those circumstances should not be dwelt on too minutely, but rather one selected from the rest, to set in a full light. Whoever means to please in conversation, seeing no person more attended to than he who tells an agreeable story, concludes too hastily that his own fame will be firmly established by a like means; and so gives his time up to the collection and *recital* of anecdotes. Here, however, is our adventurer likely enough to fail; for either his fact is too notorious, and he sees his audience turn even involuntarily away from a tale told them yesterday perhaps by a more pleasing narrator; or it is too obscure, and incapable of interesting his hearers. Were we to investigate the reason why narratives please better in a mixed company, than sentiment; we might discover that he who draws from his own mind to entertain his circle will soon be tempted to dogmatize, and assume the air, with the powers of a teacher; while the man, who is ever ready to tell one somewhat unknown before, adds an idea

to the listener's stock, without forcing on us that of our own inferiority—he is in possession of a fact more than we are—that's all; and he communicates that fact for our amusement.

Party, division in the state, faction.

These cannot be supposed naturally and necessarily synonymous, whilst each *party* in its turn calls the opposite one a *faction*, with intent to disgrace it in the eye of such as lament those *divisions in a state* which force them into the lists on either side. When England was rent with commotions in the latter end of king Charles I. the first appellative of scorn was thrown by those who flocked round the royal standard, at their republican opponents, whom the cavaliers now first called round heads, from their manner of wearing their haircut short, or at most curled in one row about the neck behind; and it is observable, the rigid Protestants of Germany still hope some merit may be claimed by being seen out of powder, with sleek round heads, and for the most part a bright brass comb stuck behind; while gentlemen in Italy and Spain are yet going by the name of cavalieri since the holy war, to which they went on horseback, while plebeians walked on foot. But a new distinction soon broke out in Britain, were the last-mentioned called themselves petitioners, and the loyalists, abhorrrers, from their repeated expressions of the abhorrence they felt against men who disturbed their sovereign's and the public's tranquillity. Into the abusive names whig and tory, however, all others soon dropped, and by these names the aristocrats and democrats of our country have till now been known. Of these,
Rapin

Rapin says, "the moderate Tories are the true Englishmen—have frequently saved the state, and will save it again (prophetic may his words prove!) whenever it shall be in danger either of despotism from the efforts of the very violent Tories, or of republicanism from the very violent Whigs; for," continues he, "the moderate state-Whigs wish little more than to maintain with unremitted attention the privileges of parliament, and only lean in every dispute to the popular side; while the Tories watch with equal care over the royal prerogative, regardless of its rights, and jealous of its infringements. Episcopalians and Puritans in like manner softened down their distinctions, and were best known in the succeeding reigns by name of high and low churchmen; the first being most strenuous to support the hierarchy; the second, vigilant to prevent any stretch of ecclesiastical power." Till these unhappy times, however, anarchists, professedly so called were never heard of in any church or state. Lord Bolingbroke, who will not be suspected easily, I imagine, of a hypocritical regard for our holy religion, says in this manner: "Some men there are, the pests of society I think them, who take every opportunity of declaiming against that church establishment which is received in Britain; and just so the other men, of whom I have been speaking, affect a kindness for liberty in general, but dislike so much the system of liberty established here, that they are incessant in their endeavours to puzzle the plainest thing in the world, and to refine and distinguish away the life and strength of our constitution in favour of the little present momentary turns which they

are retained to serve. And what would be the consequence, I would know, if their endeavours should succeed? I am persuaded," continues he, "that the great politicians, divines, philosophers, and lawyers, who exert them, have not yet prepared and agreed upon the plans of a new religion, and of a new constitution in church and state. We should find ourselves therefore without any form of religion, or any civil government. The first set of these missionaries would hasten to remove all restraints of religion from the governed, and the latter set would remove or render ineffectual all the limitations and controls which liberty has prescribed to those that govern, and thus disjoint the whole frame of our constitution. Intire dissolution of manners, confusion, anarchy, or, at best, absolute monarchy, must follow; for it is probable that in a state like this, amidst such a rout of lawless savages, men would chuse that government, rather than no government at all." Thus far the elegant and spirited dissertation upon *Parties* bears testimony to a necessity for religious and civil subordination, in these days openly denied and combated, to the terror of every sect, to the astonishment of every party. Against the present *Faction*, then, let all modifications of Christianity and civilization hasten to unite; when even this last quoted infidel would, were he now alive, lend his assistance to crush these professors of atheism and violence, these traitors to human kind, who under a shew of regard rob them of their dearest right, and render the royal, the parental, the martial, authority—for each is connected with the other—a jest for fools, a shadow of a shade.

Rural and rustic

Must necessarily seem synonymous to foreigners, who see them used perpetually for each other in our best authors—or think they do—because the words are commonly appropriated with a selection exact enough. England, say we, affords more situations than one may justly term *rural*, than any nation or country in Europe; for in France, Italy, and Germany, at least, you are always too near (to), or too far from, a great city; so that the prominent features of every landscape exhibit either wildness approaching to barbarity, or else cultivation resembling a garden more than fields;—whereas in Great Britain, where opulence is more diffused, and knowledge less concentrated, nature accepts the character of individuals, and every place possesses some agreeable ornaments, which tend to its embellishment—though no spot is by the accumulation of such ornaments made more splendid than beautiful. *Rural* elegance is the pride and pleasure of our happy island, whence *rustic* grossness and rough scenery are so nearly expelled, that you seek for them in vain at a great distance from the capital, among the lakes of Westmoreland, or along the sea-coasts of Devonshire. Whence our fastidious travellers, perhaps,

Tir'd of the tedious and disrelish'd good,
Seek for their solace in acknowledg'd ill,
Danger, and toil, and pain.

GRAHAM'S TELEMACHUS.

we climb the Alps of Switzerland and Savoy, or journey round the Hebrides, in search of contrast and variety, delighting to penetrate the hidden recesses of nature, and

Call her where she sits alone,
Majestic on her craggy throne.

Such views produce magnificent ideas in the mind, but they are ideas of God, not man. He always seems debased on such a theatre, and, to say true, generally acts his part upon them with *rusticity* enough: while foreigners are often heard to admire our peasantry both in the north and west of England, each with his watch, his little shelf of books, trimmed hedge, clean shirt, and planted garden; enjoying that *rural* simplicity, and elegant competence—glory of Britons!—great and enviable result of equal laws and mild administration!

Let them remember then those laws,
those rights,
That generous plan of pow'r deliver'd
down
From age to age by their renown'd fore-
fathers,
So dearly bought, the price of so much
blood.

ADDISON'S CATO.

*Taste, intellectual relish, nice perception
of excellence, fine discernment.*

The first is the true word, which, in a breath, expresses what all the rest, although synonymous, describe by circumlocution.—The first is the word profaned by so many coxcombs, who, repeating opinions from men wiser than themselves, profess a *taste* for what they do not even understand—poetry, painting, or the beauties of nature, which it is the peculiar province of poets and painters to describe. Italians have, however, little need of counsel here: they never, I think, pretend to have a *taste* for any thing they do not sincerely delight in, and have no notion of valuing themselves on their nice *perceptions* of *Rafaëlle's* excellence,

excellence, or Petrarch's sonnets; and they wonder, rationally enough, how Englishmen become endowed with such fine *discernment* of matters which depend exceedingly upon habits of life, on customs peculiar to every country: they do not think it necessary to admire Pope or Shakespeare as a proof of their *taste*, and they are in the right. Pope gives them no real pleasure as a poet; and they think, truly enough that, as a moralist, Seneca gives better precepts. Shakespeare is intelligible to them only in the parts they like least. A man with bad eyes looking at a picture of Rembrandt, is on the footing of a foreigner reading our historical plays—Whatever is brightly illuminated, says he, seems coarse, and the rest I cannot discern. A British reader, were he equally honest, would confess that Dante he does not understand, and that Petrarch gives back to his mind no image of his own, but one as romantic and grotesque as that of Amadis de Gaul; where the love is no more unnatural (as he would call it), and the adventures more diverting. A Tuscan mean time is entertained by the one, and enchanted by the other, only because he understands and feels both, as we understand the Dunciad and feel the invocation—Oh for a muse of fire! &c. even into our very bones.

Consult the genius of the place in all.

It is folly to fix any other criterion of true *taste*; for although many people from many places may agree in praise of one poet, one painter, one style in music, dress, or gardening—it is still some accident directs the congress, because, on a strict scrutiny, you will find all their opi-

nions instinctively different. National character admits modification doubtless, yet is it never altered fundamentally; you see the indelible impression made by the hand of nature at the beginning scarce ever totally effaced. Laws may unite kingdoms in one common interest,

But minds will still look back to their own choice;

nor can adventitious circumstances destroy the germ of difference. This germ is most visible in *taste*, I think. A Scot or Frenchman will no more think like the Englishman, within thirty miles of whom he was born and bred, than will the salt of one plant be mistaken for that of another growing close to it, even after they have both been tortured into various forms and shapes by the operations of chymistry.

Even from the tomb the voice of nature cries,

Even in our ashes live their wonted fires.

The native of a warm climate delights to loiter in a vast but trim garden, where a full but gentle river glides slowly down a broad green slope, into a dark oblivious lake at the bottom, almost without appearing to disturb it; while such a tranquil scene soothes the suspended faculties of reason, and induces a disposition towards calming all restless thoughts from the consideration of Time's eternal flux—and the sweet verse

Labitur et labetur in omne volubilis ævum

is the only poetry capable of deepening the impression of such a landscape.

Meantime Mr. Gilpin would soon tell us, and truly too, that the cha-

racteristic beauty of a waterfall is not its glossy smoothness : — “ no ; a rapid stream broken by rocks.” says he, “ and forcing its way through them with impetuous and ill-restrained fury, is the interesting feature in a scene removed from mortal tread. A cascade like that described but now, has no merit at all ; the lake would be better without it, and every painter would be of my opinion.” He would no doubt, Mr. Gilpin ; but the inhabitant of that warm climate I was mentioning, did not retire there with an intent to paint the view, but to enjoy it. Descriptions vary according to the describer’s turn of mind ; whilst each arraigns the *taste* of him who spoke last upon the subject, though perhaps all are not right.

Variety, diversity, fluctuation, change, mutability, vicissitude.

Among these words, though analogy may be found, synonymy can hardly be sought : The propriety depends upon the place in which they stand : we may therefore, in order to bring them close together, observe ; how through the numberless *vicissitudes* in nature and in life, there is yet less real *change* than *fluctuation* of events, less true *diversity* perhaps than unremarked revolution. Even in the tossings of that sea, whence the third substantive upon our list is derived, I have thought there was not so much *mutability* as a light observer would imagine. The same waves probably for many years wash the same coasts—The shells they leave behind them exhibit no *variety*. Fish of the same kind haunt the same shores, and no flight of

time brings turtle to the bay of Dublin, or salmon to Genoa :—I mean, not in sufficient quantity to disprove this observation ; for now and then an extraordinary thing will happen, and flying fishes from the Pacific Ocean are at this hour digging out of a mountain near Verona. Pennant will tell us, that the same swallow occupies the same nest every year ; and doctor Johnson said, that no poet could invent a series or combination of incidents the *præcognita* of which might not be found in Homer : and should we claim an exception or two in favour of Shakespeare and Ariosto, those exceptions would only prove the rule.

Herschel informs us, that all nature’s works are rotatory : if then each star, however firmly fixed, has in itself a motion round its own axis, the solid contents of every such globe may be supposed to participate this spirit of rotation. In our own we see truth and error, land and sea shifting their stations, with more *vicissitude* than actual *change* ; and while the natural sun rises to one half of us mortals, while it sets to the others, we discern in like manner whole regions immersed in darkness at beginning, now brightly illuminated with Revelation’s beam ; and the tracts of country first irradiated, sunk into sad opacity.

This seems indeed the evening of our earth’s natural day—

Night succeeds impervious night.
What those dreadful glooms conceal,
Fancy’s glass can ne’er reveal :
When shall light the scene improve ?
When shall time the veil remove ?
When shall truth my doubts dispel ?
Awful period ! who can tell ?

HAWKESWORTH II
World.

World, earth, globe, universe,

Are so far from being philosophically synonymous, that conversation, language admitting of incredible hyperbole, would say the very *earth* was filled with books written to prove their difference. Popularly speaking, however, we say that a man's knowledge of the *world*, means his acquaintance with the common forms and ceremonies of life, not ill called by Frenchmen, the *savoir vivre*, since he who is ignorant of the *world* even in this limited sense, will soon be in a figurative sense warned to go out of it; so indispensably necessary is that knowledge, to every day's observation and practice; nor have I often read a more humorous picture of manners, than in some play of Mr. Cumberland's—I forget its name—where two brothers disputing upon a point of propriety, one says, truly enough as I remember, “Dear brother! you know nothing of the *world*.”—“Will you tell me that?” replies his incensed antagonist, “when I have traversed the *globe* so often! crossed the line twice, and felt the frosts within the arctic circle: a man bred in London, and living always in its environs, has an admirable assurance when he uses that expression to me, who have been wrecked on the coasts of Barbary, and stuck fast in the quicksands of Terra del Fuego,” &c. &c. My quotation is from memory, and twenty-five years at least have elapsed since I looked into the comedy by mere chance in a bookseller's shop at Brighthelmstone. But the pleasantry of two men taking the word *world* in a different way, with some degree of right on both sides, struck me as comical and

pretty, because within the bounds of credibility. That grace alone is wanting to a dialogue once shewn to me in manuscript, written by the learned James Harris, of Salisbury, who makes one of two friends, walking in St. James's Park, say of a third that passes by,—“There goes a man eminent for his knowledge of the *world*.” To which the other replies, “Ay, that indeed is a desirable companion, a person whose acquaintance I should particularly value, as he no doubt could settle the point between Tycho and Riccioli, concerning the sun's horizontal parallax, in which those two so great astronomers contrive to differ, at least two minutes and a half. He too could perhaps help us to decide upon the controversy, whether this *universe* is bounded by the grand concameration or firmament forming a visible arch, or whether it is stretched into an immensurable space, occupied however at due distances by a variety of revolving *globes*, differing in magnitude: some brilliant, as suns, rich in inherent fire; some opaque, and habitable, as *earths*, attended by satellites of inferior lustre and dignity.” When his companion stopping him, protests that the man in question knows nothing of these matters. “Oh then,” replies the other, “he confines his knowledge perhaps merely to our own planet, where doubtless much matter is afforded for reflection.—There, however, master of the historical, geographical, and political *world*, he can give account of all the discoveries, revolutions, and productions, contained in those four continents at least, which compose this terraqueous *globe*; and leaving out marine enquiries—it is from him we must hope to obtain the

clearest reasoning upon the distinctions made by nature and education betwixt man and man; the cause of their different colours, and their so sudden, or sometimes silent, lapses from perfection to decay. His information now would be above all times desirable, as we are yet much perplexed concerning some customs of the old inhabitants of China; and it would be well for him, at his leisure hours, to collate some obscure passages of the *Veidam* with the *Edda*, &c." When this topic is exhausted, and others examined in turn, and the friend finds out that the gentleman passing by knew the *world* only as a fruiterer in St. James's Street is capable of knowing it—from repeatedly hearing the debts, intrigues, connections, and situations, of a few fashionable gentlemen and ladies, he ends the dialogue in disgust, that a creature superior, as he observes, in no mental qualification to the chairman who carries him home from his club of an evening, should thus be celebrated for so sublime a science as knowledge of the *world*.

Let me not close this article without protesting that I never read the dialogue in my life but once, above thirty years ago, and that I only quote the turn of it, and must not be expected to remember words, or even periods. My imitation would be then too great a disgrace to his name whom I was early instructed to hold in the highest veneration: the design was too striking to be ever forgotten, and for the design alone do I mean to be answerable;—it was done by me merely to gratify my recollection of past times and studies, whilst it served well

enough besides to bring in our synonymy.

Mr. Harris delighted much in writing dialogues. Those at the end of *David Simple* are his, and exquisite are they in their kind. There are some in the world of his and Floyer Sydenham's, both, I believe which have never been printed certainly—perhaps never destroyed.

To wrest, to distort, to pervert.

If meant of language naturally enough follow the last article*, yet will ignorance often shew powers of this kind as plainly as science herself. Newspapers, magazines, and other periodical publications, are surprizingly skilful in the art of *distorting* metaphor, and *perverting* in its turn every figure of grammar and rhetoric; nor would it be difficult to *wrest* all their common places into a short passage by less violence than they are daily doing to their mother tongue, were we to say in imitation of a herd of novel-writers, Ricardo was a young fellow of fine hopes, and made it his point to cut a figure in the treasury line. His uncle being a man who saw things in a right light, undertook to put his boy upon as respectable a foot as any of his young companions of the same stamp;—on this head therefore, little more needs be understood, than that Ricardo, under such circumstances, was very happy, and soon drew aside the bright eyes of Miss Julia, daughter to his uncle's friend, a man of the same description—a rough diamond, but who, &c. Of such twisted, such *distorted*, such dislocated language, every morning's literary hash pre-

* On wrangling.

sents us an example: nor is it necessary to look in print for these stored-up allusions; every counting-house exhibits choice of metaphor, beyond all that Sancho's proverbs can pretend to; and I once was witness to a conversation of that kind, where a string of disjointed metonymy sent me out of the room to laugh, when I had heard what follows.

"Milo is expected to become a bankrupt soon,—have you endeavoured to get that money from him which is owing to our house?"

Ans. "Why, sir, that fellow did run upon a rope to be sure, till at length he came to a stand-still; and they say, will now very soon stick in the mud: when I heard that, being determined to strike a great stroke, you may be sure I thought it proper to purge him pretty briskly; but finding that the grey mare was the better horse, I resolved to wait till this morning, and then begin to plough with the heifer; which I shall most certainly set about directly tooth and nail."

This jargon, which I defy a solitary scholar to construe, meant only, that Milo had been expensive, and was in consequence of his extravagance expected to stop payment; that the clerk had tormented him for the money, but that Milo leaving his pecuniary affairs in the hand of his wife, the clerk resolved to call on her next morning, and either fright or persuade her to discharge the debt, by every method in his power.

and Observations, by Dr. Rush, of Philadelphia.

MOST of the facts, which I shall deliver upon this subject, are the result of observations made during the last five years, upon persons of both sexes, who have passed the 80th year of their lives. I intended to have given a detail of their names, manner of life, occupations, and other circumstances of each of them: but, upon a review of my notes, I found so great a sameness in the history of most of them, that I despaired, by detailing them, of answering the intention which I have proposed in the following essay. I shall, therefore, only deliver the facts and principles, which are the result of enquiries and observations I have made upon this subject.

I. I shall mention the circumstances which favour the attainment of longevity:

II. I shall mention the phenomena of body and mind which attend it: and,

III. I shall enumerate its peculiar diseases, and the remedies which are most proper to remove, or moderate them.

I. The circumstances which favour longevity, are,

1. *Descent from long-lived ancestors.*

I have not found a single instance of a person who has lived to be eighty years old, in whom this was not the case. In some instances, I found the descent was only from one, but in general it was from both parents. The knowledge of this fact may serve, not only to assist in calculating what are called the chances of lives, but it may be made

D d 4 useful

An account of the state of the body and mind in old age, with observations on its diseases, and their remedies; from Medical Inquiries

useful to a physician. He may learn from it, to cherish hopes of his patients in chronic, and in some diseases, in proportion to the capacity of life they have derived from their ancestors.

2. *Temperance in eating and drinking.*

To this remark, I found several exceptions. I met with one man of eighty-four years of age, who had been intemperate in eating; and four or five persons who had been intemperate in drinking ardent spirits. They had all been day-labourers, or had deferred drinking until they began to feel the languor of old age. I did not meet with a single person who had not, for the last forty or fifty years of their lives, used tea, coffee, and bread and butter, twice a-day, as part of their diet. I am disposed to believe, that those articles of diet do not materially affect the duration of human life, although they evidently impair the strength of the system. The duration of life does not appear to depend so much upon the strength of the body, or upon the quantity of its excitability, as upon exact accommodation of stimuli to each of them. A watch-spring will last as long as an anchor, provided the forces, which are capable of destroying both, are in an exact ratio to their strength.—The use of tea and coffee in diet seems to be happily suited to the change which has taken place in the human body, by sedentary occupations, by which means, less nourishment and stimulus are required than formerly to support animal life.

3. *The moderate use of the understanding.*

It has long been an established truth, that literary men (other circumstances being equal) are longer-lived than other people. But it is not necessary that the understanding should be employed upon philosophical subjects, to produce this influence upon human life. Business, politics, and religion, which are the objects of attention of men of all classes, impart a vigour to the understanding, which, by being conveyed to every part of the body, tends to produce health and long life.

4. *Equanimity of temper.*

The violent and irregular actions of the passions tend to bear away the springs of life.

Persons who live upon annuities, in Europe, have been observed to be longer-lived, in equal circumstances, than other people. This is probably occasioned by their being exempted, by the certainty of their subsistence, from those fears of want which so frequently distract the minds, and thereby weaken the bodies of all people. Life-rents have been supposed to have the same influence in prolonging life. Perhaps the desire of life, in order to enjoy, as long as possible, that property which cannot be enjoyed a second time by a child or relation, may be another cause of the longevity of persons who live upon certain incomes. It is a fact, that the desire of life is a very powerful stimulus in prolonging it, especially when that desire is supported by hope. This is obvious to physicians

cians every day. Despair of recovery is the beginning of death in all diseases.

But obvious and reasonable as the effects of equanimity of temper are upon human life, there are some exceptions in favour of passionate men and women having attained to a great age. The morbid stimulus of anger in these cases was probably obviated by less degrees, or less active exercises of the understanding, or by the defect or weakness of some of the other stimuli, which kept up the motions of life.

5. *Matrimony.*

In the course of my enquiries, I met with only one person beyond 80 years who had never been married. I met with several women who had bore from ten to twenty children, and suckled them all. I met with one woman, a native of Herefordshire, in England, who is now in the 100th year of her age, who bore a child at 60, menstruated till 80, and frequently suckled two of her children, (though born in succession to each other) at the same time. She had passed the greatest part of her life over a washing-tub.

6. I have not found sedentary employments to prevent long life, where they are not accompanied by

intemperance in eating or drinking. This observation is not confined to literary men, nor to women only, in whom longevity without much exercise of body has been frequently observed. I met with one instance of a weaver, a second of a silver-smith, and a third of a shoe-maker, among the number of old people, whose histories have suggested these observations.

7. I have not found that acute, nor that all chronic, diseases shorten life. Dr. Franklin had two successive vomics in his lungs, before he was forty years of age. * I met with one man beyond eighty, who had survived a most violent attack of the yellow fever; a second, who had several of his bones fractured by falls, and in frays; and many who had frequently been affected by intermittents. I met with one man of 86, who had all his life been subject to syncope; another who had been for fifty years occasionally affected by a cough †; and two instances of men who had been affected for forty years, with obstinate head-achs. ‡ I met with only one person beyond eighty, who had ever been affected by a disorder in the stomach; and in him it arose from an occasional rupture. Mr. John Strangeways Hutton, of Philadelphia, who died last year in the 100th year of his age, informed me,

* Dr. Franklin, who died in his 84th year, was descended from long-lived parents. His father died at 89, and his mother at 87. His father had seventeen children by two wives. The doctor informed me, that he once sat down as one of eleven adult sons and daughters at his father's table. In an excursion he once made to that part of England from which his family migrated to America, he discovered in a grave-yard the tomb-stones of several persons of his name who had lived to be very old. These persons he supposed to have been his ancestors.

† This man's only remedy for his cough was the fine powder of dry Indian turnip and honey.

‡ Dr. Thierry says, he did not find the itch, or slight degrees of the leprosy, to prevent longevity. "Observations de Physique et de Médecine faites en différents Lieux de l'Espagne," vol. ii. p. 174.

that he never had puked in his life.— This circumstance is the more remarkable, as he passed several years at sea when a young man.* These facts may serve to extend our ideas of the importance of a healthful state of the stomach in the animal economy, and thereby to add to our knowledge in the progress of diseases, and in the chances of human life.

8. I have not found the loss of teeth to affect the duration of human life, so much as might be expected. Edward Drinker, who lived to be one hundred and three years old, lost his teeth thirty years before he died, from drawing the hot smoke of tobacco into his mouth through a short pipe.

Dr. Sayre, of New Jersey, to whom I am indebted for several very valuable histories of old persons, mentions one man aged 81, whose teeth began to decay at 16, and another of 90, who lost his teeth thirty years before he saw him. The gums, by becoming hard, perform in part the office of teeth. But may not the gastric juice of the stomach, like the tears and urine,

become acrid by age, and thereby supply, by a more dissolving power, the defect of mastication from the loss of teeth? Analogies might easily be adduced from several operation of nature that go forward in the animal economy, which render this supposition highly probable.

9. I have not observed baldness, or grey hairs, occurring in early or middle life, to prevent old age.

In one of the histories, furnished me by Dr. Sayre, I find an account of a man of 80, whose hair began to assume a silver colour when he was only eleven years of age.

I shall conclude this head by the following remark.

Notwithstanding, there appears in the human body a certain capacity of long life, which seems to dispose it to preserve its existence in every situation; yet this capacity does not always protect it from premature destruction; for among the old people whom I examined, I scarcely met with one who had not lost brothers or sisters in early and middle life, and who were born under circumstances equally favourable to longevity with themselves.

* The venerable old man, whose history first suggested this remark, was born in New York in the year 1684. His grandfather lived to be 101, but was unable to walk for thirty years before he died, from an excessive quantity of fat. His mother died at 91. His constant drink was water, beer, and cyder. He had a fixed dislike to spirits of all kinds. His appetite was good, and he ate plentifully during the last years of his life. He seldom drank any thing between his meals. He was intoxicated but twice in his life, and that was when a boy, and at sea, where he remembers perfectly to have celebrated, by a *feu de joie*, the birth-day of Queen Anne. He was formerly afflicted with the head-ach and giddiness, but never had a fever, except from the small-pox, in the course of his life. His pulse was slow but regular. He had been twice married. By his first wife he had eight, and by his second seventeen children. One of them lived to eighty-three years of age. He was about five feet nine inches in height, of a slender make, and carried an erect head to the last year of his life.

P O E T R Y.

ODE for the NEW YEAR, 1794. By Henry James Pye, esq.
Poet Laureat.

I.

NURTUR'D in storms the infant year,
Comes in terrific glory forth ;
Earth meets him wrapp'd in mantle drear,
And the loud tempest sings his birth.
Yet 'mid the elemental strife
Brood the rich germs of vernal life,
Frore January's iron reign,
And the dark months succeeding train,
The renovated glebe prepare
For genial May's ambrosial air,
For fruits that glowing Summer yields,
For laughing Autumn's golden fields ;
And the stout swain whose frame defies
The driving storm, the hostile skies,
While his keen plowshare turns the stubborn soil,
Knows plenty only springs the just reward of toil.

II.

Then if fell War's tempestuous sound
Swell far and wide with louder roar,
If stern th' avenging nations round
Threaten yon fate-devoted shore,
Hope points to gentler hours again
When Peace shall re-assume her reign—
Yet never o'er his timid head
Her lasting olive shall be spread,
Whose breast inglorious woos her charms
When Fame, when Justice, calls to arms.
While Anarchy's infuriate brood
Their garments dy'd with guiltless blood,
With Titan rage blaspheming try
Their impious battle 'gainst the sky,

Say

Say, shall Britannia's generous sons embrace
 In folds of amity the harpy race,
 Or aid the sword that coward Fury rears,
 Red with the widow's blood, wet with the orphan's tears?

III.

But tho' her martial thunders fall
 Vindictive o'er Oppression's haughty crest,
 Awake to Pity's suasive call,
 She spreads her buckler o'er the suffering breast.—
 From seas that roll by Gallia's southmost steep,
 From the rich isles that crown th' Atlantic deep,
 The plaintive sigh, the heart-felt groan,
 Are wafted to her Monarch's throne;
 Open to mercy, prompt to save,
 His ready navies plow the yielding wave,
 The ruthless arm of savage license awe,
 And guard the sacred reign of freedom and of law.

ODE for his MAJESTY'S BIRTH-DAY, by H. J. Pye, *esq.*

ROUS'D from the gloom of transient death,
 Reviving Nature's charms appear;
 Mild zephyr wakes with balmy breath
 The beauties of the youthful year,
 The fleecy storm that froze the plain,
 The winds that swept the billowy main,
 The chilling blast, the icy show'r,
 That oft obscur'd the vernal hour,
 And half deform'd th' etherial grace
 That bloom'd on Maia's lovely face,
 Are gone—and o'er the fertile glade,
 In manhood's riper form array'd,
 Bright Juno appears, and from his bosom throws,
 Blushing with hue divine, his own ambrosial rose.

II.

Yet there are climes where Winter hoar
 Despotie still usurps the plains,
 Where the loud surges lash the shore,
 And dreary desolation reigns!—
 While, as the shivering swain describes
 The drifted mountains round him rise,
 Through the dark mist and howling blast,
 Full many a longing look is cast

To northern realms, whose happier skies detain
The lingering car of day, and check his golden rein.

III.

Chide not his stay ;—the roseate spring
Not always flies on Halcyon wing ;
Not always strains of joy and love
Steal sweetly through the trembling grove—
Reflecting Sol's refulgent beams,
The falchion oft terrific gleams ;
And, louder than the wint'ry tempest's roar,
The battle's thunder shakes th' affrighted shore—
Chide not his stay—for, in the scenes,
Where nature boasts her genial pride,
Where forests spread their leafy skreens,
And lucid streams the painted vales divide ;
Beneath Europa's mildest clime,
In glowing Summer's verdant prime,
The frantic sons of Rapine tear
The golden wreath from Ceres' hair,
And trembling Industry, afraid
To turn the war-devoted glade,
Exposes wild to Famine's haggard eyes
Wastes where no hopes of future harvests rise,
While floating corpses choke th' unpurpled flood,
And ev'ry dewy sod is stain'd with civic blood.

IV.

Vanish the horrid scene, and turn the eyes
To where Britannia's chalky cliffs arise.—
What though beneath her rougher her air
A less luxuriant soil we share ;
Though often o'er her brightest day
Sails the thick storm, and shrouds the solar ray,
No purple vintage though she boast,
No olive shade her ruder coast ;
Yet here immortal Freedom reigns,
And law protects what labour gains ;
And as her manly sons behold
The cultur'd farm, the teeming fold,
See Commerce spread to ev'ry gale,
From every shore, her swelling sail ;
Jocund, they raise the choral lay
To celebrate th' auspicious day,
By heaven selected from the laughing year,
Sacred to patriot-worth, to patriot bosoms dear.

GAFFER GRAY. *By Mr. HOLCROFT.*

HO! why dost thou shiver and shake,
 Gaffer Gray?
 And why doth thy nose look so blue?
 “ ’Tis the weather that’s cold;
 ’Tis I’m grown very old,
 And my doublet is not very new,
 Well-a-day!”

Then, line thy worn doublet with ale,
 Gaffer Gray;
 And warm thy old heart with a glass.
 “ Nay, but credit I’ve none,
 And my money’s all gone;
 Then say how may that come to pass?
 Well-a-day!”

Hie away to the house on the brow,
 Gaffer Gray;
 And knock at the jolly priest’s door.
 “ The priest often preaches
 Against worldly riches;
 But ne’er gives a mite to the poor,
 Well-a-day!”

The lawyer lives under the hill,
 Gaffer Gray;
 Warmly fenc’d both in back and in front.
 “ He will fasten his locks,
 And will threaten the stocks,
 Should he ever more find me in want,
 Well-a-day!”

The ’squire has fat beeves and brown ale,
 Gaffer Gray;
 And the season will welcome you there.
 “ The fat beeves and the beer,
 And his merry new year,
 And all for the flush and the fair,
 Well-a-day!”

My keg is but low, I confess,
 Gaffer Gray;
 What, then, while it lasts, ’man, we’ll live.
 The poor man alone,
 When he hears the poor moan,
 Of his morsel a morsel will give,
 Well-a-day!

IMPROMPTU.

IMPROMPTU.

IN systems as much out of sense as of season
 Tom Pain names this age as the true age of reason ;
 But if right I can judge, or if right I can see,
 It is treason he means, and he's right to a T.

*Upon the promotion of Mr. GIBBON to the Board of Trade, in 1779.
 By C. J. Fox, esq.*

KING George in a fright,
 Lest Gibbon should write
 The story of Britain's disgrace,
 Thought no means more sure,
 His pen to secure,
 Than to give the historian a place.

But his caution is vain ;
 'Tis the curse of his reign
 That his projects should never succeed,
 Tho' he write not a line,
 Yet a cause of Decline,
 In the author's example we read.

His book well describes
 How corruption and bribes
 Overthrew the great Empire of Rome ;
 And his writings declare
 A degen'racy there,
 Which his conduct exhibits at home.

OCCASIONAL PROLOGUE, written by the right hon. major-general Fitzpatrick, and spoken by Mr. Kemble, on opening of the Theatre-Royal, Drury-lane, with Shakespeare's Macbeth, Monday, April 21, 1794.

AS tender plants, which dread the boist'rous gale,
 Bloom in the shelter of a tranquil vale,
 Beneath fair Freedom's all-protecting wing
 The liberal arts, secure from danger, spring ;
 'Thro' ravag'd Europe now while discord reigns,
 And War's dire conflicts desolate her plain,
 O, lest they perish in this boasted age,
 Once more the victims of barbarian rage,
 Her shield to guard them let Britannia rear,
 And fix, in safety, their asylum here !

Here

Here, where mild reason holds her temp'rate sway,
 Where willing subjects equal laws obey,
 Firm to that well-pois'd system, which unites
 With Order's blessings Freedom's sacred rights.
 'Mid wrecks of empires, England, be it thine,
 A bright example to the world to shine,
 Where Law on Liberty's just basis rear'd,
 Of all the safeguard, is by all rever'd,
 And stems alike, when clouds of discord low'r,
 The storms of faction, and the strides of pow'r.
 Hence have the muses on the lists of Fame,
 With pride, recorded many a British name;
 And on their votaries, in this lov'd abode,
 Bright wreaths of never-fading bays bestow'd;
 True to the cause of ev'ry English bard,
 'Tis yours the just inheritance to guard.
 What, though his vaulting Pegasus disdain
 The servile check of too severe a rein,
 Like untaught coursers of the Arab race,
 He moves with freedom, energy, and grace;
 With caution, then, the generous ardour tame,
 Lest, while you chasten, you repress the flame;
 Some licence temper'd judgement will permit
 To Congreve's, Wycherly's, or Vanburgh's wit;
 Nor, for an ill-tim'd ribald jest, refuse
 A tear to Otway's, or a Southern's, muse;
 But chief, with reverence watch his hallow'd bays,
 To whom this night a monument we raise;
 Beyond what sculptur'd marble can bestow—
 The silent tribute of surviving woe—
 Beyond the pow'rs of undecaying brass,
 Or the proud pyramid's unmeaning mass;
 A shrine more worthy of his fame we give,
 Where, unimpair'd, his genius still may live;
 Where, though his fire, the critic's rule transgress,
 The glowing bosom shall his cause confess;
 Where Britain's sons, through each succeeding age,
 Shall hail the founder of our English stage,
 And, from the cavils of pedantic spleen,
 Defend the glories of their Shakespeare's scene.

EPILOGUE, *written on the same occasion, by George Colman, jun. esq.
 and spoken by Miss Farren.*

WHAT part can speak—O, tell me, while I greet you—
 What character express my joy to meet you!

But

But feeling says, no character assume ;
 Let impulse dictate, and the soul have room.
 Tame glides the smoothest poem ever sung,
 To the heart's language, gushing o'er the tongue :
 Cold the address the ablest scholar drew,
 To the warm glow of crying—welcome you !
 Welcome ! thrice welcome to our new rear'd stage !
 To this new era of our drama's age !
 Genius of Shakespeare, as in air you roam,
 Spread your broad wings exulting o'er our dome !
 Shade of our Roscius, view us with delight,
 And hover smiling round your favourite site !
 But to my purpose here—for I am sent
 On deeds of import, and of deep intent ;
 Passion has had its scope, the burst is past,
 And I may sink to character at last.

When some rich noble, vain of his virtue,
 Permits the curious crowd his house to view ;
 When pictures, busts, and bronzes to display,
 He treats the public with a public day,
 That all the world may in their minds retain them,
 He bids his dawdling housekeeper explain them ;
 Herself, when each original's expected,
 The greatest that his lordship has collected.
 A house now opens, which, we trust, insures
 The approbation of the amateurs ;
 Each part, each quality,—'tis fit you know it—
 And I'm the housekeeper employ'd to show it.
 Our pile is rock, more durable than brass ;
 Our decorations, gossamer, and gas.
 Weighty, yet airy in effect, our plan,
 Solid, though light,—like a thin alderman,
 “ Blow wind, come wreck,” in ages yet unborn,
 “ Our castle's strength shall laugh a siege to scorn.”
 The very ravages of fire we scout,
 For we have witerewithal to put it out.
 In ample reservoirs our firm reliance,
 Whose streams set conflagration at defiance.
 Panic alone avoid—let none begin it—
 Should the flame spread, sit still, there's nothing in it ;
 We'll undertake to drown you all in half a minute !
 Behold, obedient to the prompter's bell,
 Our tide shall flow, and real waters swell.
 No river of meandering pasteboard made,
 No gentle tinkling of a tin cascade,
 No brook of broad-cloth shall be set in motion,
 No ships be wreck'd upon a wooden ocean,

But the pure element its course shall hold,
 Rush on the scene, and o'er our stage he roll'd. *
 How like you our aquatics?—Need we fear
 Some critic with a hydrophobia here,
 Whose timid caution Caution's self might tire,
 And doubts, if water can extinguish fire?
 If such there be, still let him rest secure;
 For we have made "assurance double sure."
 Consume the scenes, your safety yet is certain,
 Presto! for proof, let down the iron curtain. †
 Ah ye who live in this our brazen age,
 Think on the comforts of an iron stage;
 Fenc'd by that mass, no perils do environ
 The man who calmly sits before cold iron—
 For those who in the Green-room sit behind it,
 They e'en must quench the danger as they find it;
 A little fire would do us harm, we know it,
 To modern actor, nor to modern poet.
 [But beaux, and ye plum'd belles, all perch'd in front;
 You're safe at all events, depend upon't:
 So never rise like flutter'd birds together,
 The hottest fire sha'n't singe a single feather;
 No, I assure our generous benefactors,
 'T would only burn the scenery and the actors !]

Here ends, as housekeeper, my explanation,
 And may the house receive your approbation!
 For you, in air, the vaulted roof we raise—
 Tho' firm its base—its best support, your praise.
 Stamp then your mighty seal upon our cause!
 Give us, ye Gods, a thunder of applause!

The high decree is past—may future age,
 When pondering o'er the annals of our stage,
 Rest on this time, when labour rear'd the pile,
 In tribute to the genius of our isle;
 This school of art, with British sanction grac'd,
 And worthy of a manly nation's taste!
 And now the image of our Shakespeare view,
 And give the drama's god the honour due. ‡

* Here the scene rises, and discovers the water, &c. &c.

† Here the iron curtain is let down.

‡ Here the iron curtain is taken up, and discovers the statue of Shakespeare under a mulberry tree, &c. &c.

*** These six lines in crotchets were given by a friend.

*Poetical remonstrance to a young heir just coming of age, by Dr. Johnson;
from Mrs. Piozzi's British Synonymy.*

LONG expected one-and-twenty,
Ling'ring year at length is flown,
Pride and pleasure, pomp and plenty,
Great ***** are now your own.

Loosen'd from the minor's tether,
Free to mortgage, or to sell;
Wild as wind and light as feather,
Bid the sons of thrift farewell.

Call the Betseys, Kates and Jenneys,
All the names that banish care;
Lavish of your grandsire's guineas,
Shew the spirit of an heir.

All that prey on vice and folly,
Joy to see their quarry fly;
There the gamester light and jolly,
There the lender grave and sly.

Wealth, my lad, was made to wander,
Let it wander as it will;
Call the jockey, call the pander,
Bid them come and take their fill.

When the bonny blade carouses,
Pockets full and spirits high;
What are acres? what are houses?
Only dirt, or wet, or dry.

Should the guardian, friend, or mother,
Tell the woes of wilful waste;
Scorn their counsel, scorn their pother,
You can hang, or drown at last.

*On reading Mr. Howard's account of Lazarettos, from Poems by the Rev.
W. L. Bowles, A. M.*

BE the sad scene disclosed;—fearless unfold
The grating door—the inmost cell behold!
Thought shrinks from the dread sight; the paly lamp
Burns faint amid the infectious vapour's damp;

Beneath its light; full many a livid mien,
 And haggard eye-ball through the dusk are seen.
 In thought I see thee, at each hollow sound,
 With humid lips oft anxious gaze around.
 But, oh! for him who, to yon vault confin'd,
 Has bid a long farewell to human kind;
 His wasted form, his cold and bloodless cheek,
 A tale of sadder sorrow seems to speak,
 Of friends, perhaps, now mingled with the dead:
 Of hope, that like a faithless flatterer, fled
 In th' utmost hour of need; or of a son
 Cast to the bleak world's mercy; or of one
 Whose heart was broken, when the stern behest
 Tore him from pale affection's bleeding breast.
 Despairing, from his cold and flinty bed,
 With fearful muttering he hath rais'd his head:
 "What pitying spirit, what unwonted guest,
 "Strays to this last retreat, these shades unblest?
 "From life and light shut out, beneath this cell
 "Long have I bid Hope's chearful sun farewell.
 "I heard for ever clos'd the jealous door,
 "I mark'd my bed on the forsaken floor;
 "I had no hope on earth, no human friend;
 "Let me unpitied to the dust descend!"
 Cold is his frozen heart—his eye is rear'd
 To Heaven no more—and on his sable beard
 The tear has ceas'd to fall. Thou canst not bring
 Back to his mournful heart the morn of spring.
 Thou canst not bid the rose of health renew,
 Upon his wasted cheek her crimson hue.
 But at thy look (ere yet to hate resign'd,
 He murmurs his last curses on mankind),
 At thy kind look one tender thought shall rise,
 And his full soul shall thank thee ere it dies.

*Antony and Cleopatra, from Roman Portraits, a Poem in heroic verse, by
 Robert Jephson, esq.*

BUT not content with half the world's domain.
 Caesar and Antony alone would reign;
 The first, a steady sceptre born to wield,
 O'er all his acts extends the public shield;
 The last, abhorrent from the toils of state,
 Rots on the Nile, a hoary profligate;
 While subtle Caesar saps his eastern throne,
 He clasp'd his world in Cleopatra's zone.

Not

Not she for whom Dardanian Troy was lost;
 The pride of nature, and her country's boast;
 Nor she, who bade the Macedonian's hand
 Hurl at Persepolis the blazing brand,
 Nor Phædra, nor Ariadne, still more fair,
 Could with the Sorceress of Nile compare;
 In her, not face and shape alone could please,
 (Though with unrival'd grace she charm'd by these),
 But the whole store of Cytherea's wiles;
 Sighs, gentlest blandishments, and ambush'd smiles;
 The ready tear, the blush of well-feign'd truth,
 And the ripe woman, fresh as new-sprung youth.
 Beneath her roseat palms the lute, compress'd,
 Chas'd thought and trouble from the anxious breast
 In dulcet bonds the imprison'd soul she held,
 While the sweet chords her warbling voice excell'd.
 A thousand forms the Syren could put on,
 And seem as many mistresses in one;
 Serious or sportive, as the mood requir'd,
 No whim grew irksome, and no frolic tir'd;
 Enough of coyness to provoke desire,
 Of warmth enough to share the amorous fire,
 All, her delighted lovers could receive,
 Seem'd but fond earnest she had more to give;
 Nor with possession was the promise o'er,
 Love's fruit and slower at once her bosom bore;
 No languid pause of bliss near her was known,
 But with new joys new hours came laughing on,
 By arts like these was wiser Julius won,
 And Antony, more fond, was more undone.
 His soul, enamour'd, to the wanton clung,
 Glow'd at her eyes, or melted from her tongue;
 Lull'd in the dear Elysium of her arms,
 Nor interest moves him, nor ambition warms:
 Sometimes, with short remorse, he look'd within,
 But kept at once the conscience and the sin:
 In vain he saw the yawning ruin nigh;
 Content with her, he bade the world go by;
 He sought no covert of the friendly shade,
 'Twas half the zest to have his shame display'd,
 He deem'd it still his best exchange through life,
 A melting mistress for a railing wife.
 Perpetual orgies unabash'd they keep,
 Wine fires their veins, and revels banish sleep;
 Timbrels and songs, and feasts of deafning joy,
 By arts till then unknown, forbore to cloy.
 See for one banquet a whole kingdom sink,
 And gems dissolv'd, impearl her luscious drink.

Pleasure was hunted through each impious mode;
 An Isis she, and he the vine-crown'd god.
 Old Nile, astonish'd, on his bosom bore
 Monsters more strange than e'er deform'd his shore;
 For what so monstrous sight beneath the skies
 As self-created human deities?—
 But heaven, for vengeful retribution, means
 The sword and asp should close these frantic scenes.
 Spectators mute the sorrowing captains stand,
 While empire shoulders from his palsied hand:
 But rous'd at length, unwilling, to the fight,
 His star at Actium sunk in endless night.
 With equal pomp, as when down Cydnus' stream
 Her burnish'd prow struck back the sun's bright beam,
 The enchantress bade her bloated train prepare
 To meet the horrors of the naval war;
 But the first shouts her trembling spirits quail;
 She flies, and he pursues her shameful sail:
 His heart -strings to the harlot's rudder tied,
 What lust began, his dotage ratified:
 In Alexandria's towers he veil'd his head,
 Where, self-expell'd, the vital spirit fled.
 He tried all vices, and surpass'd in all,
 Luxurious, cruel, wild, and prodigal;
 Lavish of hours, of character, and gold,
 But warlike, hardy, and in dangers bold;
 His mind was suited to the boist'rous times;
 A soldier's virtues, and a tyrant's crimes.

*A Protestant Uncle to his Protestant Nieces, on their visiting Wardour-Castle, in Wilts, the seat of Lord Arundel, on St. Peter's day, 1794.
 By Mr. Seward.*

TIS not the splendid house of pray'r,
 The burnish'd gold's well-order'd glare,
 The altar's beauteous form emboss'd,
 With marbles from each distant coast,
 The clouds of incense that arise
 And waft their fragrance to the skies:
 'Tis not the flood of burning day
 The taper's dazzling lights display:
 'Tis not the lengthen'd notes and flow
 The organ's diapasons blow,
 The sounds the pious virgins breathe
 To the enraptur'd crowd beneath,
 As they their tuneful voices raise
 To accents soft of prayer and praise;

'Tis

'Tis not the priest's, in glittering shew,
 That at the sanctuary bow,
 Whilst, offspring of their magic hands,
 A present deity acknowledg'd stands :
 'Tis not the young and beauteous band,
 Before the holy place who stand,
 Like Samuel's sons of early grace,
 Th' * Acolothists' well-nurtur'd race,
 Who, taught from life's first blushing morn
 These sacred functions to adorn,
 With steady step and decent mien
 Add lustre to the solemn scene ;
 'Tis not each effort to express
 The charms and grace of holiness,
 That, to its destination true,
 This lovely spot can bring to view ;
 'Tis not Ribera's † wonderous art
 Such power to canvas to impart,
 As grand in form, and bright in hue,
 To bring to our astonished view
 The Lord of Life, torn, pale, and dead,
 Who for vile man's transgressions bled,
 Whilst weeping angels hovering o'er,
 The mystery of love explore :
 'Tis not, my girls, such things as these
 That for your faith destroy my ease ;—
 Your minds, I know, from earliest youth,
 So trained to wisdom and to truth,
 From your externals can command
 The proper notice they demand.
 Yet one thing frightens me, I own,
 Secure of all, but that alone—
 The noble tenants of the place
 My fears alarm, my quiet chase ;
 Their piety without pretence,
 Their goodness, their benevolence ;
 Their minds unspoil'd by wealth or state
 (Those common tempters of the great) ;
 Their charity, that knows no bound,
 Where man and misery are found,
 And cherishes, in these sad times,
 The unfortunate of other climes ;
 Priests, from their native altars torn,
 Their ruffian country's jest and scorn.

* The attendants on the priests at the altar, so called.

† Spagnolet, so called.

Your hearts, dear girls, so well I know
 To sympathize at others woe,
 Of worth so fond, so good, so true,
 So charm'd with Virtue's every view,
 That I am sure you will enquire
 What principles such acts inspire ?
 What faith so fervent and so bright
 Keeps lives so fully in the right ?
 Nay, more, my tortur'd soul to vex,
 The more to harrass and perplex,
 Of manners kind, demeanour meek,
 See * Forrester the pulpit seek,
 (And on St. Peter's very day),
 Of Rome's fam'd head the prop and stay,
 So candidly his subject treats
 (How fitted for religious heats),
 That, with attention's well-pleas'd air,
 Sarum's good prelate's self might hear.
 At Wardour then no longer stay,
 There all we meet will fears convey.
 Then fly, ye coursers, fleet as air,
 To † Bemerton we must repair,
 Fam'd long for pastors of good learning,
 Of great acuteness and discerning,
 Who in polemics deep and strong,
 Rome's faith have labour'd to prove wrong ;
 Where Herbert, Norris, Homes, and Coke,
 Have giv'n the Catholics some knocks.
 'Tis this will save ye from the lurch,
 And keep ye true to mother-church.

Verses, translated from the Persian, by sir William Jones.

HEAR, how yon reed, in sadly-pleasing tales,
 Departed bliss and present woe bewails—
 “ With me, from native banks untimely torn,
 Love-warbling youths and soft-eyed virgins muorn !
 Oh ! let the heart, by fatal absence rent,
 Feel what I sing, and bleed when I lament ; —
 Who roams in exile from his parent bow'r,
 Pants to return, and chides each ling'ring hour !

* Domestic chaplain to lord Arundel.

† Bemerton, near Salisbury. Its incumbents have been occasionally very distinguished persons, as Mr. Herbert the poet, the ideal Norris, the learned Mr. Homes, and the celebrated traveller Mr. Cox.

My notes, in circles of the great and gay,
 Have hail'd the rising, cheer'd the closing, day:
 Each in my fond affections claim'd a part,
 But none discern'd the secret of my heart;—
 What though my strains and sorrows slow combin'd,
 Yet ears are slow, and carnal eyes are blind.
 Free through each mortal form the spirits roll,
 But sight avails not; can we see the soul?"
 Such notes breath'd gently from yon vocal frame:
 Breath'd, said I?—no: 'twas all-enliv'ning flame.
 'Tis love that fills the reed with warmth divine!
 'Tis love that sparkles in the racy wine.
 Me, plaintive wand'rer from my peerless maid,
 The reed has fir'd, and all my soul betray'd.
 He gives the bane, and he with balsam cures,
 Afflicts, yet soothes; impassions, yet allures,
 Delightful pangs his am'rous tales prolong,
 And Laili's frantic lover lives in song.
 Not he who reasons best this wisdom knows;
 Ears only drink what rapt'rous tongues disclose;
 Nor fruitless deem the reed's heart-piercing pain;
 See sweetness dropping from the parted cane.
 Alternate hope and fear my days divide,
 I courted grief, and anguish was my bride.
 Flow on, sad stream of life, I smile secure;
 Thou livest—thou the purest of the pure.
 Rise, vig'rous youth, be free, be nobly bold;
 Shall chains confine you, though they blaze with gold?
 Go, to your vase the gather'd main convey.
 What were your stores? the pittance of a day;
 New plans for wealth your fancies would invent,
 Yet shells, to nourish pearls, must be content.
 The man whose robe love's purple arrows rend,
 Bids av'rice rest, and toils tumultuous end.
 Hail, heavenly Love! true source of endless gains,
 Thy balm restores me, and thy skill sustains.
 Oh, more than Galen leard'd, than Plato wise,
 My guide, my law, my joy supreme, arise;
 Love warms this frigid clay with mystic fire,
 And dancing mountains leap with young desire.
 Blest is the soul that swims in seas of love,
 And long the life sustain'd by food above.
 With forms imperfect can perfection dwell?
 Here pause my song;—and thou, vain world, farewell!

Sonnet on the death of Robert Riddell, esq. of Glenriddell.

NO more, ye warblers of the wood, no more ;
Nor pour your descant grating on my soul :
Thou, young-ey'd Spring, gay in thy verdant stole,
More welcome were to me grim Winter's wildest roar.

How can ye charm, ye flowers, with all your dyes ?
Ye blow upon the soil that wraps my friend !
How can I to the tuneful strain attend ?
That strain flows round th' untimely tomb where Riddell lies.

Yes, pour, ye warblers, pour the notes of woe,
And soothe the virtues weeping o'er his bier :
The man of worth, who bath not left his peer,
Is in his narrow house for ever darkly low.

Thee, Spring, again with joy shall others greet ;
Me, mem'ry of my loss will only meet.

ROBERT BURNS.

Account of Books for 1794.

Zoonomia; or the Laws of Organic Life. Vol. 1. By Erasmus Darwin, M. D. F. R. S. author of the *Botanic Garden.* 4to. 1794.

WERE it our purpose rather to amuse cursory readers than to give a connected and scientific view of the whole of this performance, we should have found it an easy task to fill our pages with much curious matter relative to natural, moral, and medical history, interspersed through many of its sections. All who have read the miscellaneous notes of our author's *Botanic Garden*, will be sufficiently acquainted with his happy art of enlivening philosophical reasonings and speculations with entertaining and sprightly narratives. The style of writing, in many parts of this work, is perfectly similar, and cannot fail of giving pleasure to those who have been delighted with the perusal of the former.

We conceive we shall but perform our duty to the ingenious author and the public, by proceeding immediately to an analytical view of the whole performance, leaving our readers afterwards to judge how far its facts and reasonings in the detail may be worthy of their attention.

After a short preface, in which we

we are acquainted that the work has lain by the writer during twenty years, he commences with

SECT. 1. OF MOTION. The motions of matter are arranged under three classes: those belonging to gravitation, to chymistry, and to life. The latter, comprehending all animal and vegetable motions, are the subject of this work.

S. 2. EXPLANATIONS and DEFINITIONS. This section begins with a general view of the animal economy; of which the most remarkable opinion is, that the immediate organs of sense probably consist of moving fibrils, having a power of contraction like that of muscles. *Sensorium* is used to signify not only all sentient parts, but the living principle residing throughout the body. By *idea* is meant those notions of external things with which the organs of sense bring us acquainted, and it is defined to be a contraction, or motion, or configuration, of the fibres of those organs. *Sensual motion* is used as synonymous with it. *Perception* includes both the action of the organ, and our attention to it. *Sensation* is used to express pleasure or pain in its active state alone. Ideas of *recollection* are those voluntarily recalled—those of *suggestion* come from habit. *Association* is a society of things in some respect

respect similar, and does not include the connection of cause and effect. All the definitions of this section are afterward more particularly explained.

The business of the 3d section is to shew, by experiment, that the organs of sense possess a power of motion, and that these motions constitute our ideas; also that ideas of the imagination consist in a renewal of these motions. The first experiments adduced to this purpose relate to optical spectra. One of the assertions most worthy of accurate investigation in this section is, that when an organ of sense is totally destroyed, the ideas which were received by that organ perish with it. This, indeed, ought to follow from the writer's hypothesis, and he gives some instances of the fact: but we are scarcely prepared to receive it as a general truth.

S. 4. lays down the *laws of animal causation*, afterward to be exemplified.

S. 5. enumerates the *four faculties or motions of the sensorium*, irritation, sensation, volition, and association. They are thus defined: *Irritation* is an exertion or change of some extreme part of the sensorium residing in the muscles or organs of sense, in consequence of the appulses of external bodies. *Sensation* is an exertion or change of the central parts of the sensorium, or of the whole of it, *beginning* at some of the extreme parts. *Volition* is an exertion or change of the central parts, *terminating* in the extreme parts. *Association* is an exertion or change of some extreme part of the sensorium, in consequence of some antecedent or attendant fibrous contractions. The above faculties are also called *sensorial motions*.

S. 6. describes *four classes of fibrous motions*, which are contractions of the fibrous parts, correspondent with and caused by the four sensorial motions above-mentioned. They are in consequence denominated *irritative, sensitive, voluntary, and associate, fibrous motions*.

S. 7. treats of *irritative motions*, noticing the different modes in which they are excited, the modifications that they undergo, and the association of other motions with those brought on by the primary irritation. It is also observed that irritative ideas often exist without our attention to them; as when, though lost in thought, we avoid a tree or bench that stands in the way of our walk.

S. 8. concerning *sensitive motions*, observes that they were originally excited by irritation, are occasionally obedient to volition, and have other motions associated with them.

S. 9. on *voluntary motions*, states them to have been originally excited by irritations. Ideas of recollection are a class of these voluntary motions on which reason, or the act of comparing different ideas, depends. Voluntary motions are occasionally causable by sensations, made obedient to irritations, and associated with other motions.

S. 10. is on *associate motions*. Muscular, sensitive, and voluntary motions and ideas, excited in trains or tribes, become associated, and have ever after a tendency to arise simultaneously, or in succession.

Some *additional observations on the sensorial powers*, in sect. 11. relate to the various kinds of stimulation, as adapted to different parts; to sensation and volition, desire and aversion, voluntary actions and associations. It is asserted that the activity

activity of the power of volition produces the great difference between men and brutes.

[S: 12. treats of *stimulus*, *sensorial exertion*, and *fibrous contraction*. The latter is first considered. In order to bring the particles of a muscular fibre to that nearer approximation in which its contraction consists, some other agent is necessary, which is the spirit of animation or sensorial power. After animal fibres have for some time been excited into contraction, a relaxation succeeds, even though the exciting cause continues to act. This appears to be owing to an expenditure or diminution of the spirit of animation previously resident in the fibres. It is succeeded, after a certain interval, by a new contraction, and this interval is less in weak than in strong subjects; which accounts for the quick pulse in fevers with debility; yet the contraction itself is performed with more velocity in strong than in weak subjects. After a fibre has been excited to contraction, and the sensorial power ceases to act, the last situation or configuration of it continues, unless disturbed by some extraneous cause. A contraction somewhat greater than usual produces pleasure; one still greater produces pain. As, in every contraction of a fibre, there is an expenditure of the spirit of animation, increased action diminishes the propensity to activity; on the contrary, less fibrous contraction than usual causes an accumulation of the spirit of animation, and increased propensity to activity. Hence the capability of being excited to action is perpetually fluctuating. When much and permanently above or below the natural standard, it becomes a disease.

In sensorial exertion, three things are to be observed; the stimulus, the sensorial power, and the contractile fibre. An external stimulus first brings into action the faculty called irritation, which causes contraction of the fibres, and this, if perceived, produces pleasure or pain; this is another stimulus, capable of causing contraction by the sensorial faculty, termed sensation; or it introduces desire or aversion, which excites another faculty termed volition, which may act as another stimulus; and, in conjunction with all these, the other sensorial faculty, termed association, may be called into action. The word *stimulus* may therefore be properly applied to any of the above four causes exciting the four sensorial powers into exertion; and the quantity of motion produced in any part of the system will be as the quantity of stimulus and the quantity of sensorial power residing in the fibres. Where these are great, *strength* is produced; where deficient, *weakness*. If, the quantity of sensorial power remaining the same, that of stimulus be lessened, a weakness of contractions ensues, which may be termed *debility from defect of stimulus*; if, the quantity of stimulus remaining the same, that of sensorial power be lessened, *debility from defect of sensorial power* is the consequence. The former is the *direct* debility of Dr. Brown; the latter, the *indirect*. On these principles, with that of the exhaustion of the spirit of animation by fibrous contractions, and its renovation and accumulation on quiescence, the phenomena of fevers, and various other corporeal affections, are developed. Some remarks relative to medical practice

close

close this section, which are either derived from the above theory, or, at least, are made happily to coincide with it. From these, we shall copy what the writer terms two *golden rules* respecting the application of stimuli. In fevers with debility, when wine or beer are exhibited, if the pulse becomes slower, the stimulus is of a proper quantity, and should be repeated every two or three hours, or when the pulse has again become quicker. In chronic debility, brought on by hard drinking, the patient should be directed to omit a fourth part of his accustomed quantity of vinous spirit. If, in a fortnight's time, his appetite increases, he should omit another fourth part: but, if this farther diminution impairs the appetite, he should remain where he is. At the same time, flesh-meat is recommended, with Peruvian bark and steel in small quantities between meals, and opium with rhubarb at night.

S. 13. relates to *vegetable animation*. Some of the well-known facts respecting the irritability of plants are here mentioned. Their secretions are compared to those of animals, and the individuality of every bud on a tree is asserted. Next, the marks of sensibility shewn by the sexual parts of plants are recited, and the writer does not scruple to ascribe the *passion of love* to pistils and anthers: thus seriously maintaining, as a philosopher, opinions which we conceived to be the sport of a poetic imagination in his beautiful work, entitled *The Loves of the Plants*. He touches on the curious enquiry, whether vegetables have *ideas* of external things; which, from arguments that seem to prove them possessed of a common senso-

rium, he is inclined to answer in the affirmative.

S. 14. on *the production of ideas*, goes over the several organs of the senses, and the manner in which objects affect them: but, in so very concise a discussion, we cannot expect much new elucidation of points which, singly, have cost much labour to many philosophers. Besides the usual enumeration of senses, he adds the senses or appetites of hunger, thirst, heat, extension, the want of fresh air, animal love, and the suckling of children.

The 15th section, on *the classes of ideas*, is purely metaphysical, and offers nothing new to the informed reader.

S. 16. on *instinct*, is very curious and entertaining, but will probably by many be thought fanciful and inconclusive. Its general purpose is to shew that the blind impulse in animals, to actions and reason and consequences of which are not seen (which we usually call instinct), does not in reality exist,—but that early unmarked associations or previous experience have been the true causes of those actions. He traces these associations and acquirements in the early motions, sensations and tastes, of animals. Thus, our sense of beauty he derives from the various pleasurable sensations originally experienced by the infant from the mother's breast, whence all forms analogous to it become afterward sources of a kind of recollected delight. Even the natural expressions of the passions, according to him, spring from original associations. Thus, a disagreeable irritation of the lachrymal ducts in the nose from cold dry air being one of the first pains in infants, and occasioning

casioning a discharge of tears and distortion of countenance, emotions of grief are ever after accompanied by those bodily changes. On the other hand, the first lively pleasure of the infant arising from the fragrant odour of the mother's milk, which titillates the same ducts and produces a flux of tears, this sensation being likewise accompanied by affection to the mother, *tender pleasure* is afterward expressed by a profusion of tears. These examples with others of a like nature, will probably appear fanciful enough to many who admit the force of association in more decisive instances. As to those actions of brute animals, connected with their preservation and multiplication, which are generally called *instinctive*, Dr. D. adduces numerous facts to prove that design and experience mingle with many of them, and that brutes are capable of processes like reasoning: but we think that he has by no means shewn either that *all*, or the most necessary of them, have such an origin. Some of the most decisive examples of instinct, which seem totally inexplicable on other principles, he passes over in a very slight and unsatisfactory manner. Thus that extraordinary and extensive fact of the webs spun by many kinds of caterpillars before their change into the aurelia state, which could not possibly be owing to experience or instruction, since they are creatures of a season which never knew a parent, is very lamely dismissed, by saying, that 'our ignorance of their manner of life, and even of the number of their senses, totally precludes us from understanding the means by which they acquire this knowledge.' We presume that the manner of life of no

animal is better known than that of a silk worm.

The *catenation of motions* is the subject of *sect. 17th*. These are produced by irritations, sensations, or volitions. Their cause, probably, is the property of animal motions to proceed some time after they are excited, though the exciting object be removed. The laws of these catenations are laid down and exemplified in this section with much ingenuity. One of the principal exemplifications is drawn from the process of learning music.

S. 18. describes *sleep* and all its phenomena; and much acuteness is displayed by the author, in shewing how the suspension of the power of volition, and the increase of energy in the other sensorial powers, owing to the consequent accumulation of the spirit of animation, operate in producing all the varied and wonderful circumstances which occur during that state of the body.

Reverie is the subject of *sect. 19*. It is made to include somnambulism, and to partake of epilepsy or catalepsy. Complete reverie is characterized by the continuance of all the motions but those which are excited by the stimuli of external objects.

S. 20. treats of *vertigo*. It is first observed that, as we determine our perpendicularity of position by the apparent motions of objects, whatever prevents or disorders our judgment in this respect makes us liable to fall, or induces vertigo. Also, when irritative motions or sounds, which usually are unnoticed by the mind, become, from any cause, the objects of sensation or attention, the confusion thus made in the ordinary catenations or circles of ideas excites

excites vertiginous affections. In vertigo, the sensitive and voluntary motions continue undisturbed.

Drunkenness is the subject of sect. 21. It increases the irritative motions by internal stimulation, and thus gives a great additional quantity of pleasurable sensation, producing many sensitive motions. By these effects, the associated trains are disturbed and confused, volition is gradually impaired, and is at length totally suspended, with temporary apoplexy.

S. 22. treats of *propensity to motion, repetition, and imitation*. Propensity to action is produced by accumulation of sensorial power in cases in which its expenditure is less than usual. Repetition of motions gives pleasure on account of the superior ease with which they are performed by combining habit with stimulus. The propensity to imitation is derived from the greater ease with which we perform that action which is already imitated by the fibres of the retina, than a new one. Imitation is therefore a repetition by one set of fibres of motions already begun by another set. The doctor extends this principle to account for certain morbid phenomena, in which, disease is propagated from one part of the body to another, apparently without any direct communication of morbid matter. This section seems to us to abound beyond most with fine-spun speculation.

S. 23. Of the *circulatory system*. The author now proceeds to illustrate some of the phenonema of diseases, and to trace out their methods of cure. In his account of the circulatory system, he affirms that heat is given out by all glandular secretions in consequence of the

chymical changes which the fluids undergo; and the instances the heat felt in the cheeks on blushing, as of that kind. He supposes the red veins to be absorbing vessels, like the lymphatics, and to receive the blood from the arteries in that mode. He conceives that the motions of the fluids are carried on by means of two stimuli; one a pleasurable sensation exciting the mouth of the vessel to seize what is presented, which he calls *glandular appetency*; the other a kind of aversion, urging the heart and arteries to push forward the blood which they have received; and he thinks that both these sensations were originally felt in the embryo, though by habit they have been lost, and the irritation alone remains.

S. 24. Of the *secretions of saliva; and of tears, and of the lachrymal sac*. These secretions are well known to afford examples of the influence of sensation over corporeal actions, and therefore are ready exemplifications of our author's theories. We cannot, however, agree with him in his assertion, that the lachrymal sac, with its puncta and nasal duct, is a complete gland; since, though the tears be absorbed at one end and discharged at the other, they undergo no change in the passage. The tears are separated from the blood by a real gland, the lachrymal; and the other organs are only a contrivance for their conveyance.

S. 25. on the *stomach and intestines*, gives a general account of the principles of their ordinary motions, and also of their inverted motions, occasioned by stronger stimuli than usual, by disgustful ideas, or by volition. Various other cases of inverted motion are mentioned, as likewise the sympathy of motions

motions between the stomach and heart.

S. 26. of the *capillary glands and membranes*, supports the opinion that the capillary vessels are in effect glands, and that the minuter membranes are inorganic.

S. 27. on *hæmorrhages*, begins by proving the veins to be properly absorbent vessels, which take up blood from the glands and capillaries, after it has undergone the proper secretions. On this foundation, hæmorrhages are divided into two kinds; one, in which the glandular or capillary action is too powerfully exerted; the other, in which the absorbent power of the veins is diminished, as a branch of them is become paralytic.

S. 28. Of the *paralysis of the absorbent system*. A paralysis of the absorbents of the stomach and intestines is supposed to be the cause of the atrophy of hard drinkers; and this, not only from the defect of nutriment taken into the system, but from the increased action of the remainder of the absorbent system, consequent on the less expenditure, of sensorial power on the lacteal part. The immediate cause of the dropsy is a paralysis of some other branches of the absorbent system. As a lymphatic vessel usually consists of a long neck and a glandular belly, the author conceives that each of these parts may be separately palsied; and to the paralysis of the glandular part, while the mouth continues to absorb, he imputes scrofula. Surely, hypothesis can scarcely proceed to a more fanciful conclusion than this!

S. 29. concerning the *retrograde motions of the absorbent system*, is a translation of part of a Latin thesis, written by the late Mr. Charles

Darwin, and published in 1780. Its purpose is to account for various phenomena of disease, on the supposition that, in a vitiated state of the system, some irritations, either direct or sympathetic, produce a regurgitation of the fluids in the lymphatics, and an effusion of them in certain cavities. On this hypothesis, he accounts for diabetes, dropsies, diarrhœas, and other diseases; and various causes are adduced, supposed to illustrate the point. However ingenious this theory may be, we are to observe, that the retrograde motion in the lymphatics is no more than a mere hypothesis, no experiment having yet proved that such a thing at all takes place, and it surely is difficult to conceive how a greater stimulus applied to the lacteals, for instance, and inciting them to stronger *direct* action, should by sympathy occasion an *inverted* action of the lymphatics of the bladder.

S. 30. relates to *paralysis of the liver and kidneys*. Too great stimulation of the bile-ducts, from the use of spirituous liquors, is a cause of their succeeding diminished irritability; whence the bile ceases to be found in the intestines, and by its regurgitation causes a species of jaundice. A case is given, in which an indolent jaundice, possibly of this species, was removed by smart shocks of electricity passed through the region of the liver. This affection of the bile-ducts also occasions those accumulations of the bile which produce gall-stones. Another disease of the liver proceeds from a paralysis of its secretory vessels, in which little or no bile is secreted; and a simplicity of the organ is an operation of the same cause. Similar diseases to all these ex-

ist in the kidneys, from similar causes.

S. 31. treats of *temperaments*; by which term the author means a permanent predisposition to certain classes of diseases. They are divided into, 1. The temperament of decreased irritability; 2. The temperament of sensibility; 3. That of increased voluntariness; 4. That of increased association. It is evident that the notion of these temperaments is deduced from the preceding theory of the source of our ideas; and it would be very difficult to exemplify them in individuals with any precision.

S. 32. on *diseases of irritation*, being fundamental in the pathology of fevers, and designed to set entirely aside the doctrine of spasm, ought to be well understood by an enquirer into the systems of our author; yet such is its intricacy and subtilty, that we despair of giving our readers clear ideas of it in an abstract.

The points chiefly laboured are, to shew how temporary quiescence from the want of accustomed stimuli may cause the accumulation of sensorial power; and to deduce, from the changes of action and sensation in the arterial and glandular systems, the phenomena attending the hot and cold fits of fever. The fevers mentioned in this section are called the *irritative*, and are divided into those with a strong, and those with a weak, pulse, answering to the synocha and the typhus mitior of nosologists. The practical conclusion from the whole is, that severe fits are *not* an effort of nature to relieve herself, and therefore should always be prevented or diminished as much as possible.

S. 33. relates to the *diseases of sen-*

sation. When to the febrile motions from irritation are added others from sensation, what the author calls *sensitive fever* is produced; which is likewise of two classes, according to the arterial strength of debility accompanying them; those with a strong pulse give the synocha or inflammatory fever; those with a weak pulse, the typhus gravior, or putrid fever. A variety of curious hypotheses relative to the nature of inflammation, the generation of matter, and the nature of contagion, are given in this section; which, as connected with the general theory, cannot be stated to any advantage apart. We shall only mention, as a specimen, that it is maintained that the variolous matter in natural contagion does not enter the blood, but acts by means of sensitive association between the stomach and the skin, which excites particular motions of the cuticular capillaries, producing the eruption.

Diseases of volition are the subject of sect. 34. The author uses the term *volition* in a sense different from the common acception. When desire or aversion produces any action of the muscular fibres, or of the organs of sense, they are termed *volition*, and the consequent actions *voluntary*, though they may be such as it is out of our power to prevent, and therefore such as in common language are called *involuntary*. Various examples are adduced in this section to prove how voluntary motions are at first employed for the purpose of relieving pain; how, by association, they afterward become independent of the will; and how, in some cases, they arise to epilepsy and convulsion. In certain constitutions, violent

lent exertions of the ideas of the mind are employed for the same purpose, which constitutes madness. The principle, on which relief in all these cases is obtained, is by expending a portion of the sensorial power on such motions and exertions.

S. 35. relates to *diseases of association*. In explaining sympathy, or consent of parts, the doctor considers a tribe or train of actions as divided into two parts, one of which consists of the primary or original motions, the other of the secondary or sympathetic. The different and even opposite modes, in which one of these trains may affect the other, are considered in this section; and supposed exemplifications of each are adduced. It may be easily imagined that the speculations, in which the author indulges on this subject, are not among the least abstruse and subtle.

S. 36. On the *periods of diseases*. Intermission and recurrence in muscular actions naturally proceed from the exhaustion and accumulation of sensorial power. These changes, combined with the periods of our diurnal habits, or of heat and cold, or with the solar and lunar periods, are the causes of the periods of fever-fits. A variety of instances are given of the solar and lunar periods of diseases; and the doctrine of critical days is, by hypothesis, connected with this influence.

S. 37. treats of *digestion, secretion, and nutrition*. The chymical laws of accretion and increase seem to our author inapplicable to animal bodies, whence he looks for them in the laws of assimilation. The lacteals absorb the chyle, and the glands and pores the nutritious particles belonging to them, by animal

selection or appetency, put into action by stimulus. The whole animal solids, having been originally formed of the extremities of nerves, require an apposition of particles of a similar kind for their nutrition, which are probably applied during the elongation of the filaments. Old age and decay proceed from the want of irritability.

S. 38. treats of the *oxygenation of the blood in the lungs, and in the placenta*. The author adopts the opinion of those who suppose that the blood in the lungs receives oxygen from the air; and also that the placenta is a sort of respiratory organ, furnishing oxygen to the blood of the fœtus. The arguments for this latter opinion are derived from the thesis of Dr. James Jeffray and Dr. Forester French.

Generation is the subject of *sect.* 39. So many ingenious men have already lost themselves and bewildered their readers in their conjectures respecting this mysterious function, that it would be extraordinary if a new guess should solve its difficulties. A very slight sketch of Dr. D.'s notions on the subject will probably satisfy most of our readers. He imagines that the embryo is the produce of the male alone, and that the female only gives its lodgment and nutrition. He does not, however, suppose its first rudiments to be a miniature of the future animal, but merely a simple living filament, which receives all its parts by accretion. This fibril, dropping among the nutritive particles prepared by the female, is stimulated to action; and, bending into the form of a ring, embraces one of these particles, and coalesces with it. This new organization acquires new irritabilities, chooses

or rejects other particles offered to it; has sensation superadded to it, and, in process of time, the powers of association and volition. The living filament, being a part of the father, has certain propensities belonging to him, which give the basis of a similarity of structure; and this is altered or modified by the nutritive particles derived from the mother. Other alterations proceed from the imagination of the father at the instant of generation,—the extremities of the seminal glands imitating the motions of the organs of sense; and thus the sex of the embryo is produced, which is male or female, according as the image of the one or the other of these organs predominated in the father's imagination at the critical period. All augmentations are in consequence of an irritation or sensation of a peculiar kind, which may be termed *animal appetency*, which seeks the particles that it wants; and this operates even after birth, and, in the innumerable series of ages, has produced all the diversities of forms in animals, accommodated to their different modes of life:—for the author supposes a perpetual progress toward perfection in all animated beings, and imagines that none of them are at present as they originally existed, but have gradually arrived at the state in which we now see them, from that of a simple and uniform living filament.

We shall make no remarks on this system; referring to the work itself such of our readers as are disposed to take pleasure in viewing the progress of an ingenious fancy in working up a little fact with abundance of conjecture, into that product of mental generation called an *hypo-*

thesis. What an acquisition would such a system have been to Mr. Shandy!

S. 40. contains an essay on the *ocular spectra* of light and colours, by Dr. R. W. Darwin, of Shrewsbury, reprinted from the *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. lxxvi. p. 313.

The history of the origin, progress, and termination of the American war. By Charles Stedman, esq. who served under sir William Howe, sir Henry Clinton, and the marquis Cornwallis. In two vols. quarto. 1794.

WE have had not a few histories relating to the American war; but not one that is in any degree comparable with that before us, in respect either of candour, comprehension, or justness and elegant simplicity of composition. The grand design, outline, or plan, of the work is announced, according to the laws of sound criticism and legitimate history, in the outset or introduction; and to the same point our historian brings his narrative; after a vast variety of events, incidents, circumstances, anecdotes, and some few episodes, in the conclusion of this well-arranged composition. Even from the dedication, to the earl of Moira, the general spirit, scope, and result of the book dedicated may be inferred, or rather anticipated. This address, written with a delicacy of sentiment equally nice and ingenious, is as follows:

“My lord, the pain of recording that spirit of faction, that weakness, indecision, indolence, luxury, and corruption, which disgrace our public conduct during the course of the American

American war, is relieved by the contemplation of those talents and virtues that were eminently displayed on the side of Great Britain in various important though subordinate stations.

“ Although the issue of that war was unfortunate, our national character was not impaired, nor the contest, while it was maintained, on the whole inglorious. Neither martial ardour was wanting among our countrymen, nor military enterprise, nor patriotic zeal. In that rank, and those circumstances of life which are at once a temptation and an apology for dissipation and a love of pleasure, the military spirit of Britain shone with undiminished lustre: and the noblest families exhibited bright examples of true courage, exalted genius, and consummate wisdom. Whilst I indulge, with exultation, this general reflection, permit me to acknowledge that my attention is irresistibly drawn towards the earl of Moira. Accept then, my lord, this humble effort to transmit to posterity the glorious actions of our countrymen, as a mark of personal respect for your lordship; for that happy union of enthusiasm in the cause of virtue, of invention, intrepidity, and decision of character, with cool reflection, and patient perseverance, which directs the public eye to your lordship as the hope and the pride of your country. That your lordship may long live still to sustain, in a frivolous age, the dignity of true nobility, the virtue of chivalry without its spirit of romance, as the ardent wish and hope of,” &c.

But the general scope or result of the historical composition before us is more clearly unfolded in the introduction, which discovers sound judgment, extensive knowledge, and a ca-

pacify for political and philosophical reflection.—“ So natural is the love of liberty, and such the aversion of mankind to restraint, that it seems to be in the very nature of colonies, and all subordinate governments, to seize every favourable opportunity of asserting their independence; and the external aspect of nature, variegated and broken by mountains, savannahs, rivers, lakes, and seas, conspires with that noble passion to check the progress of empire, and to maintain an interesting diversity among tribes and nations.

“ But when the British colonies, now the Thirteen United States of North America, took up arms, and declared themselves free and independent; they were not encouraged by any conjuncture that could justify that measure in point of policy, or by any circumstances that could yield any reasonable hope of success in the arduous struggle that was to ensue. On the contrary, if we take a view of the strength and resources of Great Britain at the commencement of hostilities, and contrast these with the weakness, and almost total inability of the revolting colonies, we shall have reason to conclude, that the termination of the war in favour of the latter, with their final separation from the British empire, was one of those extraordinary and unexpected events which, in the course of human affairs, rarely occur, and which bid defiance to all human foresight and calculation. A people, not exceeding two millions of souls, widely scattered over half the hemisphere; in the peaceable occupations of fishing, agriculture and commerce; divided into many distinct governments, differing from each other in manners, religion, and interests, not entirely united in po-

litical sentiments; this people, with very little money, proverbially called the sinews of war, was yet enabled to effect a final separation from Great Britain, proud from successful and glorious war, flourishing in arts and arms beyond the example of any former period, capable of raising an annual revenue of sixteen millions of pounds, and, on the whole, the most formidable nation in the world; and all this, although the continent of North America, deeply indented and penetrated by navigable rivers and lakes, presented a fit theatre for the display of naval power, in which chiefly the strength of Great-Britain consisted. It is the object of the present work to describe with fidelity the war that involved this great event—a wonder to the present, an example to all future ages. But I shall first run over the train of circumstances by which that war was produced.

Mr. Stedman having given a clear, full, and satisfactory, account of the origin of the American war, on which part of his subject he gives a very curious and pleasing account of the different characters of the inhabitants of the different provinces, proceeds to relate the warlike operations on both sides, from the destruction of the British military stores at Concord and the battle of Bunker's Hill, to the surrender of our army under Burgoyne, at Saratoga; a memorable æra, as cap. Stedman justly observes, in the American war; for although the success of the British arms had not been so brilliant, nor the progress made in repressing the spirit of revolt so considerable, as the magnitude of the force employed under sir William Howe gave reason to expect; still, upon the whole, until the unfortu-

nate expedition from Canada under general Burgoyne, the advantages that had been gained were on the side of Great-Britain. So uncommon an event as the capture of a whole army of their enemies, animated the Americans with fresh ardour, invigorated the exertions of the congress, lessened in the mind of the American soldier the high opinion which he had entertained of British valour and discipline, and inspired him with a juster confidence in himself. The consequences, however, which this event produced in Europe were of still greater moment. Bills were brought into Parliament for reconciliation and peace with America. In order to defeat the effect of these conciliatory measures, two treaties were entered into between the thirteen revolted colonies and the French king—one of commerce, and another of defensive alliance. Sir William Howe resigned his command of the army, and returned to England.

“The friends of sir William Howe, the members of parliament in opposition to administration, with his concurrence, insisted on a public enquiry into the conduct of the American war, that our national disgraces and misfortunes might be traced to their real source. Lord Howe, in a speech in the house of commons, April the 29th, 1779, demanded an enquiry into his own and brother's conduct, for the following reasons:—they had been arraigned in pamphlets and in news-papers, written by persons in high credit and confidence with ministers, by several members of that house in that house, in the face of the nation, by some of great credit and respect in their public characters, known to be countenanced by administration; and

and that one of them in particular, governor Johnstone, had made the most direct and specific charges. Their characters, therefore, so publicly attacked, and in such a place, were to be vindicated in the great councils of the state, and no where else.

"In vain did the ministers of the crown, who had employed him, declare, that, they had no accusations against either the general or admiral. They with their friends insisted on a public examination, which was obtained, and in which they, for some time, took the lead. But at length it plainly appeared that, under pretence of vindicating the general, their real design was to condemn the conduct of administration. The parliamentary enquiry that had been instituted, the ministry and their adherents considered as a factious intrigue. It was perhaps imagined that his majesty, alarmed at the danger that began by this time to threaten Great Britain, not only in America but in other quarters, would change his confidential servants, and commit the conduct of government to those very hands that had hitherto been employed in various attempts to baffle its designs, and frustrate all the measures that had been taken for carrying them into execution. But the king, amidst multiplying distresses, with proper firmness, withstood their machinations, determined to continue his countenance to those who wished not to frustrate nor procrastinate the war,* but to bring it, as soon as possible, to a safe and honourable conclusion. The opposition, there-

fore disappointed in their expectations, from the highest quarter in the state, seriously intended, what they loudly threatened, to impeach the servants of the crown, and by that means to drive them from their places by a kind of violence.

"Administration easily penetrating this design, resolved no longer to permit their opponents to run in the race of examination alone, but to vindicate the measures they had taken. Many gentlemen, of undoubted reputation, perfectly acquainted with the conduct of the war, and the state of America, were summoned to give evidence respecting those subjects. Of this the movers of the enquiry were apprised, and they soon began to lose courage. Only two witnesses were examined on, what may be called in the language of judicial trials, the side of administration;—major-general Robertson, who had served twenty-four years in America, as quarter-master-general, brigadier, and major-general; and Mr. Galloway, a gentleman, of Pennsylvania, of fortune and consequence, as well as good abilities, who was bred to the law, and had been a member of congress, but who had come over to the royal army in December, 1776. But such was the circumstantiality, credibility, and weight of their evidence, that the movers or managers shrunk from the enquiry; as the more it was carried on, the more parliament, as well as the nation at large, seemed to be convinced that the conduct of administration in respect to the American war was on the whole justified. The friends of the general

* "It is believed that the king, on some occasions, went so far as to suggest his ideas of the proper plan for carrying on the war which were very judicious, and which, had they been adopted by the general, might probably have been productive of good effects."

and admiral, therefore, moved to dissolve the committee which they had been so studious to obtain, and it was dissolved accordingly.

“But although sir William Howe, as well as his friends, was disappointed in his hopes of something even more than exculpation, from an indulgent house of commons, he neither wanted a sufficient number of partisans to keep him in countenance amidst all that censure that was poured on his conduct, nor political friends of sufficient consequence to compensate for that censure by an honourable and lucrative station, which he now holds under government: nor is this the only instance in the history of Britain, at this period, of great inequality in the public retribution of rewards and punishments. When we reflect on the different and even opposite reception given to successful genius actuated by the purest patriotism on the one hand, and to monotonous mediocrity not only unsuccessful, if success is to be measured by effects conducive to the public good, but even of ambiguous intentions, what are we to think of the spirit which influences and directs the public councils?”

“In the decline of free governments we ever observe the influence of faction to predominate over ideas of patriotism, justice, and duty, on which alone liberty is founded, and a propensity in the citizens to range themselves under the banners of a Marius or a Sylla, a Pompey or a Caesar. Hence the servants of the state are apt to become less and less sensible to honour and the voice of fame, the great incentives to glorious actions; well knowing that their conduct, however meritorious, may still be condemned, or however excep-

tionable, still be palliated, and even applauded, to advance the views of faction and ambition; while the great body of the people, distracted and confounded by the opposite opinions and declarations of their superiors, who are supposed to have the best means of information, know not where to place their hopes, their confidence, or their fears. It is the province of the historian to correct these, and to animate the patriot, the sage, and the hero, under temporary neglect or detraction, by carrying an appeal in their behalf to a tribunal more candid than their misguided contemporaries, and that raised on a theatre more extended than their native country.”—Here our historian, by a very natural division, concludes his first, and enters on his second, volume.

The surrender of Saratoga was followed by the most important events. Commissioners of peace were sent out to America from the mother country; and first France, then Spain, and afterwards the Seven United Provinces, joined the Americans in one great confederacy against Great Britain. The theatre of war is enlarged; and navies are brought into action at sea, and more numerous armies oppose each other by land. A vast variety of scenes go on at the same time in different quarters of the world: numberless events, actions and transactions, are recorded; anecdotes related, circumstances marked, and characters described. Our author traverses the whole, on ground that commands extensive views, with a dignity and ease that shew how well acquainted he is with general knowledge, and how much he is master of his subject. He who attempts to describe every thing, describes nothing
but

but is lost in the mazes of endless minutiae. The intelligent and learned author of the history before us is attached only to what is interesting and great; and while he keeps his subject steadily in view, the origin, progress, and termination of the American war, he occasionally instructs and amuses his readers by curious anecdotes, though not necessarily, yet naturally, connected with his design, and reflections, not formally dictated, but beautifully interwoven with his narrative. For example, having mentioned the disappointment of lord Cornwallis in not being joined by the inhabitants of North Carolina, he relates the following anecdote, connected with this subject, and in itself not a little curious: "The commissary, who considered it as his duty not only to furnish provisions for the army but also to learn the dispositions of the inhabitants, fell in about this time with a very sensible man, a Quaker, who being interrogated as to the state of the country, replied, that it was the general wish of the people to be reunited to Britain; but that they had been so often deceived in promises of support, and the British had so frequently relinquished posts, that the people were now afraid to join the British army lest they should leave the province, in which case the resentment of the revolutioners would be exercised with more cruelty: that although the men might escape, or go with the army, yet such was the diabolical conduct of those people, that they would inflict the severest punishment upon their families. 'Perhaps,' said the Quaker, 'thou art not acquainted with the conduct of thy enemies towards those who wish well to the cause thou art engaged in. There

are some who have lived for two, and even three years in the woods, without daring to go to their houses, but have been secretly supported by their families. Others having walked out of their houses, under a promise of being safe, have proceeded but a few yards before they have been shot. Others have been tied to a tree and severely whipped. I will tell thee of one instance of cruelty: a party surrounded the house of a loyalist; a few entered: the man and his wife were in bed; the husband was shot dead by the side of his wife.' The writer of this replied, that those circumstances were horrid; but under what government could they be so happy as when enjoying the privileges of Englishmen? 'True,' said the Quaker, 'but the people have experienced such distress, that I believe they would submit to any government in the world to obtain peace.' The commissary, finding the gentleman to be a very sensible and intelligent man, took great pains to find out his character. Upon enquiry, he proved to be a man of the most irreproachable manners, and well known to some gentlemen of North Carolina, then in our army, and whose veracity was undoubted. But a few days after this, the army had a strong proof of the truth of what Mr. —, who still resides in North Carolina, and for that reason must not be mentioned by name, had said. The day before the British army reached Cross Creek, a man bent with age joined it: he had scarcely the appearance of being human; he wore the skin of a racoon for a hat, his beard was some inches long, and he was so thin, that he looked as if he had made his escape from Surgeons Hall.

Hall. He wore no shirt, his whole dress being skins of different animals. On the morning after, when this distressed man came to draw his provisions, Mr. Brice, the deputy-muster-master-general of the provincial forces, and the commissary, asked him several questions. He said that he had lived for three years in the woods, under ground; that he had been frequently sought after by the Americans, and was certain of instant death whenever he should be taken; that he supported himself by what he got in the woods; that acorns served him as bread; that they had, from long use, become agreeable to him; that he had a family, some of whom, once or twice a year, came to him in the woods; that his only crime was being a loyalist, and having given offence to one of the republican leaders in that part of the country where he used to live."

Again, having observed in his conclusion, which we have been informed is generally, and we think justly, admired, that the American revolution is the grandest effect of combination that has been yet exhibited to the world, he quotes in a note what follows: "Captain Newte, in his philosophical and very interesting tour in England and Scotland,* having delineated Scotland and the North of England as shaped by the hand of nature, is led, from the names of places, to speak of the geographical knowledge, and the natural quickness, in general, of mankind in a savage state. On this subject he says, "In the country of the Illionois, a chief of the Cascaskias conceived the sublime idea of

uniting all Indian nations and tribes into one grand alliance, offensive and defensive. If this had been realized, Dr. Franklin's confederation of the Thirteen States would have cut but a poor figure on the American continent, and the natural man would have outdone the philosopher."

It is not consistent with the concise form of our Review, to enter more minutely into the character of captain Stedman's excellent History, (which is undoubtedly the most satisfactory and comprehensive, as well as the most candid, and the best arranged and composed, that has yet been published of the American war) than just to take notice of some important particulars in which he differs (we doubt not on good grounds), or is otherwise distinguished, from other historians. The Americans are not represented by this writer as enthusiastic and ardent in the cause of liberty, but rather as steady, phlegmatic, and patient of hardships. They were excellent instruments in the hands of a few able men, whose genius and perseverance moved the mass, and finally effected the revolution. On the other hand, captain Stedman ascribes to the Americans a greater portion of genius and invention than is commonly allowed to them. To the contrivance of necessity and inventive genius, which he exemplifies on a variety of occasions in the course of his history; he attributes, in a great measure, the success of their struggle for independence. General Washington has commonly been considered as a *Fabius*; but captain Stedman repre-

* This English gentleman's observations on Scotland have drawn great attention in that country. He has lately been made a fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and doctor of laws, by two universities.

sents him as still more distinguished by courage than by prudence; and, on certain occasions, as daring even to temerity. He vindicates general Lee, who was disgraced by the pique of Washington, after the attack on the British near Monmouth; although it was the prompt decision of general Lee, on that occasion, that saved the American army from destruction. Mr. Stedman speaks with greater freedom than any other author on the same subject, of the blunders of British commanders-in-chief, both at sea and land; and of the faults and follies of politicians both in and out of administration. Finally, our learned and accomplished historian, whose mind, it is evident, has been formed on the purest models of composition, both ancient and modern, is the only historian of the American war who has written on a regular plan, been directed by general views worthy the attention of all ages and countries, and observed the most perfect unity of design. To the point from which he starts, he winds back his narrative, after a course the most various and pleasing; as will be seen by comparing the introduction with the conclusion; and the great outlines or highways, if we may be allowed the expression, of his description and narration with both.

The excellence of this learned and elegant writer's composition is somewhat tarnished by the disgusting egotism with which he speaks of himself, as of a very important agent, and even a kind of counsellor, on some occasions, though only in the humble station of a commissary.

This work is beautifully illustrated and adorned with fifteen engravings on a very large scale.

A view of the evidences of Christianity, in three parts. — Part I. of the direct historical evidence of Christianity; and wherein it is distinguished from the evidence alleged for other miracles. — Part II. of the auxiliary evidences of Christianity. — Part III. a brief consideration of some popular objections, by William Paley, M. A. archdeacon of Carlisle, 3 vol. 12mo. 1794.

THE uncommonly rapid sale of this work proves at once the opinion entertained by the public of the author, and the interest still happily felt by them on sacred subjects. We have remarked before, and we shall always remark with peculiar satisfaction this strong diagnostic of the sound state of our country, that well-written books on religious topics, if not too abstruse for popular comprehension, infallibly obtain an extensive and a permanent sale. While this continues to be the case, we will not be persuaded by those who wish to have it so, that religion is on the decline among us. Our private belief is that truth continues to gain ground, and certain we are, that such a book as we are now to describe cannot fail to be a powerful instrument towards producing so desirable an effect. If the public expectation has been raised by the promise of a work on this subject from the pen of Mr. Paley, it will by no means be disappointed by the execution of it. The tables of contents, as they will serve as a clue to the plan of the work, we shall transcribe. Vol. I. *Præparatory consideration. — Of the antecedent credibility of miracles, p. I. — Part I. Of the direct historical Evidence of Christianity; and*

and wherein it is distinguished from the evidence alleged for other miracles. *Propositions stated*, p. 18, 19. Prop. I. That there is satisfactory evidence that many, professing to be original witnesses of the Christian miracles, passed their lives in labours, dangers, and sufferings, voluntarily undergone in attestation of the accounts which they delivered, and solely in consequence of their belief of those accounts; and that they also submitted, from the same motives, to new rules of conduct, p. 18. Chap. I. Evidence of the sufferings of the first propagators of Christianity, from the nature of the case, p. 20. Chap. II. Evidence of the sufferings of the first propagators of christianity, from profane testimony, p. 47. Chap. III. Indirect evidence of the sufferings of the first propagators of Christianity, from the Scriptures, and other ancient Christian writings, p. 62. Chap. IV. Direct evidence of the same, p. 75. Chap. V. Observations upon the preceding evidence, p. 110. Chap. VI. That the story for which the first propagators of Christianity suffered was miraculous, p. 123. Chap. VII. That it was in the main the story which we have now proved by indirect considerations, p. 133. Chap. VIII. The same proved from the authority of our historical Scriptures, p. 167. Chap. IX. Of the authenticity of the historical Scriptures, in eleven* sections, p. 198.—§ I. Quotations of the historical Scriptures, by ancient Christian writers, p. 216. § 2. Of the peculiar respect with which they were quoted, p. 273. § 3. The Scriptures were in very early times collected into a distinct

volume, p. 283. § 4. And distinguished by appropriate names, and titles of respect, p. 293. § 5. They were publicly read and expounded in the religious assemblies of the early Christians, p. 299. § 6. Commentaries, &c. were anciently written upon them, p. 306. § 7. They were received by ancient Christians, of different sects and persuasions, p. 319. § 8. The four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, thirteen Epistles of St. Paul, the First Epistle of John, and the First of Peter, were received without doubt by those who doubted concerning the other books of our present canon, p. 336. § 9. Our present Gospels were considered, by the early adversaries of Christianity, as containing the accounts upon which the religion was founded, p. 347. § 10. Formal catalogues of authentic Scriptures were published, in all which our present sacred histories were included, p. 362. § 11. These propositions cannot be predicated of any of those books which are commonly called Apocryphal Books of the New Testament.—Chap. X. Recapitulation, p. 380.

Here concludes the first volume, but not the first part, which, as we shall see, is pursued through some pages of the second. In order to keep the argument together, we shall proceed to give the contents here to the end of part I.

VOL. II. Prop. 2. That there is not satisfactory evidence that persons pretending to be original witnesses of any other similar miracles, have acted in the same manner, in attestation of the accounts which they delivered, and solely in consequence of their belief of the truth

* Erroneously printed *nine*.

of those accounts, p. 1. Chap. II. Consideration of some specific instances, p. 49.

The reader who casts an attentive eye over these contents, will easily see how much matter for conclusive argument they comprehend, and in how lucid an order the arguments are digested. They are all treated with that clearness and acuteness of distinction for which Mr. Paley is so eminent. In treating these subjects we find much that if not altogether new, is made so by the advantage of a new situation; and some arguments of an original nature, of which kind the following seems to afford a favourable specimen.

“ In treating of the written evidence of Christianity, next to their separate, we are to consider their aggregate authority. Now there is in the evangelic history a cumulation of testimony which belongs hardly to any other, but which our habitual mode of reading the Scriptures sometimes causes us to overlook. When a passage, in any wise relating to the history of Christ, is read to us out of the epistle of Clement Romanus, the epistles of Ignatius, of Polycarp, or from any other writing of that age, we are immediately sensible of the confirmation which it affords to the Scripture account. Here is a new witness. Now if we had been accustomed to read the gospel of Matthew alone, and had known that of Luke only as the generality of Christians know the writings of the apostolical fathers, that is, had known that such a writing was extant and acknowledged; when we came, for the first time, to look into what it contained, and found many of the facts which Matthew recorded, recorded

also there, many other facts of a similar nature added, and throughout the whole work, the same general series of transactions stated, and the same general character of the person who was the subject of the history preserved, I apprehend that we should feel our minds strongly impressed by this discovery of fresh evidence. We should feel a renewal of the same sentiment in first reading the gospel of St. John. That of St. Mark perhaps would strike us as an abridgement of the history with which we were already acquainted, but we should naturally reflect, that, if that history was abridged by such a person as Mark, or by any person of so early an age, it afforded one of the highest possible attestations to the value of the work. This successive disclosure of proof would leave us assured, that there must have been at least some reality in a story which, not one, but many, had taken in hand to commit to writing. The very existence of four separate histories would satisfy us that the subject had a foundation; and when, amidst the variety which the different information of the different writers had supplied to their accounts, or which their different choice and judgement in selecting their materials had produced, we observed many facts to stand the same in all; of these facts, at least, we should conclude, that they were fixed in their credit and publicity. If, after this, we should come to the knowledge of a distinct history, and that also of the same age with the rest, taking up the subject where the others had left it, and carrying on a narrative of the effects produced in the world by the extraordinary causes of which we had already been informed, and which effects subsist

at this day, we should think the reality of the original story in no little degree established by this supplement. If subsequent enquiries should bring us to our knowledge, one after another, letters written by some of the principal agents in the business, upon the business, and during the time of their activity and concern in it, assuming all along and recognizing the original story, agitating the questions that arose out of it, pressing the obligations which resulted from it, giving advice and directions to those who acted upon it, I conceive that we should find, in every one of these, a still farther support to the conclusion we had formed. At present the weight of this successive confirmation is, in a great measure, unperceived by us. The evidence does not appear to us what it is; for, being from our infancy accustomed to regard the New Testament as one book, we see in it only one testimony. The whole occurs to us as a single evidence; and its different parts, not as distinct attestations, but as different portions only of the same. Yet in this conception of the subject we are certainly mistaken; for the very discrepancies amongst the several documents which form our volume prove, if all other proof was wanting, that in their original composition they were separate, and most of them independent productions." p. 183.

This way of stating the nature of the evangelical testimony is certainly fair, and to us at least appears novel. The first section of Chap. IX. p. 216. contains professedly an abstract of the most striking matter in Dr. Lardner's admirable volumes on the credibility of the Gospel. "To pursue the detail of proofs

throughout," says the author, "would be to transcribe a great part of Dr. Lardner's eleven octavo volumes; to leave the argument without proofs, is to leave it without effect, for the persuasion produced by this species of evidence depends upon a view and induction of the particulars which compose it."

This Mr. Paley has performed with judgement and ability, and we shall say without scruple, that in so doing, he has performed a very essential service to Christianity; by giving to the indolent those proofs within a small compass, which, in their whole extent, they would never take the trouble to examine. The nature of this species of evidence is explained with great clearness in the opening of this section.

"The medium of proof stated in this proposition is, of all others, the most unquestionable, the least liable to any practices of fraud, and is not diminished by the lapse of ages. Bishop Burnet, in the history of his own times, inserts various extracts from lord Clarendon's history. One such insertion is a proof that lord Clarendon's history was extant at the time when bishop Burnet wrote, that it had been read by bishop Burnet, that it was received by bishop Burnet as a work of lord Clarendon's, and also regarded by him as an authentic account of the transactions which it relates; and it will be a proof of these points a thousand years hence, or as long as the books exist. Juvenal having quoted, as Cicero's, that memorable line,

O fortunatam natam me consule Romam!

the quotation would be strong evidence, were there any doubt, that the

the oration, in which that line is found, actually came from Cicero's pen. These instances, however simple, may serve to point out to a reader, who is little accustomed to such researches, the nature and value of the argument."

We shall now proceed to give the contents of the second part.

Part II. Of the auxiliary evidences of Christianity.—Chap. I. Prophecy, p. 67. Chap. II. The morality of the Gospel, p. 94. Chap. III. The candour of the writers of the New Testament, p. 166. Chap. IV. Identity of Christ's character, p. 189. Chap. V. Originality of Christ's character, p. 217. Chap. VI. Conformity of the facts occasionally mentioned or referred to in Scripture, with the state of things in those times, as represented by foreign and independent accounts, p. 221. Chap. VII. Undesigned coincidences, p. 295. Chap. VIII. Of the history of the resurrection, p. 302. Vol. III. Chap. IX. The propagation of Christianity, p. 1. § 2. Reflections upon the preceding account, p. 45. § 3. Of the success of Mahometanism, p. 63.

In treating of the morality of the Gospel in chap. 4 of this part, Mr. Paley skilfully abstracts a very material part of S. Jenyn's *internal evidences of Christianity*, (see p. 100.)—where that author remarks the difference between the morality of Christ and that of mankind in general. In doing this he has wisely shunned the exaggerations which render some passages of his author exceptionable. On the apparently accidental coincidences between the account of St. John and the other Evangelists, and concerning the identity of our Saviour's character, Mr. P. has made some very

acute remarks, very much in the style of his *Horæ Paulinæ*; among which the following is very striking.

"The three first evangelists record, what is called our Saviour's agony, *i. e.* his devotion in the garden, immediately before he was apprehended; in which narrative they all make him pray, 'that the cup might pass from him.' This is the particular metaphor which they all ascribe to him. St. Matthew adds, 'O my Father, if this cup may not pass away from me, except I drink it, thy will be done.' Now St. John does not give the scene in the garden; but when Jesus was seized, and some resistance was attempted to be made by Peter, Jesus, according to his account, checked the attempt with this reply: 'Put up thy sword into the sheath; the cup, which my Father hath given me, shall I not drink it?' This is something more than bare consistency: it is coincidence: because it is extremely natural, that Jesus, who, before he was apprehended, had been praying his Father, that 'that cup might pass away from him,' yet with such a pious retraction of his request, as to have added, 'if this cup may not pass from me, thy will be done;' it was natural, I say, for the same person, when he actually was apprehended, to express the resignation to which he had already made up his thoughts, and to express it in the form of speech which he had before used, 'the cup which my Father hath given me, shall I not drink it?' This is a coincidence between writers, in whose narratives there is no imitation, but great diversity." Vol II. p. 212.

This is the observation of a master. His sixth chapter, of this part,

is taken from the first volume of the first part of Lardner's credibility, in the same manner as a former chapter was taken from another part; with an equal openness and equal success. He states in it forty-one instances, in which the sacred historians display a minute knowledge of the manners and customs of their times, in such a way as seems utterly impossible to be displayed by any forger. In the topic of *undesigned coincidences*, chap. 7. he very properly refers to his own *Horæ Paulinæ*; some of the general arguments of which he had occasionally touched before. In chap. IX. §. 2. the subject of missions is most judiciously introduced; and from the very small success of modern missions, in comparison with those of the apostles, under which more advantageous circumstances, the following sound conclusion is deduced: that the apostles "possessed means of conviction which we have not; that they had proofs to appeal to, which we want."

Part III. A brief consideration of some popular objections. Chap. I. The discrepancies between the several Gospels, vol. 3. p. 98. Chap. II. Erroneous opinions imputed to the apostles, p. 206. The connection of Christianity with the Jewish history, p. 117. Chap. IV. Rejection of Christianity, p. 124. Chap. V*. That the Christian miracles are not recited, or appealed to by Christian writers themselves, so fully or so frequently as might have been expected, p. 160. Chap. VI. Want of universality in the knowledge and reception of Christianity, and of greater clearness in the evi-

dence, p. 182. Chap. VII. The supposed effects of Christianity, p. 201. Chap. VIII. Conclusion, p. 220.

Among these topics, which are all handled with skill and luminous distinctness, it is difficult to select a passage for an example. The following, on the effects of Christianity, is perhaps as original as any.

"The influence of religion is not to be sought for, in the councils of princes; in the debates or resolutions of popular assemblies; in the conduct of governments towards their subjects, or of states and sovereigns towards one another, of conquerors at the head of their armies, or of parties intriguing for power at home, (topics which alone almost occupy the attention, and fill the pages of history,) but must be perceived, if perceived at all, in the silent course of private and domestic life. Nay more, even *there* its influence may not be very obvious to observation. If it check, in some degree, personal dissoluteness, if it beget a general probity in the transaction of business, if it produce soft and humane manners in the mass of the community, and occasional exertions of laborious or expensive benevolence in a few individuals, it is all the effect which can offer itself to external notice. The kingdom of Heaven is within us. That which is the substance of the religion, its hopes and consolations, its intermixture with the thoughts by day and by night, the devotion of the heart, the control of appetite, the steady direction of the will to the commands of God, is necessarily invisible. Yet upon these depends, the virtue and the

* This and the remaining chapters are erroneously numbered in the first edition, chap. 4 being put twice.

happiness of millions. This cause renders the representations of history, with respect to religion, defective and fallacious, in a greater degree than they are upon any other subject. Religion operates most upon those of whom history knows the least: upon fathers and mothers in their families, upon men servants and maid servants, upon the orderly tradesmen, the quiet villager, the manufacturer at his loom, the husbandman in his fields. Amongst such, its influence collectively may be of inestimable value, yet its effects in the mean time of little upon those who figure upon the stage of the world. *They* may know nothing of it: they may believe nothing of it; they may be actuated by motives more impetuous than those which religion is able to excite. It cannot, therefore, be thought strange, that this influence should elude the grasp and touch of public history; for what is public history, but a register of the successes and disappointments, the vices, the follies, and the quarrels, of those who engage in contentions for power?"

The conclusion contains, as it ought, a clear and able summary of the preceding arguments. We should be glad, for the sake of public utility, to extract the whole, but on account of its extent must content ourselves with selecting the most material part:

"The truth of Christianity depends upon its leading facts, and upon them alone. Now of these we have evidence which ought to satisfy us, at least until it appear that mankind have ever been deceived by the same. We have some uncontested and incontestable points, to which the history of the human

species hath nothing similar to offer. A Jewish peasant changed the religion of the world, and that, without force, without power, without support; without one natural source or circumstance of attraction, influence, or success. Such a thing hath not happened in any other instance. The companions of this person, after he himself had been put to death for his attempt, asserted his supernatural character, founded upon his supernatural operations; and, in testimony of the truth of their assertions, *i. e.* in consequence of their own belief of that truth, and, in order to communicate the knowledge of it to others, voluntarily entered upon lives of toil and hardship, and, with a full experience of their danger, committed themselves to the last extremities of persecution. This hath not a parallel. More particularly, a very few days after this person had been publicly executed, and in the very city in which he was buried, these his companions declared with one voice that his body was restored to life; that they had seen him, handled him, eat with him, conversed with him: and, in pursuance of their persuasion of the truth of what they told, preached his religion, with this strange fact as the foundation of it, in the face of those who had killed him, who were armed with the power of the country, and necessarily and naturally disposed to treat his followers as they had treated himself; and having done this upon the spot where the event took place, carried the intelligence of it abroad, in spite of difficulties and opposition, and where the nature of their errand gave them nothing to expect but derision, insult, and outrage. This is without example. These three facts, I think, are cer-

tain, and would have been nearly so, if the Gospels had never been written. The Christian story, as to these points, hath never varied. No other hath been set up against it. Every letter, every discourse, every controversy, amongst the followers of the religion; every book written by them, from the age of its commencement to the present time, in every part of the world in which it hath been professed, and with every sect into which it hath been divided, (and we have letters and discourses written by contemporaries, by witnesses of the transaction, by persons themselves bearing a share in it, and other writings following that age in regular succession) concur in representing these facts in this manner. A religion, which now possesses the greatest part of the civilized world, unquestionably sprang up at Jerusalem at this time. Some account must be given of its origin, some cause assigned for its rise. All the accounts of this origin, all the explications of this cause, whether taken from the writings of the early followers of the religion, in which, and in which perhaps alone, it could be expected that they should be distinctly unfolded, or from occasional notices in other writing of that or the adjoining age, either expressly allege the facts above stated as the means by which the religion was set up, or advert to its commencement in a manner which agrees with the supposition of these facts being true, which renders them probable according to the then state of the word, and which testifies their operation and effects.

“ These propositions alone lay a foundation for our faith, for they prove the existence of a transaction,

which cannot even in its most *general* parts be accounted for upon any reasonable supposition, except that of the truth of the mission. But the particulars, the *detail* of the miracles or miraculous pretences (for such there necessarily must have been) upon which this unexampled transaction rested, and for which these men acted and suffered as they did act and suffer, it is undoubtedly of great importance to us to know. We have this detail from the fountain-head, from the persons themselves; in accounts written by eye-witnesses of the scene, by contemporaries, and companions of those who were so; not in one book, but four, each containing enough for the verification of the religion, all agreeing in the fundamental parts of the history. We have the authenticity of these books established by more and stronger proofs than belong to almost any other ancient book whatever, and by proofs which widely distinguish them from any others, claiming a similar authority to theirs. If there were any good reason for doubt concerning the names to which these books are ascribed, (which there is not, for they were never ascribed to any other, and we have evidence not long after their publication of their bearing the names which they now bear), their antiquity, of which there is no question, their reputation and authority amongst the early disciples of the religion, of which there is as little, form a valid proof that they must, in the main at least, have agreed with what the first teachers of the religion delivered.

“ When we open these ancient volumes, we discover in them marks of truth, whether we consider each in itself, or collate them with one another.

another. The writers certainly knew something of what they were writing about, for they manifest an acquaintance with local circumstances, with the history and usages of the times, which could only belong to an inhabitant of that country, living in that age. In every narrative we perceive simplicity and undesignedness; the air and the language of reality. When we compare the different narratives together, we find them so varying as to repel all suspicion of confederacy; so agreeing under this variety, as to shew that the accounts had one real transaction for their common foundation: often attributing different actions and discourses to the person whose history, or rather memoirs of whose history, they profess to relate; yet actions and discourses so similar, as very much to bespeak the same character; which is a coincidence, that, in such writers as they were, could only be the consequence of their writing from fact, and not from imagination."

After the account we have given, it is hardly necessary to say, that we

strongly recommend this work to general perusal. We think the author has very happily executed what he professes to have been his design. "To preserve the separation between evidences and doctrines as inviolable as he could: to remove from the primary question all considerations which have been unnecessarily joined with it; and to offer a defence of Christianity, which *every Christian* might read, without seeing the tenets in which he had been brought up attacked or decried:" he adds, "It always afforded a satisfaction to my mind, to observe that this was practicable; that few or none of our many controversies with one another affect or relate to the proofs of our religion; that the rent never descends to the foundation." To this book then let the doubter or the deist have recourse; and when he has satisfied himself, as here abundantly he may, of the irrefragable evidence of the whole, let him carefully consider the sacred books themselves, and adopt as doctrines whatever he finds there delivered.

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